

The chapters covered in this book are all based upon the theoretical claim that discourse is an element of social life which is dialectically interconnected with other elements, and may have constructive and transformative effects on other elements. It also makes the claim that discourse has in many ways become a more salient and potent element of social life in the contemporary world, and that more general processes of current social change often seem to be initiated and driven by changes in discourse. Discourse analysis, including linguistic analysis, therefore has a great deal more to contribute to social research than has generally been recognized, especially when integrated into interdisciplinary research projects.





Many teachers, students in advanced English language, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, political economy, and media studies and even general readers will find this text as a valuable book.



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Discourse and Critical Issues

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To my family

Wardiati Jamaluddin

Griselda Mustafa

Sophia Mustafa

Vienna Mustafa

Cynthia Mustafa



PREFACE

This book brings together most of my works in discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis I have written in the last 15 years. Discourse studies or a better well-known term discourse analysis is a vast burgeoning field of the scientific inquiry. This book is an attempt to fuse several approaches to discourse analysis in analyzing texts. As an interdisciplinary approach, the book deals with critical discourse analysis, media discourse, and argumentation theory in relation to the global economy, economic globalization strategies, corruption, Islamic feminism, and other critical issues. The book concentrates primarily on written discourse from media sources and written political economic speeches. These authentic texts are derived from a collection of the newspaper editorials and Opinion-Editorial articles by leading economists, journalists, columnists and speeches by state leaders, bank chiefs, particularly from the USA and Asia. The book commences with an introductory chapter that provides a general theoretical introduction to the notions of discourse, media discourse, critical discourse analysis, and the analytical tools set out for the analysis of critical social issues. The book adapts a critical paradigm in analyzing texts on the social issues, which is built generally upon critical analysis of discourse, systemic functional linguistics, the epistemological

boundaries of opinion, knowledge and ideology, and cultural political economy. In the last two chapters, the book also refers to discourse theory from a Foucauldian perspective. Altogether the book consists of 10 chapters.

Chapter 1 is a reworked version of the first chapter of my PhD thesis. In this chapter, I will provide an introduction to the notion of discourse analysis, media discourse, and critical discourse analysis in which I will pay a special attention to newspaper discourse. In this chapter, I will also discuss the current approaches to discourse studies and an emphasis is placed on critical discourse analysis, particularly the critical perspectives from discourse as social practice and sociocognitive discourse approach. The chapter will also set out the analytical tools used in critical discourse analysis which, among others, include argumentation from the pragma-dialectical perspective, systemic functional linguistics, intertextuality, pronoun, and vocabulary.

Chapter 2 is built upon my article “Language and Ideology in Texts on Globalization: A Critical Discourse Analysis” licensed under a Creative Common Attribution in *International Journal of English Linguistics*, Vol. 5 (2): 63-78 (2015). I have made some necessary revision by adding crucial points with respect to the development of current global economy as a discursive moment.

Chapter 3 is slightly altered version of my article “Language and Globalization: A Critical Analysis of Global Economy in Strategic Texts during the Financial Crisis”, licensed under a Creative Common Attribution in *English Linguistics Research*, Vol. 4 (2): 1-16 (2015). This chapter has been adjusted to meet the current constitution of discourse as part of globalization and deglobalization processes.

Chapter 4 is derived from my article “The Discursive Construction of Global Economic Strategies in Turbulent Times”, licensed under a Creative Common Attribution in *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, Vol. 4 (10): 1-15 (2016). This chapter also has undertaken revision on the framework and analysis.

Chapter 5 is revised version of my article “The Discursive Construction of National Identity in the Speeches of Wen Jiabao in Response to the 2008-2011 Global Financial-Economic Recessions”, licensed under a Creative Common Attribution in *Studies in Media and Communication*, Vol. 6 (2): 41-52 (2018).

Chapter 6 was originally from a chapter of my PhD thesis. I have adjusted it with revision suitable for the scientific publication.

Chapter 7 is a revised version of my article “Media Discourse Opposing the anti-Pornography Bill”, licensed under a Creative Common Attribution in *Islam Futura*, Jurnal Ilmiah Pascasarjana UIN Ar-Raniry, Vol. VIII, No. 2: 83-115 (2009).

Chapter 8 a slightly altered version of my article “The Discursive Construction of Strategies for Implementing Anti-Corruption Education at State Islamic Higher Educational Institutions”, licensed under a Creative Common Attribution in *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun: The Indonesian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 10 (3): 555-578 (2022).

Chapter 9 is derived from my conference paper “Feminism: A Discursive Analysis of the Western and Islamic Perspectives”, presented at the ADIA Annual International Conference on May 18, 2024. An earlier version of this chapter was my article “Feminism, Islam amd Modernity”, licensed under a Creative Common Attribution in *Islam Futura*, Jurnal Ilmiah Pascasarjana UIN Ar-Raniry, Vol. VII, No. 2: 1-20 (2009).

Finally, chapter 10 is the concluding chapter in which I will provide the restatement of the main claims in the book and some reflections for further deeper inquiries.

I have got some people from whom I received support and spirit for the publication of this book. I am very grateful to the rectorate of Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, particularly the lecturers at the department of English Language Education, all of whom I have recognized as supportive colleagues and friends since I was appointed

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Banda Aceh, May 28, 2024

Mustafa A. Rahman



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CHAPTER 1

What is Discourse?

In this chapter, I discuss the central idea of the book, starting with the definitions of the term discourse, expanding it to media discourse and critical discourse analysis. I then move to the principles of critical discourse analysis and the accompanying analytical tools. In the subsequent chapters, I will look at specific cases and apply the conception in the analysis of discourses on a variety of social issues. The chapter attempts to build a 'bridge' between textual analysis and the principles of critical analysis of discourse with respect to the visible practices of text interpretation and use. The bridge will allow to me oscillate from the types of analysis where we will focus on linguistics on the one hand and social analysis of economy, education, and feminism, on the other. There are two main objectives to be fulfilled in this introduction chapter.

First, the chapter presents the basic notions that will be implemented in the analysis of discourse and critical issues. These essential foundations that are adapted from linguistics and critical social theory can be categorized as eclectic. The eclectic approach is essential in conducting language-based-social analysis, because of the standpoint that the relation between theory and practice should be seen as dynamic. The second objective is to provide a list of the analytical tools for critical analysis of discourse, which constitutes as a flexible guide for the analysis of the texts on critical social issues.

1. Discourse

The term discourse or discourse analysis as some people call it, has become fashionable in a variety of academic departments and disciplines: linguistics, rhetoric, media studies, political sciences, and many other fields. In scientific fields and debates, it is used indiscriminately, frequently left undefined. The concept has become vague, either meaning almost nothing, or being used with more precise but carries different meanings and different contexts. Therefore, within the theoretical range of meanings, it is difficult to know where and how to track down the meaning of the term discourse or discourse analysis. Glossaries of the theoretical terms are sometimes helpful, but sometimes the disciplines that define the term play more important role in determining which of meanings is being used.

In addition, there is also a conspicuous lack of agreement among scholars on the term *discourse* and *text*. However, it is not my intention to clarify these technical terms of such a vast and complex field. My goal below is only to map out the term by providing some definitions, which I expect to be representative, less controversial, and more appropriate for the approaches I adopt for my analysis of newspaper editorials, opinion-editorial articles, and political economic speeches and discourse as abstract concepts. That is, I shall provide the definitions from both descriptive and critical perspectives. Later, I shall look at a type of order of discourses—media discourse and then narrow it down the meaning

of the term to the specific genre of newspaper discourse before turning to critical discourse analysis with its principles and analytical tools.

The majority of contemporary discourse analytical approaches, particularly those who originate from continental Europe and Australia, follow the French philosophical conception of discourse as relatively rule-bound sets of statements, which impose limits on what gives meaning. The French philosopher Michel Foucault, some of whose works have played a central role in the development of discourse analysis through both empirical work and empirical studies, is often referred to. In his *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1979, p. 117) defines discourse as follows:

We shall call discourse as a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation . . . Discourse is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form ... it is from beginning to end, historical- fragment of history . . . posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality.

For Foucault, discourse is the general domain of statements which has meaning and some effect in the real world. He is concerned with what constitutes knowledge, how it is passed on and what impact this knowledge has on the overall development of society. He adheres to the general social constructionist premise that knowledge is not just a reflection of reality. According to him, each society has its own regime of truth. Truth is a discursive construction and different regimes of knowledge determine what is true and false.

One of the scholars influenced by Foucault's concept of discourse is Norman Fairclough (1992, 2003) who sometimes uses the term discourse as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. In this sense discourse can be enumerated and referred to in plural (a discourse, the discourse, the discourses, discourses). In other words, discourses in this sense constitute ideology as a system of beliefs. Discourses are ideas as well as ways of talking that shape and

are shaped by the world. Discourse is a form of social practice, which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices. Another critical linguist influenced by Foucauldian notion is Gunter Kress (1985, pp. 6-7), who provides a very useful definition of the concept:

Institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values which are articulated in language in systematic ways. Following the work particularly of the French philosophy Michel Foucault, I refer to these systematically-organized modes of talking as DISCOURSE. Discourses are systematically-organized sets of statements which gives expression to the meanings and values of an institution. Beyond that, they define, describe and delimit what it is possible to say and not possible to say (and by extension – what it is possible to do or not to do) with respect to the area of concern of that institution, whether marginally or centrally. A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particularly topic, object, process is to be talked about.

This approach to discourse is often covered under the term discourse theory. It is a movement of scholars who focus on critical social issues and typically study ideology, knowledge, and power relation in society as constructed in text.

The subject matter of discourse analysis is, therefore, a hybrid field of enquiry. It covers within various corners of the humanities and social sciences, such as linguistics, political economy, and communication among others, with complex historical affiliations and numerous cross-fertilization taking place. To cite a definition that is both representative and inclusive, I refer to David Crystal's (1987, p. 116) use of the term within linguistics:

Discourse analysis focuses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language, as found in such 'discourses' as conversations, interviews, commentaries, and speeches. Text analysis focuses on the structure of written language, as found in such 'texts' as essays, notices, road signs, and chapters. But this distinction is

not clear-cut, and there have been many other uses of these labels. In particular, 'discourse' and 'text' can be used in a much broader sense to include *all* language units with a definable of communicative function, whether spoken or written. Some scholars talk about 'spoken or written discourse'; others about 'spoken or written text'.

This sense of the usage of discourse analysis in mainstream linguistics refers mainly to the analysis of language in use—*of naturally occurring connected speech or written discourse*. Discourse analysis refers to attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study *larger linguistic units*, such as conversational exchanges or written texts (Brown & Yule, 1983; Fairclough, 2003). Discourse analysis is concerned with language use in social contexts such as political speeches and newspaper editorial articles involving language users, purposes and *functions of language* in human life. This is because discourse is conceived as a socially and culturally organized system through which particular functions are realized. It is as collection of *contextualized units* of language use. To put it differently, discourse analysis is the study of *any aspect* of language use. It does not deal only with the study of either spoken or written language, but it also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and for what purpose, in what kind of situation, what relationships the language users have and what medium they use.

To put it simply, the origin of an approach to discourse analysis often provides different theoretical and meta-theoretical premises that continue to influence assumptions, concepts, and methods. Since discourse analysis is a vast and complex discipline, in this book I define discourse analysis as essentially an eclectic study of verbal communication, involving linguistics, argumentation, media studies, and cultural political economy, among others. This is because I believe that in the current trend of scientific inquiry it is no longer the discipline that orients scientific inquiries, but the problem of the investigation. Thus, what I find crucial is that because of its multi-faceted nature,

interdisciplinary paradigm in discourse analysis should be integrated. My standpoint is that we should develop theories that are multifaceted and able to explain several levels: the textual, the philosophical, the social, the political, and even the historical dimensions of discourse. For example, critical issues such as the legitimation of common sense, economic inequality, and globalization cannot be fully understood in light of only one discipline or in terms of simple theories.

2. Media Discourse

Media have long been a focus among those working with language and communication as well as those working with the broad field of media studies. Since the scope of the media is far reaching, globally positioned and influential, it is not surprising that it is the subject of a great deal of intellectual scrutiny. Within academic disciplines: linguistics, cultural studies, critical theory, discourse analysis and the like, the impact, the role, and the influence of what it is commonly termed “media” are analyzed and deconstructed.

Media discourse has always attracted the attention of many critical, social scholars. They agree that mass media by their undeniable power define, interpret and moralize, help form perceptions and values that reify the social order. There are two key components that the discourse of the news media encapsulates: the news story or written text and the process involved in producing the texts. One could divide media content into three parts: news, advertising, and entertainment (Fairclough, 1995). It is worth pointing out that central to these parts in the case of the newspaper discourse is the editorial, which also constitutes news content normally supplied by the newspaper in relation to news reports.

The media are an important social institution. They work in accordance with culture, politics and social life; they shape and reflect how these elements are formed and expressed. Media discourse is important in two senses: It reveals what is happening in a society and it is also important because the media discourse itself contributes to the development of the society. Critical linguistic inquiries on the media has

usually focused more on the second concern. It usually concentrates on the issues of ideology, the manufacture of consent, values, and beliefs.

In the media studies scholars agree that news story is not always a copy of reality or a logical consequence of an event, which is newsworthy in its own right, but a social product. As Roger Fowler (1991, p. i) puts in the preface to his book, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, '... news is a practice, a product of the social and political world on which it reports.' The content of media discourse is not facts about the world, but beliefs, values, and ideology. Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideology position. In media discourse, language is used not as a clear window but as a deflecting, structuring medium.

Media discourse is subject to the social constraints and institutional relations within which news-workers and media companies operate. The institutionalized practices of news-making affect social relations by defining and constraining reporting of them. According to Hall (1978, p. 53), 'news is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to the social constructed set of categories.' In journalistic terms, students of media studies often refer to these categories as "news values", which originate in journalistic practices (for example, nature of source, journalistic convention) and the consensual mode of society. The news media select events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness; these criteria are conceived as a "gate-keeping" role, filtering and restricting news input. The more newsworthiness criteria an event satisfies, the more likely it is to be reported.

The production of consensus is above all the use of commonsense. The media fight for a definition of the commonsense representation of the world. The media's colonization of commonsense language, such as "We all know that . . ." (for example, we all know that we are democratic and they are backward) naturalizes the definition of the world. All the tricky ways the media employ in shaping and reflecting the social world have attracted attentions from a variety of expertise and curiosity, such

as critical discourse analysts, cultural analysts and communication scholars. In what follows I shall briefly describe some of the approaches that have been dominant in the investigation of media discourse.

There are three main approaches to the study of media discourse, which can be characterized as (1) discourse analytic, (2) sociolinguistic, and (3) nonlinguistic. While some scholars have primarily focused more on discourse analytic, other approaches tend to blend aspects of all three approaches. In fact, even media discourse scholars with the discourse analytic expertise prefer to fuse their approaches with other frameworks, such as Bell (1991), who incorporates variation analysis with Labov's (1972) analysis of narrative of personal experience; van Dijk (1988a, 1988b) and Fairclough (1995), who approach media discourse from a blend of critical discourse analytic, socio-cognitive, and narrative.

The work of these theorists of discourse analysis stands in contrast to that of their American counterparts. The Anglo-American contributions to media studies have largely been outside linguistics, either continuing along the lines of traditional, quantitative communication paradigm or based on political science. This book reserves the term discourse analysis for an eclectic approach.

This book sees newspaper as part of the mass media and is important in two senses. It reveals what is happening in the society and it also contributes to the development of the society (Bell, 1998; Richardson, 2017). Newspaper discourse encapsulates two key components: the written text and the process involved in producing the text. As a written text, it constructs and explains social reality by semiosis as a resource for meaning-making in accordance with social structure. The news story is conceived of as a very specific example of socially constructed meaning (Fowler, 1991). It shapes what is important and thereby contribute to the ongoing process of the development of opinion, knowledge or ideology through which the audience is forced to perceive realities (Fowler, 1991). In addition, newspaper discourse is subject to the social constraints and institutional relations within which media companies operate. The institutionalized practices of news-making affect social relations by

defining and constraining reporting of them. Newspapers select events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness; these criteria are conceived of as a gate-keeping role, filtering and restricting news input.

3. Critical Discourse Analysis

A critical approach to discourse analysis is often covered under the umbrella term critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA). It typically concentrates on the uncovering of implicit ideology, hegemony, and abuse of power in texts. It exposes underlying ideological bias and therefore, the exercise of power in texts. Fairclough (2013) posits that CDA begins with a view of language as a social practice: it is a kind of action. In other words, it is a historically and socially placed action, both in itself socially shaped and socially shaping, what Fairclough calls constitutive. Fairclough raises three elements that language is constitutive of:

- a. Social identities;
- b. Social relations, and
- c. Systems of knowledge and meaning.

CDA explores how discursive practices, events and texts arise from, and are ideologically shared by relations of power and struggles over power. It explores relationships between discourse and society, and society in itself is seen as a way of securing power and hegemony. Fairclough (2013, p. 93) defines CDA as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Fairclough conceptualizes CDA as the analysis of the semiotic elements of social practice (written and spoken language, nonverbal communication, and visual images). The study of discourse allows for insights into social interaction and the construction of communicative events. CDA is based upon a view of semiosis, inter-subjectivity of meaning, as an irreducible element of all material social processes. We can see social life as interconnected networks of social practices of diverse sorts (economic, political, and cultural, among others). Discourse involves social conditions: social conditions of production and social conditions of consumption. Figure 1 shows the elements needed to describe the social production and consumption of discourse.

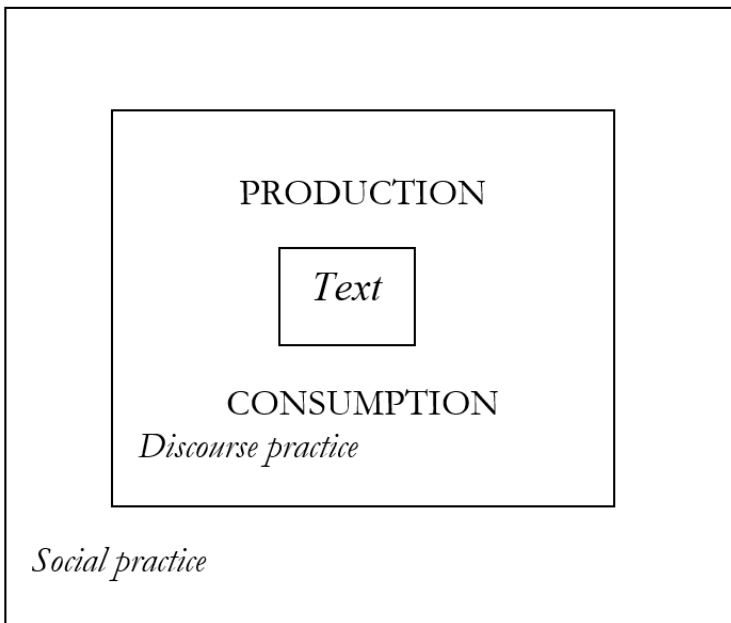


Figure 1.1: A framework of critical discourse analysis (drawn upon Fairclough, 2013)

Based on the diagram we can see that CDA consists of three dimensions: text, discursive practice and social practice. Thus, corresponding to these dimensions, the model of CDA as discourse

practice is conceived as mapping three different sorts of analysis that should be considered when analyzing discourse:

- a. Textual analysis: the analysis of lexical items, syntactic structures, modality, argumentation strategies, and the macro level of text structure.
- b. Discursive analysis: this analysis focuses on how the discourse is produced, circulates and reproduced. This level of analysis also looks at wider issues of order of discourse as different ways of making meaning, such as the media and the civilized society.
- c. Analysis of discourse as social practice: this analysis focuses on discourse in society, institution, and culture, especially on the relation of discourse to power and society.

CDA is conceived as the analysis of the whole process of production and consumption in which text is only a part of process. Therefore, it is essential that, when viewing discourse as social practice, one analyses not only the text but also the social relation between the text production and the interpretation of text. Analysts need to ask questions such as under what condition the text is composed; who composes it and what the relationship between the producer of the text and its consumers is. To provide a strong foundation for the analysis of social issues, CDA is guided by a number of principles.

4. Principles of CDA

The present book draws upon the common principles of existing CDA, which is endorsed as a paradigm of doing language based studies by some practitioners (see van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Fairclough, 2003) and whose first aim in analysis is transdisciplinary, involving a dialogue across disciplines. Second, the study is committed to providing substantial solutions to the social 'wrongs' (Fairclough, 2009, pp. 174-176) at issue. The core perspectives are politically committed

to the CDA project. As for critical linguistics in general, CDA has an overtly political agenda. It is different from orthodox language studies such as conversational analysis (see Sacks, 1992) and interactional sociolinguistics (see also Schiffrin, 1994; Schegloff, 1990), which consider texts as a mere social interaction enterprise (Blommaert, 2005). CDA aims to unravel the production, internal structure, intertextuality, and interdiscursivity in relation to social change. In other words, CDA aims to present a dialectical and critical dimension in its theoretical and descriptive accounts of texts. The principles of CDA are discussed below:

a. CDA deals with social problems

CDA is concerned with the analysis of processes of social problems and their linguistic aspects. Social problems, such as the incomplete process of globalization are not a mere matter of social practice but a discursive one as well (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2006). Therefore, to cope with such issue, a CDA approach is required, for one thing, to make the issue explicit and transparent through thorough linguistic analysis of the social problem; and the other, it has to be done through thorough social analysis of the social problem. For example, in the case of global economy, globalization is treated by CDA as an incomplete capitalist agenda (Fairclough, 2006) and as an ideological project (Fairclough, 2006) which attempts to promote a free global economy that mostly benefits the industrially 'advanced' producing countries but which may hurt others (Hirst & Thompson, 1996; Amin, 1997). This opaque global project needs to be made unequivocal through interdisciplinary analysis, so there is empirical evidence that the project benefits only a few people while exploiting the majority.

b. Discourse is vulnerable to ideological manifestation

Discourse can be ideologically motivated. For example, when a man shouts in a theater 'Fire!' the utterance is not ideological. But when a man in the same setting whispers to a woman sitting next to him while watching an action movie 'Men are superior to women', the utterance

is ideological i.e., chauvinistic, sexist (Eagleton, 1991). An ideology is a particular way of representation of social relation of the world which can be manifested in discourse and other social practices.

Ideology is, first, a relation between meaning (and therefore texts) and social relations of power and domination. It is one modality of power (another is physical force). And ideology is, first, a matter of representation. We may call discourses 'ideological' where social analysis plausibly shows a relation between their meanings (ways of representing) and social relations of power. (Fairclough, 2013, p. 79)

Ideology is embedded in discourse, which is seen as a field of ideological processes and linguistic process (Fowler, 1991; Harvey, 1996). Discourse functions to legitimize and naturalize inequality; discourse directs us to think along a particular way of thinking (Foucault, 1979; Chilton, 2004), creating a common sense that does not give rise to subversive conclusion (Fairclough, 2003). It needs to be noted that ideology is not only a matter of representation of the aspects of the social world but also a process of constructions of distinctiveness, particularly of collective identity of groups and people's inherent nationality as well as the identification of the followers of a global economy project, such as the European G-3 (France, Germany and the United Kingdom) and the WTO.

A critical approach to discourse analysis typically concentrates on the uncovering of implicit ideology embodied in texts such as the discourse of global economy. This has to be done, because discourse exposes underlying ideological bias and therefore, the exercise of power, social relations and even domination and exploitation in texts. Essentially, ideological representations can be identified in texts.

c. Discourse is historical

Discourse is historical, taking context into consideration. Discourse does not exist in a vacuum. Discourse and context are mutually constitutive. This is so, because language both constructs social and

political reality and is also constituted by it (Fairclough, 2006). Discourse needs context either for production or for interpretation (van Dijk, 2008). This can be drawn for example from political economy in which context can be defined in terms of conditions of production and conditions of interpretation (Fairclough, 2013). A discourse on global economy is always related not only to other discourses (social, political, and cultural) through intertextuality but also to its social setting (place of production, institutional sites). Uncovering the history of discourse assists discourse analysts in understanding the ideological work and its effect on identification of the authors of the texts, for example on global economy, social groupings, agencies they are emotionally involved in, or the nation they belong to (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Therefore, examining the discourse of global economy from a historical perspective makes CDA dialectical; history is fused into discourse analysis (see Wodak et al., 2009).

d. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory

Discourse from the social constructivist perspective in this information era can be interpreted in accordance to the subject position or the analyst stance. This is so, because there are many ways of looking at social realities. For the purpose of its relevance to the present study, the conception of global economy may be seen as unprecedented interdependence of the practice of world market by some globalists (Held et al., 1999) or as a 'silent genocide' by the protectionists. Thus, the texts on global economy are described in order to unearth the ideology it constructs, the discursive strategies it deploys and the ways agencies and authors construe it to meet vested interests, goals and motives of particular interest groups. Texts are interpreted and explained based on the social position of the analyst that may be open for contention (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

e. CDA is not concerned with 'facts'

The description, interpretation, and explanation that CDA provides is to do with values, system of beliefs, evaluation and is not based on quantitative dimensions (Fairclough, 2003, p. 6). The reason that forces CDA to be inherently intact with such principle in dealing with critical issues is that linguistic communication is not always precise. Implication, for example, is always at work. In other words, there are possible ways of reading of texts (Fairclough, 2013). This principle of course is incommensurable with the paradigm of scientific positivism which relies on precise measurements in examining facts. This assumption is included as another 'recipe', because CDA is built upon the acceptance of ambiguity, probability of interpretation and diversity of opinions that have triggered the social inquiry paradigm in the era of linguistics turn since the middle of twentieth century (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

f. Discourse is a form of social action

CDA is aimed at making subtle values, beliefs, and norms explicit (Fairclough, 2013; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and for the analyst to hold an overt sociopolitical stance. CDA forces the analyst to reveal opaqueness and unequal power relationships for emancipation, transformation and change. CDA is virtually a socialist attempt of transforming in equitable distributions of economic, political and cultural resources in the contemporary social world system, which is hopefully beneficial for all levels of societies. Its approach to social analysis is expected to be able to produce knowledge for understanding not only how society *is* but how it *can* and *should be* (Hammersley, 1997). Since it is motivated by social problems, CDA does not aim to directly contribute to a *specific* discipline or theory, but rather to bring about changes through critical understanding assisted by layers of analysis, textual, discursive and social (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Accordingly, its success is measured by how effective is its contribution to social transformations. To deploy these principles with more practical ways for the analysis of the discourse of global economy in a body of the

texts, they should be accompanied by analytical tools (Fairclough, 2003) to which we now turn.

5. General Analytical Tools of CDA

The approach applied in this book is 'labor intensive', relying on a limited amount of textual material rather than a large corpus (millions of words). After all, corpus analysis is less appropriate for CDA (Fairclough, 2003). Given the theoretical frameworks for the analysis of discourse as a moment of social practices, there are discursive features that should be taken into account when analyzing texts, particularly the discourses that may have an ideological dimension. The following are my suggestions of discursive elements that should be concentrated upon. Some discourse analysts (for example, see van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2009) contend that there are no standard ways of doing discourse analysis. Van Dijk (1998b) suggests that one who desires to unravel the ideological enactment in discourse need to analyze the text elements that include topic or 'macrostructure', syntax, lexical choice, argumentation and speech act. To refer to such linguistic elements, I use the spacious term analytical tool.

In correspondence with the perspective above, CDA offers two types of analysis that should be accounted for, micro and macro analysis. Micro analysis is concerned with linguistic properties: vocabulary, modality, and system of pronouns, among others, while macro analysis includes discourse topic, argumentation, and intertextuality.

According to Fairclough (1992), central to the textual analysis on vocabulary, syntax and modality is the intertextual analysis—the analysis of how one text is built upon other texts which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth. Fairclough (1992, p. 16) writes 'linguistic analysis is descriptive in nature, whereas intertextual analysis is more interpretive'. In addition, Fairclough (2013) regards intertextual analysis and interdiscursive analysis as a crucial mediating link between linguistic

analysis and social analysis, placing CDA in a stronger position to make a substantive contribution to social analysis of critical problems.

With the criteria of variability and applicability, the following illustrates the discourse features or the analytical tools, which CDA has adjusted and developed from Fairclough (2003, 2014), van Dijk (1993), van Eemeren (2010), van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2004), and other scholars. It should be borne in mind that these analytical tools are not a set of 'blue print'. CDA is made up of three dimensions of analysis. However, it needs to be pointed out that the focus of analysis of each layer differs but is not discrete. The following are the major analytical tools that contribute to the analysis of the discourse and critical issues.

a. Topic choice

Topic is part of context of the situation. According to the SFL approach to language, topic was known as 'field' in the earlier Hallidayan account of context. However, in this book we refer to both the situational context (Halliday & Hasan, 1989) and the context model (van Dijk, 2008). It is a fact that language use does not exist in isolation both socially and cognitively. It must need a setting, which considerably constraints discourse meaning as well as its relevance to the *weltanschauung* (comprehensive world view) of discourse participants (Habermas, 1984). The present study treats context as the first priority in analyzing a concrete text, because it provides central clues for interpreting and understanding the process of the text.

Like a sentence, a discourse also has a topic. But we focus more on discourse topic rather than on sentence topic in this book. Sentence topic is what a sentence is about and discourse topic is what the discourse is about (Brown & Yule, 1983). Topic choice is essential to be taken into account, because a discourse must have a topic to talk about (van Dijk, 2008). Uncovering how the discourse topic is structured and why it is done in a certain way is the task of an analyst. The present study treats topic choice as the first priority in analyzing a concrete text because it

provides central clues for interpreting and understanding process of discursive formation (Foucault, 1979).

Communicative events—writing and speech—do not exist in isolation. Therefore, to understand the ideological position or opinion of the speaker or writer in a text, we need to take into consideration both the communicative context and cognitive context. We need to describe the aims of communicative events, the intended audiences, the setting (time, location), the social relation etc. We also need to be capable of determining the background, subjective, personal knowledge, beliefs and norms of the text. We need to analyze the conditions of productions as well as the conditions of interpretation. By analyzing the contexts of the discourse, the ideological functions and social relations can be unmasked. For instance, a newspaper opinion article may ideologically function as a manifesto of system of political economy or an institution, thus involving the power relations between the text producer and its interpreters.

For an illustrative purpose, let us now consider the text below which originally appeared as a press release by KLM, to which reference is made whenever it is relevant to the theme of the social problem under discussion.

PRESS RELEASE

KLM sincerely apologizes for having been forced to have 440 squirrels destroyed, last Monday in the KLM Cargo animals' hotel. KLM has acted in a way that is formally justified, but admits that an ethical assessment mistake was made. KLM fully endorses the criticisms that have been voiced by the public and the various organisations.

The airline company has decided to start a thorough investigation into what exactly happened at the reception of the package in Beijing. The events in the KLM Cargo animals' hotel will also be investigated.

Pending this investigation and in view of the emotions that these events have aroused, the Board of KLM has deemed it desirable that the employee concerned will stay home for the period of this investigation.

On Sunday April 11, 1999, KLM has received orders from the Department of Agriculture, Environmental Management and Fishing (AEMF) to destroy the animals. KLM is of the opinion that this order, in this form and without feasible alternatives, was unethical.

The Board of KLM holds, however, that the KLM employee concerned has acted formally correct in this matter by promptly following the directives of the Department of AEMF, but also acknowledges that this employee has made an assessment mistake.

KLM once more regrets that the company regrets the course of events and offers its sincere apologies to all animal lovers and all those who have been hurt by the events.

KLM has informed the Animal Protection Society, the AAP Foundation, the Worldwide Fund for Nature, the Cites Netherlands Foundation, the Foundation for the Relief of Squirrels in The Meern, the European Association of Zoos and Aquaria, and the Dutch Association of Zoos of the above and has invited these organisations to come to a consultation on how to avoid deplorable situations of this kind at a short term.

(Source: *KLM Newsroom*, April 15, 1999)

The social context of the above press release is that on April 12, 1999 the airline company KLM was in the news because it had killed 440 North-American banded ground squirrels after it had been ordered to do so by the national agency for the inspection of cattle and meat. The required exportation and health documents were lacking, and the squirrels were not adequately packaged. The animals were put through a chopper alive. The squirrels came from Peking and were on their way to Athens. The sender in Peking did not want to take the squirrels back and no country outside Europe volunteered to receive the animals. The chopper in which the squirrels came to their end was a destroyer that is also used in the bio-industry to cut up chickens.

Taking the cognitive context into consideration, one can infer from the process of killing that cocks are substantially smaller than squirrels, and with chickens one can make sure that the head goes first. With the ground squirrels, whose size equals that of three hands, this was not feasible. In the press release above, KLM management provides an account for having destroyed the squirrels. The explicit goal of the press release was to make an apology that vindicates KLM Airline's reputation in the global society.

Topic generally refers to what the discourse is about (Brown & Yule, 1993). A topic may be formally described as semantic macrostructure, the global meaning of a discourse, and may be expressed by its title or headline or by summarizing sentences (van Dijk, 1998a). The macrostructure propositions can be uncovered by three ways: by eliminating the propositions which are not relevant for the interpretations of other propositions (deletion), by converting a series of specific propositions into a more general proposition (generalization) and by constructing a proposition from a number of propositions in the text (construction) and from activated world knowledge (van Dijk, 2014; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). For an illustrative purpose, let us refer to KLM text again. The main topic of the KLM text above is virtually the destruction of squirrels by KLM, even though the press release is diverted in rhetoric to an apology by KLM for having destroyed the animals. Hence, the

topic can be the properties of the text itself as well as of the contextual knowledge, the ideology, or values that the discourse participants hold to believe. The analysis of topic choice is more productive when we take into account the argumentative strategies. Consequently, the analysis will also refer to the following linguistic tools.

b. Argumentation

The argumentation theory applied in this book is the pragma-dialectical approach. The pragma-dialectical approach sees an argument as social, verbal activity, which can be performed orally as well as in writing (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Many genres have argumentative structures, for instance an opinion article in the press, a policy speech on global economy, scholarly articles, or even an everyday fight of a couple. Typical of such genres is that discourse participants (or speakers and addressees) have different opinions, different standpoints or points of view. In the argumentative discourse of such a situation one or more of the participants then tries to make his or her standpoint more acceptable, credible or truthful by formulating 'arguments' that are purported to sustain the chosen point of view. That is, such an argumentative discourse may be conventionally divided into two main categories: Arguments concluded by a standpoint or a standpoint followed arguments, depending on what comes first. Either model can be put forward explicitly or implied (van Dijk, 2003).

Argumentation on a social issue such as global economy must have a standpoint. Whether it comes first or later, the standpoint is identifiable in either at the argumentation stage or concluding stage. The role of authors in the argument is to defend the standpoint that they have adopted. Since an argumentative discourse is exchanged around an adopted standpoint, unrevealing the way the argument is manifested is important in analyzing the ideological construction within the discourse of global economy. The analysis of argumentation on global economy contributes to better understanding the linguistic and social processes of constituting the practices of global economy.

Generally, argumentative discourse must have a rational structure (van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017).

From a CDA perspective, however, the foremost task of an analysis of the argumentative discourse is not to examine the argument structure itself but to determine the difference of opinion or standpoint that the arguing author has adopted on a debated issue. This is because it is the content of arguments that has an ideological position.

In an argumentative discourse, an author can adopt a positive, negative or neutral position. For example, when an author asserts that 'I think globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon', in that the author has adopted a positive standpoint with respect to the proposition that globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon. An author can alternatively say that 'I do not think globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon, in that the author has adopted a negative standpoint. An author can also even state that 'I do not know whether globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon', in that the author has not committed herself to this proposition in a way because she is not sure about it. In that case, the author is taking a neutral standpoint.

Whether or not argument structures vary with ideology is still a quest. The content of an argumentation however may depend on our ideologies; the *argumentation structure* itself is probably independent of our ideological position. And 'good' and 'bad' argumentation is rather something that varies with individual speakers than with group membership (van Dijk, 1998a). Of course, like any genre, various argumentative discourses may be learned, and be associated with a profession and hence with professional ideologies: An experienced politician, scholar, journalist, economist or teacher probably is more experienced in 'good' argumentation than those who do not have such professional training and experience. But this is as close as one may get to relate discourse structures with groups, namely through education, training and experience. But this still does not link discourse structures, such as those of argumentation, with ideology (van Dijk, 1995).

As is the case for many genres, argumentation is controlled by a number of normative rules, interaction principles and efficient strategies of actual performance. Some of the normative rules are: 1). The proponent who puts forward a standpoint is to defend it; 2). The proponent may defend his or her standpoint only by advancing the argumentation related to that standpoint; and 3). The reasoning in the argumentation must be logically valid or must be capable of being made valid (Govier, 2014; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). In reality, of course, one may break the rules of argumentation, for instance by using fallacies, false moves in the arguments, but still respect interaction principles (for instance of respect or cooperation) or still be a very efficient arguer. Fallacies, very generally defined, are breaches of argumentation rules and principles.

Argumentation rules can also be broken if, for instance, we use an irrelevant argument, play on people's emotions as what can be seen in the KLM text above, ask the opponent to show I am wrong, argue that something must be true because everybody thinks so, or because some authority says so. Similarly, we engage in fallacies when we overgeneralize, use false analogies, are begging the question, or assume that from bad one necessarily goes to worse.

The question now is whether these and other fallacies may be ideologically variable. The answer is that there is no direct link between fallacies or ways of arguing and ideology (van Dijk, 1995). Where these links exist, they are only semantic: The contents of arguments are of course related to ideological attitudes and social identity. The use of the argumentation assists the analyst to examine the discourse of global economy where CDA is put to work with argumentation studies without the former being reducible to the latter (Fairclough, 2013; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). To bring these disciplines into a more solid dialectical relation, we can refer to the strategic maneuvering conceptualized by the argumentation theory.

c. Strategic maneuvering

Central to the analysis of argumentative discourse is the role of rhetorical dimensions that are conceived as strategies for influencing result of argument. The aim of the parties (proponent and opponent) to be involved in argumentative discourse is to find out ways of resolving a difference of opinions. This implies that the parties are obliged to abide by the rules instrumental in achieving the argumentation goal by maintaining a certain standard of reasonableness (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). However, obeying this commitment does not mean that the parties cannot resolve the difference of opinion in their own favor. To put it differently, the participants involved in a critical discussion can use rhetorical means in argumentative discourse as long as they maintain the rules of the discussion and they must be responsible for what they say or imply.

An argumentative discourse on global economy may rhetorically be realized through strategic maneuverings. That is, the authors of the discourse of global economy can use discursive strategies to manipulate the difference of an opinion in their argumentative discourse to be accepted by an audience—hearers or readers. The strategic maneuverings can be manifested in three ways: topical selection, adaptation to audience demand and presentational choices (van Eemeren, 2010; van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 1999). The analysis of argumentation can help uncover the standpoint, social beliefs, and values enacted in discourse.

In argumentation, the parties involved in a critical discussion can fuse a resolution-minded objective with a rhetorical objective as an attempt to have one's views accepted. This technique of argumentation is often referred to as strategic maneuvering (van Eemeren, 2010). Since the parties involved in a critical discussion make use of this technique of argumentation, an analyst also has to take this strategy into consideration.

The strategic maneuvering manifests in three ways. The first strategy is called the *topical selection*, in which the arguers make a convenient choice from the options. The arguers may choose the materials they find easiest to handle. They introduce the particular topics that are important and relevant to the discussion, which can work to provide the disagreement space of the argument to the benefit of the proponent. The second strategy is *adaptation to audience demand*, in which the arguers will choose the perspectives they think most agreeable to the audience. They try to create empathy with the audience through appeal to audience's beliefs, common senses or preferences. The third strategy is *presentational choices*, in which the arguers choose the rhetorical repertoire, which can frame their contribution in the most effective ways (van Eemeren, 2010). They can choose the presentational devices, such as loaded definitions, figures of speech such as metaphors and rhetorical argumentative structure, for instance, comparison, generalization. CDA practitioners can draw upon these argumentation techniques to support their analysis, because ideology can be embedded in texts by various ways (for example, naturalization, common sense) and at different levels (for example, lexical, argumentation).

CDA practitioners need to combine the strategic maneuvering into their analysis, because rhetorical figures of speech are conceived as presentational device that can be employed strategically to make argumentation persuasive to the mind of audience. Although rhetorical figures are non-obligatory structures in both argument and in text in general, their inclusion must be regarded pragmatically and methodologically. Given that these three strategies can be employed by the arguers to influence the result of argumentative discourse in their own favor, a discourse analyst too need to take them into consideration.

If we want to refer to the KLM text above, we can uncover the strategic maneuvering that the implicit standpoint of the argument is that KLM should not be blamed for having destroyed the animals. The company strategically maneuvers through topical potential and audience demand. That is, KLM destroyed the animals because they have been

ordered to do so; to play with the audience feelings, KLM refers to many organizations that are concerned about animal rights. This strategy of argumentation can be accounted for as a technique of sustaining KLM refutation from the public. In other words, it is the agency's reputation of the Royal Dutch flight company that is being attempted to implicitly embody and defend in the press release. The way of defending the KLM internalizes the corporate ideology that KLM is required to apologize to a number of global organizations concerning about animal rights. Virtually, the hidden objective of this discursive practice is to escape from guilt.

d. Speech functions

Speech function in this book is used in a nearly similar way to speech act (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1979), who referred to speech acts as doing things with words. According to Searle (1979, p. 18), uttering utterances does not only mean saying something meaningful, but also mean accomplishing a number of social actions, especially when performed by people who have power, expertise or knowledge to make a speech function. Speech function is not a modification of speech act.

I use the term speech function (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Fairclough, 2003) as a more appropriate term for the slight modification of Searle's speech acts. The analysis of the speech function seems to be more practical, because it can reveal the writer's social belief, value systems, evaluations, and goals which can be explicitly or implicitly constructed in discourse.

The adjustment does not attempt to override the contribution of the speech act theory to the analysis of discourse. Speech function is more linguistic-driven while speech act is more philosophically oriented. Speech act is more appropriate for pragmatics and conversational analysis while speech function is more practical for CDA, because CDA takes into consideration evaluation aspects, such as the uses of

evaluative adjectives (see examples in the paragraph below) in analyzing texts (Fairclough, 2003).

When describing clauses as exchanges, Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) classifies 'primary speech functions' into four: offer, command, statement and question. In relation to this, Fairclough (2003, p. 109) points out that these speech functions could be elaborated and differentiated for doing CDA. Statements, for example, can be elaborated in terms of Statements of fact or 'realis' statements (statements about what is, was, or has been the case, for example, global economy is facing the financial crisis); 'Irrealis' statements (prediction and hypothetical statements (global economy reduces poverty) and evaluations (free trade is a good economic practice).

When speech functions such as statements are made, they have to be described in terms of social conditions of the participants, namely, their beliefs, institutions and goals that have social implication (van Dijk, 1998b). Speech functions, such as commands and statements presuppose the existence of power relations. For example, when an author in the media or forum advises the leaders of the financial institutions, it implies that the author has power that can control the beliefs and attitudes of the bankers, managers and possibly the common people too. This suggests that the social relations are not only based on power but they are also ideologically grounded.

In this book, I refer primarily to the speech functions made by authorities, such as a leader of state and a leading economist. That is, I examine the linguistic performances in which subjects are empowered to make serious truth claims, because of their knowledge, power, institution location and mode of discourse. For example, statements about the prospects of global economy can be performed only by suitably qualified economists and political elites who present plausible theories and evidence to justify their arguments.

If we want to refer again to the KLM text as a case, traditionally we can observe that the press release performs the speech act of

commissive (Searle, 1979). But politically, the KLM virtually performs a speech function, which strategically states that the KLM is not to be blamed for having destroyed the squirrels.

Performing a speech function is frequently contingent on power, knowledge and authority. For instance, a politician or head of state is well-known and cunning in making populist statements. He will order his ministers, spoke-persons, and think-tanks to make statements for him when dealing with less crucial matters that could reduce his reputation. But when it is for the sake of his personal and group vested interest, he will make them himself. President of Indonesia, for instance, when announcing the hike of fuel price, had his Minister of Finance do it. On the other hand, when reducing its price, he did it himself.

Making a speech function is concerned not only with a *locutionary act* (Searle, 1979), that is, producing an utterance in some language but also with the accomplishment of language functions, for example, to represent or evaluate a social issue. Since the discursive construction of global economy is part of social life, speech function constitutes one of the most fruitful and prolific analytical tools to be examined. The analysis of speech function will help the analyst reveal the opaque relationship between language use and power in discourse.

e. Vocabulary

What we mean by vocabulary is the power of lexicalization, that is, the use of words to express norms, beliefs and values (van Dijk, 1998b). The relationship between words and their meanings is not always one-to-one but one-to-many, that is, a single word may have multiple meanings (Fairclough, 2014). A word also has a meaning potential and its relationship with other words can come in the form of synonym, antonym and collocation (Fairclough, 2003; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Lexicalization is believed to be the most direct way of producing an ideological effect.

Text producers are free to choose words related to social interests, expressing norms, values, beliefs or knowledge. They may use metaphors, for example, labor is a “resource”. The metaphor equates human work with natural resource, which may lead one to perceive it as the cheaper the better (Lakoff & Johnston, 1980). In the personal advertisements we often find language of sexism. Women often describe themselves as ‘petite’, or ‘full-figured.’ A man may describe himself as ‘attractive’, ‘fun’ and ‘fit.’ In economic discourse, the vocabulary ‘labor skills’ is often used to mean human capital and ‘governance’ to signify diminished government. In brief, vocabulary is conceived as the major dimension of discourse meaning through which ideology is produced, controlled and reproduced. Vocabulary is included as one of the analytical tools in this book, because “The word is the fundamental object of the study of ideologies” (Vološinov, 1973, p. 15). Since vocabulary is the most direct way of inculcating ideology (van Dijk, 1998a), the current work pays extra attention to this linguistic feature in the analysis of the discourse of global economy. Language and political economy constitute each other. The analysis of vocabulary assists the analyst to uncover the perspective of one’s political economy since the latter is inculcated in the former and vice versa. For the sake of analysis of the selected texts, the excerpts for lexical items are identified manually. The items are tallied manually and then their occurrences are calculated by a system of percentage in accordance with the number of total words in the database of the strategic texts on global economy.

f. Grammatical Resources

Grammatical aspects can provide a number of resources for doing textual analysis on the discursive representation of critical social issues. They can include transitivity with process type, nominalization, pronominalization, and modalization.

(1) Transitivity

Transitivity construes the world of experience into a manageable set through a grammatical system known as process types (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Thompson, 2013). To simplify the concept, let us refer to the first paragraph of the KLM text and analyze it by means of the SFL system of transitivity:

KLM sincerely apologizes for having been forced to have 440 squirrels destroyed, last Monday in the KLM Cargo animals' hotel. KLM has acted in a way that is formally justified, but admits that an ethical assessment mistake was made. KLM fully endorses the criticisms that have been voiced by the public and the various organizations.

From the SFL perspective, the excerpt above can be described through a lexico-grammar analysis known as process type (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Broadly, the analysis would broadly be:

- a. KLM (Senser) sincerely apologizes for (Mental process) having been forced (Material process, passive) to have 440 squirrels (Phenomenon) destroyed, last Monday (Temporal) in the KLM Cargo animals' hotel (Location)–[Circumstances].
- b. KLM (Behaver) has acted (Behavioural process) in a way (Manner) that is formally justified (Mental process: passive), but admits (Mental process) that an ethical assessment mistake (Phenomenon) was made (Material process: passive).
- c. KLM (Senser) fully endorses (Mental process) the criticisms (Phenomenon) that have been voiced by (Material process: passive) the public and the various organisations (Actor).

The subjects of the sentences in the paragraph above are all KLM, in which the subjects are personalized, referring to the aviation institution. In addition, the overt subjects are in the form of nominal groups functioning as Senser, or Carrier, but not actor. This implies that the KLM is not the real social agent of killing the squirrels. Similarly, the passive constructions in the nonfinite clause 'for having been forced

to have 440 squirrels destroyed', in the relative clause 'a way that is formally justified' and in the embedded clause 'but admits that an ethical assessment mistake was made' all indicate that the responsibility for killing the animals should not be laid only against KLM. This analysis shows us that the triviality of aspects of the syntactic features (van Dijk, 1995; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Fairclough, 2003) can always be to the effects of social representation and identity protection.

(2). Nominalization

Nominalization is a type of grammatical metaphor (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Fairclough, 2003). It is a linguistic aspect where a verb becomes a noun; a verb is nominalized for a certain political reason. For example, the sentence 'the employees produce steel' can metaphorically be nominalized to 'the production of steel', a linguistic process that leads to the exclusion of the employees. The aim of concealing agency is politically motivated.

(3). Pronouns

Another grammatical aspect that constitutes the useful resource for CDA is the pronoun system, i.e., "pronominalization". Although pronominalization is a crucial resource in discourse studies, it is complex to explain in relation to ideological construction. The focus in this thesis is only on the uses the pronoun 'I' and 'we'. According to Íñigo-Mora (2004, p. 34), "two of the main uses of the personal pronoun 'we' are the exclusive 'we' and the inclusive 'we'. Whereas the first one excludes the hearer (so 'we' = 'I' + my group), the second includes it (so 'we' = 'I' + 'you'). Exclusive 'we' represents a way of distancing, both from the hearer and from what the speaker is saying, and it is normally associated with power."

The way people use pronouns allows polarization to exist and place the ideational and interpersonal relation on the spot (Fairclough, 2014). For example, the pronoun 'we' and 'they' can polarize people, such

as 'we-group' and 'they group' (van Dijk, 1995). This is, because the comments and evaluations in concrete texts generally involve beliefs, norms and values of a social group. For each group, tasks and goals are subjected to a group-specific selection of ideological criteria for judgment representing self- image of each group, featuring membership devices, aims and norms. Thus, the polarization, membership category, We-group and They-group emerge (van Dijk, 2003). Ideologies are at the basis of attitudes of individuals or groups of people, such as capitalist, globalist, and neo-liberalist.

Pronouns in English can serve relational values. A relational value refers to the extent to which one feels valued by others. Politically speaking, the pronoun *we*, for instance, can be used inclusive or exclusive signification. The use of the inclusive *we* in newspaper opinion articles or in a political speech may include the author, the newspaper, but not all readers or listeners. In Obama's political campaign catch phrase 'Change, we can believe in', here the first-person plural *we* refers to Obama's think-tanks and Democrat proponents, but exclude the non-Democrat Americans.

The articulation of such a phrase occurs, because political discourses are forms of social practices. They do not only present the views and actions of individuals or certain social groups, but they are also subject to the social constraints, and institutional relations within which the author operates (Fairclough, 2014). The comments and evaluations in political speeches or opinion articles involve beliefs, opinions, norms, and values of a social group. For each group, tasks and goals are subjected to a group-specific selection of ideological criteria for judgment representing self-image of each group, featuring membership devices, aims and norms (van Dijk, 1995). Thus, the polarization or membership category, i.e. the We-group and They-group emerge. Ideologies are at the basis of making common sense and beliefs of groups, such as feminists, capitalists and liberalists. The following is an excerpt (quoted in van Dijk, 2003, p. 102), for an illustration, of a speech by Prime Minister Tony Blair before a parliamentary debate in the British House of Common, namely the

debate held on Friday September 14, 2001 on “International Terrorism and Attacks in the USA”, particularly the response to the occasions on the 9/11 attacks of the World Trade Center and the Pentagons:

We know a good deal about many of these terror groups. But as a world we have not been effective at dealing with them. Of course, it is difficult. We are democratic. They are not. We respect for human life. They do not. We hold essentially liberal values. They do not. The people perpetrating it wear the ultimate badge of fanatic: they are prepared to commit suicide in pursuit of their beliefs. Our beliefs are the very opposite of theirs. We believe in reason, democracy and tolerance.

The discourse producer, in this case Tony Blair, polarizes people into two groups, Us versus Them. Our group is usually represented in a positive way ‘We are democratic’, their group in negative ‘They are not’ and ‘We respect for human rights’, ‘They do not’. ‘We believe in reason, democracy and tolerance’. ‘They do not’. What happens in the quote is positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation through rhetoric (van Dijk, 2003, p. 102). In brief, uses of pronouns can sometimes engender polarization of relation in the social reality among people. We shall refer to this aspect of analysis when we deal with social and national identities.

(4). Modality

In general, there are two types of modality to be considered: deontic modality and epistemic modality. The former is concerned with the authority of one participant in relation to others. The latter refers to a matter of the speaker or writer’s authority with respect to the truth or probability of representation of reality (Fairclough, 2003).

One way of expressing modality is through auxiliaries (for example, can, must, will); these modal auxiliaries are linguistic features that are important for expressing knowledge and relation in grammar. Modal

auxiliaries are ambiguous about whether they are claims to knowledge or power. For example, the modal *can* in 'She can talk' means either that 'she is able to talk' (claim to knowledge) or 'she is allowed to talk' (claim of authority in giving opinion). There is also the potential for ambiguity about the temporality that depends on context. 'She can talk' refers to either to future event if it is giving permission meaning or present states if it claims knowledge (Dant, 1991, p. 26). In addition to being expressed by modal auxiliaries, modality is also expressed by modal adverbs (possibly, certainly, probably), which are used by language users to represent possibility, certainty or probability (Fairclough, 2014, p. 105):

'Your library books are *probably* overdue.'

'Your library books are *certainly* overdue.'

'Your library books are *possibly* be overdue.'

When they deal with the necessary knowledge of others, text producers often place modal auxiliaries in juxtaposition with epistemic modals as demonstrated in Tony Blair's opening speech in the parliamentary rally debate on terrorism (quoted in van Dijk, 2003, p. 102):

The fanatics *should* know that we hold our beliefs every bits as strongly as they hold theirs, and now is the time to show it.

They *should* know they would be regarded by the other nations of the world as legitimate targets *should* they indeed harbour terrorists.

People *must* know that, whatever acts they commit, they *will* be caught and brought to the bar of international justice.

The normative framework ("you should know", or "they must know" often shows that the use of "know" typically mark the speech functions of promises and threat, that is, knowledge about good or bad future acts or states of affairs. The knowledge is normatively attributed to the

others, as an epistemic consequence of what is now being stated as a menace or promise.

Modality thus can be said as the interconnection in discourse between making meaning of reality and enactment of social relations or to use the terms from systemic linguistics, between the ideational and interpersonal functions of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Fairclough, 2003). In other words, modality is significant in both ideological manifestation and texturing of identities, either personal or social, what one commits to is an important part what one is (Fairclough, 2003). In the example 'Men *are* superior to women', the discourse producer does not only construe sexism, but also commits himself to truth, using the modality 'are' rather than 'can be' or 'may be'. Modality analysis can be used for uncovering the discursive construction of social identity (Fairclough, 2003).

g. Intertextuality

Intertextuality refers to how a text is always related to some preceding or simultaneous discourse; interdiscursivity is concerned with how texts are always linked and grouped in particular text varieties or genre (for example, an email and a letter) by formal criteria, such as the salutation (Fairclough, 1992). Analyzing the heterogeneity in text critically assists the analyst to unearth the connection and hybridity of the relationship between genre, discourse, and style (Fairclough, 2003).

Text producers, such as a writer of an opinion article or a politician may make use of this order of discourse to construct and support his argument. This is why the analysis of discourse from the linguistic perspective has also been interested in the ways in which texts and prior texts are connected. The analyst refers to this connection as intertextuality. Similar to the notion of context, the term intertextuality has multiple meanings. The most acceptable meaning proposed by linguists (for example, Fairclough, 1992) is that intertextuality is a set of relationships of quotations between texts or a relationship between

different genres or forms of discourse or form of discourse and representation.

According to Fairclough (1992), there are two types of intertextuality: manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality. The former refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts “where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text” (p. 85). This kind of intertextuality is marked by explicit signs such as quotation marks, indicating the presence of other texts. Constitutive intertextuality, on the other hand, refers to “the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse (interdiscursivity)” (p. 85). This kind of intertextuality refers to the structure of discourse conventions that go into the new texts’ production.

In an analysis of literary work (e.g., Kristeva, 1986) intertextual analysis is also divided in two types: horizontal and vertical. Intertextual analysis is called horizontal when the analysis is focusing on how texts build on texts with which they are related sequentially, that is, they follow and precede (Fairclough, 1992). For example, new personal-experience stories in a conversational story may pick up plots from the previous ones. In the other cases, such as newspaper opinion article, the author may pick up words and phrases used by politicians or other writers and reuse them to support the argument in the text. Intertextual analysis is called vertical when the analyst wants to find out how texts build on texts that are paradigmatically related to them in various ways, that is, of the similar categories. For example, an email message may borrow from and transform the conventions of letter writing, or a university professor may borrow conventions of presidential campaign, mixing them with facts and probably jokes. The same holds true with case of KLM text. Looking on the surface and its title, we could say that the text is a press release, but when we closely scrutinize it, we learn that the text is not substantially produced in the form a press release, but rather like a letter of apologia (‘KLM sincerely apologizes for having been forced to have 440 squirrels destroyed’) whereby the institution is attempting to defend its social identity.

In analyzing discourse critically, there are several resources of intertextuality to be taken into consideration. Given the fact that a quotation is an example of intertextuality, the analyst can pay attention to how multiple voices—multiple ways of talking, multiple points of view, and multiple things to say—are transformed and reused each time something new is written. Intertextual analysis of quotations is not complete unless it makes an explicit account of such quotations. Fairclough (2003) points out that intertextual analysis shows how texts selectively draw upon *order of discourse*—the particular configurations of conventionalized practices (genre, discourse, style etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular circumstances. This is due to the fact that orders of discourse are like records of history in which the historian may reuse the records when producing something new.

From these types of intertextual analysis, the most important idea that critical discourse analysts need to rely on is the notion of appropriation. That is, whether someone is a language learner or an author of the newspaper opinion article, he must start by borrowing. He can borrow words or phrases or discourse strategies. A critical discourse analyst hence needs to take into account the ways the discourse producers make use of these borrowings in the social context. This is because, as Fairclough (2013) argues, intertextual analysis crucially mediates the connection between language and social context. Intertextual analysis can add to the analysis of context by allowing the analyst to consider how it is worked up in other texts.

CDA thus does not simply focus on individual texts, because social reality does not depend on individual texts, but rather on a collection of texts. This is because CDA involves exploration of the ways the texts are meaningful, the way they are linked to other texts, how they are disseminated, by what means and to whom they are directed (Fairclough, 1992).

Texts can embody hybridity for example in the case of the present study between the recontextualization of the economy and the politic.

This recontextualization is not a simple matter of the spread of strategies and discourses to new contexts. Recontextualization is a dialectical process of external “colonization” by and internal “appropriation” of recontextualized elements, which are appropriated within an internal field (or rather complex set of fields) of strategic diversity, contestation and struggle (Bourdieu, 1991; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

From the intertextuality analysis, one can move on to the interdiscursive analysis of “how genres, discourses and styles are articulated together in a text of a specific event, and in more stable and durable orders of discourses as part of networks of practices, which... are objects of various forms of social analysis” (Fairclough, 2009, p. 170). While the intertextual analysis assists an analyst in critical reading of texts, the interdiscursive analysis can provide the analyst with resources for the critical reading of the social world that generate beliefs, ideology and values but which are embedded in texts. Reference is made to intertextuality analysis, because CDA is devoted to the principle “that the meaning of a text cannot be exclusively derived from the text itself. It is, therefore, dedicated to explicating the interdiscursive and intertextual layers of social and historical practices within which texts are embedded” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 104). The interdiscursive analysis enables the analyst to “compare how genres, discourses and styles are articulated together in a text as part of a specific event, and in more stable and durable orders of discourses as part of networks of practices, which (qua *social* practices) are objects of various forms of social analysis” (Fairclough, 2009, p. 170). The analysis of intertextuality and interdiscursivity attempts to compare the dominant and resistant strand of discourse (Fairclough, 2013) as well as different ways of meaning making. This is where again CDA practitioners need to refer to an approach in the analysis of a social problem.

A discursive genre can sometimes detach itself from its ‘natural’ format, a process so called disembedding (Giddens, 1990; Fairclough, 2003). Disembedding is characterized by a socio-historical process of part of certain social life but that transforms into another context and

field (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). This social process symbolizes the genres and discourses of new capitalism or globalization as Fairclough (2006) calls it. The analysis in this book will bring in the intertextuality when examining the order of discourse of social issues. The focus of examination on heterogeneity in genres and discourses allows the textual and social analysis of the issue in question.

To reiterate the main points, CDA in its approach does not prescribe specific linguistic resources for analysis. Thus, what has been discussed here is not a 'fixed' method of analysis. What needs to be seriously taken into account is that when a choice is made on what to use and how to use it, the decision is strategically reasonable. To uncover how this choice is decided on, proving through the analysis of text is fundamental. At a lower level one can refer to vocabulary, modality, and syntactic devices, among others. At a higher level, one can refer to argumentation, speech function, intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and proposition analysis. The analytical tools described above are incorporated into the macro-sociological content analysis. This incorporation is ideally suited for the analysis of critical social issues, such as globalization and its ideological construct.

This book refers to the qualitative technique of analysis because it is more applicable in the field of discourse analysis. Tally marks, excerpts, examples, or propositional contents will be used as evidence to support the grounds for justifying the claims.

6. Summary

Discourse is a ubiquitous term, which can refer to language in use, a particular representation of social world, or the textual material itself. Discourse analysis is a very broad field of inquiry. Its object of study can be either text or talk. There is no use making a distinction between text and discourse, because discourse analysis deals not only with linguistic aspects but also with the social aspect of language use. Discourse analysis has attracted a number of disciplines in both social sciences

and humanities. It has strong connection with several disciplines, mainly linguistics, political economy, and sociology. Discourse analysis not only can be done with both priori and posteriori approaches, but also can be studied descriptively and critically.

Media discourse has been studied in linguistics as well as other areas, such as discourse analysis and cultural analysis, involving a wide range of frameworks and approaches, including CDA either the analysis of discourse as social practice or the sociocognitive analysis of discourse. Some studies in media discourse have concentrated on large discourse patterns, such as the structure of the news story, while other studies, particularly critical linguistics, have focused on even broader concern such as ideology and various sociocognitive dimensions of news and editorial production and interpretation.

The principles in CDA include the tenets that discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory and that discourse analysis is a form of social action. CDA is basically aimed at enabling a discourse analyst to have access to the ontological and epistemological assumptions of social issues embedded in texts. By revealing the hidden motivations behind a social reality, in the form of texts, and making them explicit, the analyst is capable of viewing the problems from a higher stance and awareness. The accomplished objectives together with the political stance of the study are expected to be able to uncover a current social change. The analytical tools include argumentation, intertextuality, vocabulary, modality, pronouns, and other grammatical resources.

The principles, methods, and procedures explained above can direct the process of analysis including description, interpretation and explanation of the texts. Although the principles are miscellaneous, they are not supposed to be exhaustive. The quasi-qualitative methods used by a discourse analyst to generate and collect empirical material share an important set of family resemblances with media, historical and political forms of inquiries. Critical discourse analysts thus gather primary textual data from a range of possible sources, which include surveys of newspapers, magazine articles, political speeches, white papers,

unofficial documents, such as pamphlets, organizational minutes and agendas. Simply put, what has been discussed in this introductory chapter is not a 'blue print' of the framework for discourse analysis since there is no standard way of doing discourse analysis. Rather, what I have attempted to propose is the general concepts, principles, and a set of analytical tools generated from a body of literature in (critical) discourse analysis, which can support the exploration of what is at issue in the following chapters of the book.

CHAPTER 2

Discourse and Globalist Ideology

In this chapter, I investigate the relationship between language and ideology as it is embedded in the discourse of global economy. The focus of the chapter will be on the interface between language and ideology as it has been theorized in the literature of political economy. I will refer to the media sources and political economic speeches represented from the two largest world economies: the United States and China. As CDA is concerned, the chapter will employ a set of analytical tools as described in Chapter 1. The chapter, therefore, attempts to explore what ideology is constructed in the discourse of globalization, how ideology is embedded in the discourse of globalization and what keywords are used in the discursive construction of this ideology.

1. Introduction

Language, or more specifically discourse, is conceived as the most common form of social structure that is closely linked to ideology. Nevertheless, despite the seemingly close relationship between these two aspects, few studies have paid attention to language and ideology in texts on globalization, particularly the global economy. This chapter concentrates on the relationship between language and globalist ideology because “for better and worse, semiotic systems have become the engines of globalization and of new economies” (Luke, 2002, p. 107). As language has played a more prominent role in the era of globalization (Fairclough, 2006), a number of scholars certainly have addressed the discursive dimension of globalization. However, what is absent in most of these globalization literatures is that the scholars do not theorize and analyze globalization as a form of discourse. If they do, their discussion often lacks textual analysis (Fairclough, 2006).

Critical language studies have focused mostly on the orthodox interactional sociolinguistic analysis that links particular linguistic aspects to social communication (Blomaert, 2005). This approach to text-based analysis has paid more attention to the relationship between language and society rather than how language affects the order of society (Fairclough, 2013). The issues that relate globalization to discourse and the ideological dimension as well as the impact of this phenomenon on social world affairs have received scant attention. Bodies of literature have usually established the relationship between discourse and ideology in the abstract way. Ontologically, many procedures, values, and beliefs of institutions are embedded in the concrete texts and wider contexts of social practices (Fairclough, 2014). Nevertheless, scholars have usually based their analysis of ideology upon discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) or traditional and abstract exploration of ideology (Thompson, 1984; Eagleton, 1991; McLellan, 1986). This chapter attempts to fill in this gap.

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze how the discourse of globalization is constructed in Opinion-Editorials (signed newspaper

articles) and political speeches and to identify what ideology is embedded in those texts. The theoretical framework for the study is built upon a transdisciplinary approach to globalization (Fairclough, 2003) that comprises the oscillating theories of ideology (van Dijk, 1998b), political economy (Jessop, 2004) and theories of discourse as a facet of globalization (Fairclough, 2006) as articulated in the field of CDA. The dialogue between these disciplines is established. While the study is aimed at examining the (re)construction of ideology in discourse, ideology is defined as “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 218). These representations are always at work in people’s ways of enacting and constructing social issues, such as the global economy. This chapter is concerned with the ideology embedded in the discourse of globalization, the way it is constructed and the keywords used to construct the ideology.

2. Discourse as Facet of Globalization

One aspect of the study of globalization is the view that language (discourse) is regarded as a facet of globalization, which instills ideology. Fairclough (2006, pp. 26 & 165) identifies five general claims about discourse as a facet of globalization:

- (1) Discourse can represent globalization, giving people information about it and contributing to their understanding of it.
- (2) Discourse can misrepresent and mystify globalization, giving a confusing and misleading impression of it.
- (3) Discourse can be used rhetorically to project a particular view of globalization which can justify or legitimize the actions, policies or strategies of particular (usually powerful) social agencies and agents.
- (4) Discourse can contribute to the constitution, dissemination and reproduction of ideologies, which can also be seen as forms of

mystification, but have a crucial systemic function in sustaining a particular form of globalization and the (unequal and unjust) power relations which are built into it.

- (5) Discourse can generate imaginary representations of how the world will be or should be within strategies for change which, if they achieve hegemony, can be operationalized to transform these imaginaries into realities.

Claim point (4) is very much relevant to the theme that has been raised in this chapter, because it assists the analysis of ideology discursively inculcated in texts. Other claims such as points (1) and (5) are also relevant, particularly because of their significance to the study of discursive representation in enactment of the discourse of globalization. Yet this chapter focuses mainly on the (re)production of ideology in discourse, especially from a Marxist tradition.

Historically, the study of ideology started when French aristocrat Destutt de Tracy who fought as a soldier during the French Revolution proposed a “science of ideas” in his prison cell and called it *idéologie* (Eagleton, 1991, p. 66). Since then sociologists and linguists alike have defined the term in the field of their interests. According to Gramsci (1971), ideology is “conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and the manifestations of individual and collective life” (p. 328). This conception is linguistically theorized by Pêcheux (1982), who asserts that “there is no practice except by and in an ideology” (p.102). Central to this conception is Vološinov’s (1973) *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* which constitutes a starting point in the study of discourse and ideology. It is “the only work that explicitly seeks to elaborate a Marxist philosophy of language” (Lecerclé, 2009, p. 105) and a ‘must read’ book if a person wants to call himself a practitioner of critical analysis of discourses (Blomaert, 2005). Vološinov’s (1973) central thesis is “without signs, there is no ideology” (p. 9). One type of sign is language. The sign possesses meanings, represents, portrays, or stands for something lying outside of itself. A word or an image is a sign, because it has meaning. Whenever a sign is present, ideology is present,

for example a hammer and a sickle on the flag of communist party or the word 'liberalize' in the sentence 'governments must liberalize the world trade'. Everything that is ideological possesses semiotic value. Every ideological sign is not only reflection of a reality but it also is a material segment of that reality (Vološinov, 1973). Similarly, Luis Althusser, a Marxist follower, in his celebrated essays *Ideology and ideological state apparatuses* (1971) also paved the way of 'modern' theory of discourse and ideology. He pointed out that material productions, institutions, apparatuses and so forth could be constituted into social entity through discourse.

This chapter, accordingly, regards discourse a particular way of representing the social world and globalization as a socially constructed reality in which discourse can contribute to its construction. For a dialectical and oscillating approach, the paper refers to political economy. This adopted position is derived from the standpoint that economic and political objects are socially constructed and historically specific (Jessop, 2004; Fairclough, 2006). These objects include capital, economic and cultural systems, the role of management and semiosis (discourse). From these constructed objects emerge social relations—the relations between objects and social agents, bringing people and their economy as well as culture into interaction. The interactions between social agents and objects involve discourse that enables to represent beliefs and values.

The chapter views ideology as a system of ideas, beliefs and values that enact dominance and positions. It further draws from CDA a standpoint that ideology is representations of power, dominance, and legitimation by social groups (van Dijk, 1998; Fairclough, 2003). For example, the new global economy is bound up with transformations of language and ideology in many different ways and social practices by different individuals and agencies (Giddens, 2000). These individuals and agencies include globalization proponents and the financial institutions. The discourse practices are articulated between national and supra-national interests as well as between hybridity and uniformity of practices (Jessop,

2004). Global economy is thus politically determined and embedded in discourse (Fairclough, 2006). It is an ideologically motivated practice of globalization involving discourse which is produced and naturalized by the proponent states, globalist individuals, agencies and organizations (Jessop, 2004). Therefore, if we want to figure out the global economy as a social issue, which is ideologically and politically motivated we can refer to the discursive aspects of that issue by examining concrete forms of texts within which the social 'wrongs' are exposed and represented.

CDA scholars agree that discourse and ideology are contingent (van Dijk, 1998b; Fairclough, 2014). Ideologies can be identified in texts. This is because ideology is invested in texts; we cannot "read off ideologies from texts" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 89). Ideology can be used by discourse producers to enact dominance and impose legitimation. One example is the ideology that competition, flexibility and interconnectedness should be imposed if a state wants to survive economically and politically in the era of globalization. One way of promoting and exposing this ideology is through the use of language—discourse, enacted by state leaders in speeches in summits or forums, or by means of articles in newspapers by government think-tanks, leading economists, and policy analysts. The notion that ideologies are cognitively and *socially* represented in texts stems from the assumption that social interaction takes place within social structures at the widest sense—language, economy and knowledge—and other social systems of classification that includes class (Fairclough, 2003). Ideologies control discourse and other social practices (Fairclough, 2014). For example, the idea that free trade in the global economy should not be restrained by government regulations can be naturalized through genres, such as a political speech or an argumentative newspaper Opinion-Editorials (Op-Eds). Ideological representations thus can be identified in texts, for example by the analysis of vocabulary and propositional contents, among others.

3. CDA as An Analytical Approach

The analytical approach employed in this chapter is CDA, which allows to better understand the ideology embedded in globalization texts. CDA allows us to oscillate between the paradigms of explanatory critique (Bhaskar, 1986; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) and the linguistic analysis of texts (Fairclough, 2003). The critical analysis of discourse used in this chapter is, in other words, transdisciplinary. It is linguistic (Fairclough, 2003; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), cultural political economy (Jessop, 2004), sociology of globalization (Giddens, 2000).

CDA is applicable to investigating the relationship between globalization and its ideology, because CDA explores how social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse), and social structures (language) arise from and are ideologically shared with relations of elements (Fairclough, 2006). This chapter is thus based on CDA insights that treat discourse as semiotic, inter-subjectivity of meaning, as an irreducible element of all material social processes. We can see social life as interconnected networks of practices of diverse sorts—economic, political, social and cultural domains (Jessop, 2004).

The discourse of globalization is regarded as a network of practices within social life. This paradigm of looking at globalization allows us to investigate the globalization texts both through a visible, textually-oriented analysis and through a social explanation. This is because CDA views language as a moment of social practice, which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices (Fairclough, 2014). For the textual analysis, I make use systemic functional linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), especially the lexical grammar. I particularly examine keywords (Fairclough, 2006; Williams, 1983) and their grammatical aspects in the globalization texts. The analysis focuses on the keywords because “The *keyword* is the fundamental object of the study of ideologies” (Vološinov, 1973, p. 15, italic mine) and vocabulary is the most direct way of constructing and naturalizing ideology (Fairclough, 2014; van Dijk, 1998b).

I shall analyze text excerpts through a dialogue, that is, an oscillating process that moves back and forth between disciplines, which is based upon interdisciplinary perspective in its connection to signification and the role of global economic discourse in society. The analytical method applied used is based on close reading of text excerpts; it relies on a limited number of excerpts rather than on a larger corpus (millions of words). The excerpts which construct ideas, embody beliefs and values pertinent to the discourse of globalization are in the form of clauses, sentences or paragraphs. I shall describe, interpret and explain the excerpts in terms of the propositional contents, the grammar and meaning of the keywords and their social and political implications. To uncover the social and ideological dimensions, I incorporate the linguistic analysis into the sociological analysis.

4. Texts for Analysis

The object of study refers mainly to two countries for the sources of texts: the USA and China. This consideration is drawn from the principle that globalization cannot be discussed effectively without making references to specific locations and places. The sources of texts come from two types of genres: newspaper Op-Ed articles and speeches on globalization, particularly global economy. The two modes of genre are chosen to avoid the privilege of one text type over the other.

The Op-Ed articles come from the *Washington Post* and *China Daily*. The *Washington Post* is chosen because its position on economic issues is of a definitively conservative stance; it advocates free trade agreements. The speeches for the U.S. representation were chosen from the remarks of Ben Bernanke and Frederic Mishkin and the speeches by President George W. Bush and Barack Obama were retrieved from the White House web page and the Federal Reserve web page.

The *China Daily* was selected because it is the most widely circulated newspaper among the majority of Western readers and the most frequently quoted China newspaper by international news media. The

China Daily is committed to helping the world know more about China and the country's integration with the international community. The newspaper is often called the "Window to China". This is because the *China Daily* "plays an important role in creating China's national images and articulating the Chinese government's politics and foreign policy concerns and priorities to the international community" (Li, 2009, p. 87). For the China's context, I also choose the political economic speeches that were delivered by Wen Jiabao and Zeng Peiyan. I choose the speeches of Prime Minister Wen Jiabao and Vice Premier Zeng Peiyan, because they used to represent China in most of the international economic agendas, for example at the World Economic Forum (WEF) Annual Meetings. Wen Jiabao and Zeng Peiyan delivered the speeches in Chinese, but this book refers to the English version of the speeches which were authoritatively prepared by the government of China. The texts on globalization, especially the global economy from China's perspectives were retrieved from the China Daily's web page and the China government's English website.

The texts were collected by browsing the sites, using the keywords 'globalization', 'global economy', and 'world economy', appearing in the title or in texts. Six Op-Ed articles and eight speeches were selected. The texts altogether consist of 30.969 words. The study refers only to texts that have been made available online between 2005 and 2011. I choose this period because it was the reemerging epoch of globalization debates. Although the pervasive debate of globalization was unleashed since 1980s, the discourse of global economy reached the peak after the late 1990s Asia's financial crisis and was once again in a serious debate at the beginning of the 21st century when the global financial crisis emerged in 2008.

For the analytical convention of excerpts, the contextual clues deemed relevant to the theme of discussion are underlined. Numbers in square bracket [para. 0] specify paragraph. Bracketed dots (. . .) indicate omissions. Single 'quote' indicates that the linguistic elements referred to are from the excerpts or texts.

5. The Corpus and Analysis

The discursive construction of globalization in the two text types is not ideology-free. The discourse of globalization constructs new capitalism and neoliberalism. The discursive construction of these ideologies can be generated from the uses of 'keywords' (Fairclough, 2006; Williams, 1983), their derivatives and grammar. The typical keywords that are enacted in the discourse include: 'competing' in the global economy; 'free market' capitalism; and global economic 'development', among others. The keywords are set out in the table below.

Table 2.1. The 15 keywords and the number of their occurrences in the globalization texts

Word	Occurrences	Percentage (%)
development	190	0.61
growth	120	0.38
international	87	0.28
reform	75	0.24
open	72	0.23
investment	67	0.21
capital	55	0.17
change/exchange	49	0.15
liberalization	32	0.10
labor	29	0.093
management	26	0.083
competition	25	0.080
technology	25	0.080
free + market / free + trade	23	0.074
communication/telecommunication	12	0.038

Table 2.1 above shows us the frequency of 15 keywords occurring in 30.969 word database of the globalization texts. References will be

made to these typical keywords at the point they are relevant to the topic of discussion.

The table shows that the item 'development' is the most common keyword; its synonym 'growth' ranks the second. The item 'development' is used in a broad economic context, meaning the application of human, financial and natural resources to satisfy human needs and well-being; thus, 'social development', 'economic development', 'financial development', 'market development', 'industrial development', 'institutional development' and 'technological development'. The item is used in terms of the Keynesian sense, that is, the economic transformation of a country that leads to the improvement of the well-being and economic capabilities of its citizens. Meanwhile, the lexical item 'communication/telecommunication' is the fewest. It theoretically refers to means of passing information through the media (Williams, 1983). Nevertheless, this item plays a significant role in the discursive construction of ideology. Other lexical items, such as 'competition' and 'free market' are less frequent than the item 'development', but those items are also politically conditioned in the discourse of global economy (Fairclough, 2006). The items 'competition', 'free market', 'technological transfer', and 'trade liberalization' are discursively used in the realism of ideological (re)construction. We now turn to this topic.

5.1 New Capitalism

New capitalism and its trajectories are textually embedded in the discourse of globalization in Op-Eds and political speeches. New capitalism is internalized through signification of global 'communication', advances in 'technology', 'global competition' and 'management'. New capitalism is the emergent form of capitalism that includes the information society and knowledge-based economy.

5.1.1 New Capitalism and Advances of Technology

New capitalism can be characterized by the practices of competition and advances in technology. Global capitalism in addition to controlling

its economic ideology is also dominant in the technology mastery. The system of capitalist global economy allows its practical actors to encourage the growth of global trade relations with help provided by advances in technology and transportation, for example, air freight and shipping. This change of operation has transformed capitalism into new capitalism. The technology-oriented capitalism is evidenced in its discursive construction.

(1) I just had a chance to see some of the high-tech steam turbines and all kinds of fancy stuff that's being made here, being manufactured here at this plant. (...), because GE has been producing turbines and generators here in Schenectady for more than a century [para. 4].

We've seen technologies transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another. (. . .) We've seen our economy transformed by rising competition from around the globe [para. 5].
(. . .)

All of you represent people who each and every day are pioneering the technologies and discoveries that not only improve our lives, but they drive our economy [para.6]. (. . .)

So we know we can compete. Not just in the industries of the past, but also in the industries of the future [para. 12]. (. . .)

For America to compete around the world, we need to export more goods around the world. That's where the customers are. It's that simple [para. 13]. (. . .)

Our job is to do everything we can to ensure that businesses can take root and folks can find good jobs and America is leading the global competition that will determine our success in the 21st century [para. 28]. (. . .)

So ultimately winning this global competition comes down to living up to the promise of places like this [para. 34]. (Barack Obama, January 21, 2011)

- (2) Globalization is leading to the integration of the world's markets, culture, technology, and governance, in a similar way to the spread of communications, trade, transport and technology in Genghis Khan's era. (*China Daily*, June 06, 2006, para. 5)
- (3) We encourage our enterprises to upgrade technologies and make technological renovation. We support them in making extensive use of new technologies, techniques, equipment and materials to restructure their product mix, develop marketable products and improve their competitiveness. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009, para. 5)
- (4) The good that globalization has done is hard to dispute. Trade-driven economic growth and technology transfer have alleviated much human misery. (*Washington Post*, July 16, 2008, para. 4)

The excerpts (1), (3) and (4) above demonstrate that technology and competition are economically related in the social and material processes of the global economy. Grammatically, the item 'technology' collocates with 'transform', 'pioneer', 'improve' and 'transfer' and the item 'competition' collocates with 'global', 'the world', and 'improve'. Linguistically, 'technology' is countable; therefore, it can be pluralized 'upgrade technologies' and 'extensive use of new technologies'. Politically, technology is transferable, that is, the transfer of technologies from countries where they are more advanced to countries where they are less advanced. Technological transfers are part of undeniable 'gains from globalization.' In social reality, however, like capital, technology does not move where it is more sophisticated to a location where it is financially not promising (Kiely, 2000).

The excerpts indicate that technologies not only socially 'transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another' but they also economically 'improve our lives' since they 'drive our economy' and 'alleviate much human misery'. The discourse also manifests technology centers, such as Silicon Valley that contributes to a new

economy and industrial strength. Giant companies such as the General Electric and Silicon Valley have traditionally been able to manufacture sophisticated goods ‘the high-tech steam turbines’ and ‘generators’ (1) due to pioneering technology. Advances of technology have enabled activities in globalization to achieve their goals such as ‘economic growth’. This reality is indisputable. In fact, globalization *per se* has driven the spread of technology since Genghis Khan’s era (2). As a result, technologies should always be ‘upgraded’, and made use of them for the sake developing economic growth. The globalists see technologies only from the positive contribution they make for the people who can afford them.

The breakthroughs of technology especially when they achieve their ‘intellectual property rights’ are not always good for the sake of generic human progress, not as said ‘technologies transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another.’ The ‘we’ in this context is the “monopolistic we”, not ‘we’ for the general public. For example, since advances in pharmaceutical technologies emerged, the secret of traditional Indian medicines producers who have relied on tree leaves for two centuries has been confiscated by the U.S. pharmaceutical companies through the WTO’s regularized law, leaving the indigenous Indian populations unable to profit from the knowledge they have developed over centuries (Wallach & Sforza, 1999). The pharmaceutical technology has a bad impact on the traditional medicine.

The worth that technology has contributed to human progress amid globalization is of course hard to dispute (4). But the fact that the advantage of technological advances is selective is disputable. It is argued that advances in communication technologies have expanded economic activities such as ‘trade’, but communication technologies are not always affordable to every part of the planet. Technologies benefit more industrial countries than the less developed countries (LDCs); e.g., see Kiely (2000) and Blomaert (2005) for the presentation of two African LDCs in getting access to communication technology and electricity. Communication technologies are selective as they do not

apply the same rate. For example, when you make a call from Sydney to Jakarta, the telecommunication cost is more expensive than when you make a call from Sydney to London, despite the fact that Jakarta is much closer to Sydney. The rate is different because globalization has divided the planet into the nations' historical reasons and political interests, and is not based on the geographical space. The cost of a call from Sydney to London is less expensive because Australia is part of the Commonwealth, while Indonesia is not. Telecommunication technology thus has economically and politically benefited more certain locations of the planet than others (Kiely, 2000).

The excerpts show that global capitalist can make use of producing plants, such as 'General Electric' and 'Silicon Valley' as well as communication facilities and other advances in technology to dominate system of productions and distributions as the workers are 'pioneering technologies'. As a result, giant corporations, for example the U.S.-based *Microsoft*, South Korea-based *Samsung*, and Japan-based *Nippon*, can manufacture products in unlimited quantities and sell them in a wide range and distance. Consumers around the planet can buy "the same goods at the same time" (Scholte, 1997, p. 434). Unfortunately, the profits gained from the products mostly return to the capitalist countries where the property rights owners are headquartered, not to the "Third World" countries where goods are manufactured (Chang, 2011). Even though the developing countries where the products are made and sold gain revenue, the source countries gain profits. Therefore, the distribution of wealth is still the same. This is where the global capitalist political economy is really functioning and divides the world economically and politically.

Using sophisticated technology, global capitalist actors can manufacture large amounts of goods with lower costs. If the manufacturers have to hire 'labor force', they will attempt to do it with a low cost even though they can afford it with higher costs. As a result, two associated companies, one in the USA and the other in China can obtain 'labor' with a considerably different wage. For instance, when an

American worker receives US\$ 10,000 per year in an American firm in the USA, a Chinese worker will make US\$ 1000 a year working at the same associated American firm in China (Chang, 2011). This is a reason that foreign companies invest in countries that have lower wages for labor force.

- (5) First, opening financial markets to foreign capital directly increases access to capital. (. . .) We know that labor is cheap in poor countries, and so we might think that capital would be especially productive there. Just think of how hugely profitable a factory might be in a country where wages are one-tenth of those in the United States (. . .). Such capital flows could lead to substantial benefits for poor countries in the form of larger capital stocks, higher productivity, and more rapidly growing incomes (Frederic Mishkin, April 26, 2007, para. 18)
- (6) With 30 years' of reform and opening-up, we have laid a good material, technological and institutional foundation. We have a large well-trained and relatively low-cost labor force. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009, para. 7).
- (7) For a country like China with 1.3 billion people, without a certain rate of economic growth, full employment and people's well-being can only be empty talk [para. 2]. (. . .)

China's huge market volume (. . .) and fair market environment are attracting more and more multinational enterprises to invest and establish business in China. China is now one of the world's largest foreign investment destinations. More than 470 of the top 500 global companies have established their presence in China [para. 14]. (Wen Jiabao, September 13, 2010)

- (8) We will adjust income distribution, ensure that personal income grows in step with economic growth and that labor remuneration grows in step with increase of productivity. (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011, para. 13).

Excerpt (5) 'we know that labor is cheap in poor countries' constitutes the global capitalist statement of fact. Labor is seen as a commodity like oil; the cheaper, the better. Likewise, as a country with a population of '1.3 billion people' (7), it can be assumed that China has a very accessible labor force (we should be cognizant of Jiabao's intention) and 'relatively low-cost' (6), but it can be inferred from 'labor remuneration grows in step with increase of productivity' (8) that labor wages will not be costly there. This is a reason why 'More than 470 of the top 500 global companies have established their presence in China' (7). The situation like this might be an indication of how low wages have triggered suicides among the workers laboring in the global companies in China. The global media such as the *CNN* and *Al Jazeera* covered this sad news in May of 2011. But this sort of issues is rarely raised in the global economic texts.

Global investors usually spend their capital including technologies of production in the regions where wages are low, especially 'in poor countries' but where market is large, so that they can exploit laboring as they need it. By means of technology and labor force they can produce large amount of goods in an efficient time and sell their products there as well. As a result, foreign investors obtain the high returns. This is why Naomi Klein, the opponent of globalist discourse, in her book *No Logo* (1999) belittles the logic of global capitalism that justifies the unethical manner of multinational corporations in exploiting 'Third World' workers for the sake of profit-making and a victory for the neoliberal globalization agenda has become "a self-fulfilling prophecy" (Kiely, 2000, p. 1064). Technology has alleviated the process of production and taken over labor work. As a result, even the cheap labor forces are victimized.

As it is true for the role of technology, communication also plays a crucial role in manifesting new capitalism (Fairclough, 2006). The excerpts below together with (2) above provide further illustrations that the genres and discourse of the globalization make references to 'communication' as a social material process that contributes to manifestation of globalization.

(9) But our estimates of future policy liberalization alone (excluding likely benefits from better communications and transportation) indicate that a move from today's commercial environment to global free trade and investment could produce an additional \$500 billion in US income annually, or roughly \$5,000 per household each year. (*Washington Post*, June 07, 2005, para. 6)

(10) In addition, international supply chains, made possible by advances in communication and transportation, reduce costs and increase the competitiveness of U.S. firms [para. 10]. (. . .)

Offshoring has been driven by several factors, including improvements in international communication, the computerization and digitization of some business services, (. . .) [para. 19]. (Ben Bernanke, May 1, 2007)

The lexical item 'communication' cannot escape itself from the language of new capitalism. This can be said so, because "today, communication is a key sector of advanced capitalism" (Lecerclre, 2009, p. 65); communication manifests 'international supply chains' (10). As it implies, the term communication as in 'better communication' (9) seems to have been used in the excerpts to mean the transmission or exchange of information or messages from one individual or group to another. Socially, people communicate to achieve the planned goals of interactional processes, such as obtaining or controlling economic practices within a social system. Historically, in the eighteenth century, the word 'communication' was used as an abstract general term, referring to physical facilities, such as roads, canals, and railways (Williams, 1983). But today the term communication is used even to refer to means of passing information, including 'the computerization and digitization' that 'reduce costs and increase the competitiveness'. Excerpt (10) shows that communication can politically and socially be scaled 'international communication'. 'International communication' is used in a political sense, in a similar political context of free trade, for example, the international satellite, the international space station, in

which just because the process of communication involves two powerful rich countries, it is called 'international'.

The discourse implies that communication plays an important role in making the world as a global village. Therefore, from a transdisciplinary standpoint, language has played a central role in a new capitalist system, because the system is information-based, which depends on communication technologies. The salient role of language in global capitalism is taken for granted by media corporations. Global communication is seen as the integration process of every individual and group around the earth into a gigantic network mediated by information infrastructure, for instance, the *BBC* and the *China Daily*. People in this globalization age can refer to global communication channels for miscellaneous issues—from stock exchanges to everlasting conflicts (Palestine and Israel).

The global economic discourse is employed to generalize and naturalize ideas, policies, strategies and progresses of social material processes of globalization in genres and discourses. This discursive construction is part of the globalist shared consciousness. The following excerpts together with (2) and (4) above provide examples that capitalist globalization is claimed to have played a crucial role in creating people's well-being.

- (11) If we resist protectionism and isolationism while working to increase the skills and adaptability of our labor force, the forces of globalization and trade will continue to make our economy stronger and our citizens more prosperous. (Ben Bernanke, May 1, 2007, para. 30)
- (12) Globalization brings more efficient use of scarce resources, a greater and cheaper range of goods and services, reduced poverty, faster economic growth and rising living standards. (*China Daily*, May 20, 2011, para. 14)
- (13) Our confidence also comes from the fact that the advantages contributing to China's economic growth remain unchanged. With

30 years' of reform and opening-up, we have laid a good material, technological and institutional foundation. We have a large well-trained and relatively low-cost labor force. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009, para. 7).

The propositions in the excerpts are of the globalist stance in that 'protectionism', 'adaptability of our labor force', 'trade' and 'faster economic growth' are discursively constructed to play an essential role in manifesting globalization. This is because, globalization is claimed to have to make 'our economy stronger and our citizens more prosperous', 'reduced poverty', created 'faster economic growth' and raised 'living standards'. The claim is actually motivated by such an assumption that the progress of advanced nations presumes a *smoothly* operating global economy. Globalization produces not only physically damaging risks, such as environmental damage, but also socio-economic risks, the widening economic gap between the rich and poor ramping across nations (Fairclough, 2006). However, this critical issue has passed the attention from the free market ideologists.

The progress of specific nations is universalized as the success of the global economy. It is argued that globalization has transformed aspects of social life 'markets, culture, technology, and governance' and the widening of 'communications, trade, transport and technology' (2) without taking dominance of those nations into account. This is because the aspiration of capitalist political economy is measured by technological advances, cross-border trade and capital flows.

The excerpts indicate that different from old capitalism which was practiced in terms of private ownerships of firms, land, and machinery, new capitalism operates on limited-liability corporations, stock exchanges 'the world's markets', 'intellectual property rights', 'telecommunication' and the like inspired by the application of technological innovations. All these resources of the practices within new capitalism focus on "earning money by money" therefore the 'integration of the world's markets' (2) rather than "earning money by bones", using sickles as still continuously practiced by blue colors and peasants in villages in many parts of the

globe. The majority of the world citizens specifically in the “Third World” have to earn their living by bones because they do not have the required financial capacity or corporations to compete in the global economy. Or they have to work for private owners of production and distributions as in ‘We have a large well-trained and relatively low-cost labor force’ (13), where there is a possibility of exploitation. What ‘labor force’ owns is bio-power —physical strength— and not ‘the world market’ or ‘more cross-border trade’; what peasants mostly own is a pair of gloves, a sickle or a hammer as it is symbolized in the flag of the Communist Party of China.

For the last two decades or so new capitalism has even transformed its operational strategies from capital measures to the role of management expertise in the global economy.

5.1.2 New Capitalism and Management Discourse

Management has played a more crucial role in capitalism. It gives rise to new capitalism and simultaneously has become a vehicle of new capitalism (Chiapelo & Fairclough, 2002). Genres and discourses on the global economy manifest management as a trajectory of capitalism. The management expertise contributes to a successful economic practice in modern capitalism. The excerpts below are concerned with the importance of the contribution of management in exercising new capitalism even during the global financial crisis.

(14) No matter how efficient a plant might be, it would be hugely wasteful if raw materials did not arrive on time or if the output couldn’t be quickly distributed and sold. Managers were essential; so were statistical controls. Coordination and organization mattered. Companies that surmounted these problems succeeded [para. 6]. (. . .)

The rise of big business involved more than tycoons. Its central feature was actually the creation of professional managers. Like many great truths, this one seems obvious after someone has pointed it out [para. 7]. (*Washington Post*, October 26, 2006)

(15) Silicon Valley is about a culture of risk-taking, not just by companies and investors, but workers as well. It's about companies where everyone understands that the way to get rich is to make great products that change the world. And it's about management that eschews bureaucracy, that values talent above all else, (...) and inspiration to flow from the bottom up rather than the top down. (*Washington Post*, February 27, 2008, para. 13)

(16) Because of outdated regulatory structures and poor risk management practices, many financial institutions in America and Europe were too highly leveraged [para. 10]. (. . .)

In addition to these important—to these management changes, we should move forward with other reforms to make the IMF and World Bank more transparent, accountable, and effective [para. 22]. (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

(17) In terms of the major tasks of our reform, we need to promote the reform of the administrative system, and accelerate government restructuring to strengthen government capacity of social management and public services. (. . .) Second, we will actively and effectively use foreign investment and improve the quality of FDI utilization, laying emphasis on introducing advanced technologies, managerial expertise and high-caliber professionals. (Zeng Peiyan, January 25, 2006, para. 12)

(18) What's important is to keep those negative impacts within a scope that we can manage [para. 4]. (. . .)

We will make all-round efforts to save energy, water, land and materials and make comprehensive use of all kinds of resources, enhance the conservation and management of all natural resources, and take a holistic approach to protect and repair the eco-environment [para. 10]. (Wen Jiabao, September 13, 2010)

The excerpts above demonstrate the construal of globalization from the management worldview. Textually, the item 'management' can come together with 'bureaucracy' (15), and 'changes' (16). Economically, the discourse of new capitalism concentrates on management because it is management that actually counts in the successful globalization. In the past, 'Managers were essential' (14). But now time has changed. Management has to be remodeled because it is part of the social change that needs to be adopted. Globalists now need the management that avoids 'bureaucracy' and that moves 'the bottom up rather than the top down'. This sort of management is exemplified by giant corporations such as Silicon Valley (15). The new management covers all economic, political, and social aspects from the financial crisis to 'natural resources' (18). The management enables social agents to control social risks through 'a culture of risk-taking' (15). The new management model has to be implemented even for the giant financial institutions, the IMF and the World Bank, because these institutions are presupposed to be no longer suitable for the contemporary economic development.

The propositions of the excerpts are in line with what the high level managers advise on-job managers or those who are in training that they see management as the core priority in organizations. Kenichi Ohmae's *The Borderless World* (1994) is one example, where management is seen as the sophisticated skill in manipulating significant changes in trade, finance and 'governance'. The managers should be capable of turning the imagined, the beliefs, into institutional forms and material processes (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004; Chiapelo & Fairclough, 2002). The free market mechanisms of the global capitalism that include competitiveness and capital flows are all have to be steered by both 'advanced technologies' and 'managerial expertise.' To achieve that end, companies therefore must be able to adapt to and transform the market in accordance with the preference of time and space (Giddens, 2000). This task can be implemented only by 'professional managers' (14) and 'high-caliber professionals' (17). Managers are seen as high rank human capitals that must be able control the companies' affiliates, labor force, and materials. Although natural resources are abundant,

labor is intensive, and the technologies are capable of producing large amounts of products in a short time, the companies will not gain profits 'if raw materials do not arrive on time or if the output cannot be quickly distributed and sold' (14). To that end, corporations are in need of superb management.

New capitalism also seems to have taken for granted the breakthroughs of information technology for its development. Rather than relying on the fax-machine, conventional telephone connection, the management of new capitalism has prioritized the contribution of the internet and social networking, for example for advertising and selling the products. The producing giants not only invent these devices, but also sell and make use of them. We now turn to the role of knowledge economy in new capitalism.

5.1.3 New Capitalism, E-culture and Knowledge-based Economy

Technological information and knowledge-based economy have also contributed to the development of capitalism to new capitalism. The following excerpts show us how the new capitalist economy refers to information technology and knowledge-based economy as the fundamental aspects in transforming the way people work and dominating industries in the era of global market:

(19) It's also true that old, established firms —despite ample capital and technical know-how —often don't dominate new industries. Google, eBay and Yahoo rule the Internet, not General Motors, Sears or Disney [para. 9]. (. . .)

Chandler admits as much. Asked about how the corporation might evolve, he confesses ignorance: "All I know is that the commercializing of the Internet is transforming the world". To fill that void, someone must do for capitalism's next stage what Chandler did for the last [para. 11]. (*Washington Post*, October 26, 2006)

(20) Today, in a world of container ships, jumbo jets, and the Internet, goods and many services are delivered faster and more cheaply (in inflation-adjusted terms) than ever before [para. 1]. (. . .)

But because farming and medicine require special knowledge and skills, a far more efficient arrangement is for the farmer to specialize in growing food and for the doctor to specialize in treating patients. Through the specialization made possible by trade, the farmer can benefit from the doctor's medical knowledge and the doctor can enjoy lunch [para. 3]. (. . .)

Patterns of trade are determined by variations in a number of factors, including (. . .) the skills and knowledge of the population [para. 5]. (. . .)

Offshoring has been driven by several factors, including (. . .) the computerization and digitization of some business services, and the existence of educated, often English-speaking workers abroad who will perform the same services for less pay [para. 19]. (. . .)

Moreover, in many fields, closeness to customers and knowledge of local conditions are also of great importance [para. 20]. (. . .)

Importantly, workforce skills can be improved not only through K-12 education, college, and graduate work but also through (. . .) on-the-job training, (. . .) and online training [para. 26]. (Ben Bernanke, May 1, 2007)

(21) It is what allowed entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley to change the way the world sells products and searches for information. It's what transformed America from a rugged frontier to the greatest economic power in history—a nation that gave the world the steamboat and the airplane, the computer and the CAT scan, the Internet and the iPod. (George Bush, November 13, 2008, para. 28)

(22) This, in turn, has fully activated factors such as labor, capital, knowledge, technology and management, which form the source of rapidly increasing social wealth [para. 5]. (. . .)

We will vigorously develop strategic emerging industries, (. . .), new-generation information technology, biotechnology, high-end equipment manufacturing, new energy, new materials and new energy vehicles [para. 11]. (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

The excerpts show that giant companies such as 'Silicon Valley', 'Google', 'eBay' and 'Yahoo' that work by means of the capitalist principles (competition in research and innovation) use of cyber technology 'the Internet' and 'the computerization and digitization of some business services' as a way of dominating the economy. This paradigm of dominating the global economy is theoretically justified by academia, such as Kanter (2001) and Charlesworth (2014) and is politically constructed in discourse by leading economists, bank chiefs, politicians and socially mediated by the newspaper, the *Washington Post*.

The breakthroughs of information technology are properly relevant to the dominant economies, such as the USA and its global corporations, for instance 'Google, eBay and Yahoo' that 'rule the Internet' and 'not General Motors, Sears or Disney' (19). The negation 'not' signifies the development of old capitalism 'General Motors, Sears or Disney' to new capitalism 'Google, eBay and Yahoo' which are in control of the global economy. The internet contributes to 'faster' and 'more cheaply' delivery of 'goods and services' (20). For China's economic strategy, a similar paradigm applies as in 'with the support of innovation, China 'will vigorously develop strategic emerging industries . . . new-generation information technology' (22). China has been moving to a new economy, hence, 'new-generation information technology'. This happens because, as it is optimistically said, the 'internet is transforming the world' (19), that is, the 'world' for new space and time (Fairclough, 2006); the world without borders (Ohmae, 1994). This transformation includes changes the way people commercialize 'goods' and 'many services' and even in preparing 'workforce skills' by means of 'on-line training'. What the discourse embeds here is that the breakthroughs in information technologies are seen from a market perspective. Economic activities

such as 'commercializing' accordingly colonize other social interests, such as disseminating information.

Engagement in the digital world is now regarded as a requirement for successful participation in society. In the domain of management, scholars have seen the internet as a necessity. A management *guru*, Kanter (2001) prescribes that companies that are successful on the web are guaranteed to *operate* differently from their laggard counterparts. Economically speaking, the internet helps producers sell their products anywhere around the world 'faster and more cheaply' (20), but politically it is generally 'Google, eBay and Yahoo' that rule the internet (19). It is true to say that in present days, these web providers have replaced the way people shop from the conventional transaction (coming to the shops) to modern transaction (using internet) and unsurprisingly it does not matter whether one buys a frying pan or a diamond ring. It is even truer to say that these internet giants dominate the information technology industry.

The eminent success in the way people communicate in doing businesses in the contemporary world is not always advantageous to any business in society in all parts of the globe. This is because from a global economic perspective, it is the best products that dominate the market. Web-page transactions are more helpful for giants, but at the same time they belittle micro home industries that do not have capital to get access to such communication technologies. Communication experts agree that advances in information technology such as the internet has transformed corporations, financial institutions, and business people to interact in an efficient way. This is because globalization has been seen as a process driven by increasing technological scale and information flows. The information technology has made the world borderless (Ohmae, 1994; Giddens, 2000). But simultaneously unfair globalization through its information technology has turned the borderless world into parts, the producing countries and the consuming countries.

Taken altogether, the excerpts also demonstrate that the global economy is now organized around the production and possession

of immaterial symbolic objects, that is, 'knowledge' and 'skills' as commodities facilitated by new information and communication technologies. The economic resources as 'capital', 'informational technology', 'biotechnology', 'innovation', 'management' and 'knowledge' are inseparable entities in manifest new capitalism. Knowledge is a resource for 'rapidly increasing social wealth.' Knowledge is treated similar to 'capital', hence, 'social wealth'. A farmer or doctor needs to rely on specialized knowledge for economic interaction (20). They need each other economically. Their 'special knowledge' determines the 'patterns of trade'. Knowledge is a commodity for trade. This indicates that new capitalism is characterized by knowledge-based economy (KBE), which comprises capital, informational technology, innovation and the internet (Jessop, 2004).

From a free-market business perspective, the advantage of internet and knowledge in the global economy is undeniable. In the e-culture survey for her book *Evo!e!* Kanter (2001) found that the companies that use the internet tend to have flexible, empowering and collaborative organizations. She contends that the companies that are laggard in e-culture have difficulties in collaboration despite their hard work. Kanter (2001) further prescribes that companies in the e-culture globalization must create communities that are guided by the integrated purpose. This is because, she argues, web-based communities work more successfully than bureaucracy. According to Kanter, decisions in companies should not be made by those who have higher ranks but by those who have more knowledge; therefore, today KBE community is controlling the economy.

The e-culture managers who know how to manage themselves will have their companies provide self-help resources. For these managers, network companies, the internet, global finance, and varying productions constitute forms of capital accumulation process. As implied in (19), companies today cannot rely entirely on professional managers without taking into account the managers' knowledge of the e-culture, the internet. Different from most roundtable-oriented management, in

e-culture management decisions are not made by authoritarian chiefs in a meeting, but they can be made by those who have competencies and the decisions can be made in “exile”. With the help provided by ‘the information technology’, the planet is now rescaled in a compressed system of space and time, a shrinking of the world, which is inspired by “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992, p. 8), as if the informational aspects of the global economy were a unit in real time on a planetary scale.

The excerpts discursively construct the mindsets concerning information technology, the internet, and knowledge in relation to the free-market economy deriving from the social beliefs and practices of the new capitalist political stance. But the practices need to be shared between the people who have already had the access to modern expensive information technology and those who have not, unless social critics will keep speaking for them until an alternative globalization is implemented (see Kiely, 2000; Amin, 1997).

5.2 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is conceived as a political project that attempts to remove trade barriers and other obstacles such as welfare programs in order to develop into full new capitalism. Neoliberal economy and its modus operandi are enacted to attain the full progress of new capitalism (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001; Fairclough, 2006). Neoliberalism is materialization of a political, social and economic agenda that is promoted as a tenet by the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank. The ideology of neoliberalism is embedded in the texts on globalization and is characterized by the discourse of ‘free market’, ‘trade liberalization’, ‘opening-up’, deregulation of market and ‘reforms’ of economic and political strategies. This feature of discursive construction is manifested in Op-Eds in mass media and in political speeches at a number of social economic events, such as economic conferences and the WEF Annual Meetings.

- (23) There is no question that trade liberalization creates winners and losers. (...) [para. 1].

But Congress should consider how freer trade affects the nation as a whole. Since World War II the United States has led the international quest to liberalize world trade and investment. (. . .) After a half-century of steady liberalization, it is fair to ask, what do Americans have to show? [para. 2].

Unfortunately for the cause of continued liberalization, Americans do not receive this money as a check marked "payoff from globalization." [para. 4]. (. . .)

The benefits of trade and investment liberalization are positive and large. (. . .) Despite the huge payoff to the United States, maintaining political support for trade liberalization has never been easy [para. 5]. (*Washington Post*, June 07, 2005)

- (24) Restricting trade by imposing tariffs, quotas, or other barriers is exactly the wrong thing to do. (...) Working through the World Trade Organization or in other venues, we should continue to advocate the elimination of trade distortions and barriers in our trading partners even as we increase the openness of our own economy. We should also work to ensure that both we and our trading partners live up to existing agreements under the World Trade Organization (Ben Bernanke, May 1, 2007, para. 24).

- (25) History has shown that the greater threat to economic prosperity is not too little government involvement in the market, it is too much government involvement in the market. (. . .) When nations open their markets to trade and investment, their businesses and farmers and workers find new buyers for their products. (...) Thanks in large part to open markets, (. . .) [para. 24].

While reforms in the financial sector are essential, the long-term solution to today's problems is sustained economic growth. And the surest path to that growth is free markets and free people. (Applause.) [para. 25].

But the crisis was not a failure of the free market system. And the answer is not to try to reinvent that system. It is to fix the problems we face, make the reforms we need, and move forward with the free market principles (. . .). [para. 26]. (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

- (26) Since its accession to the World Trade Organization more than four years ago, China has (. . .) gradually cut tariffs, removed mom-tariff measures, liberalized trade in service, pushed forward a new round of multilateral trade talks in an effort to create a favorable environment for further expanding international economic and technical exchanges and cooperation [para. 3]. (. . .)

China follows an opening-up strategy that promotes mutual benefit. We are ready to work with the international community to expand two-way market access, improve the multilateral trade system and advance trade and investment liberalization and facilitation so as to create a better environment for trade and economic cooperation [para. 14]. (Zeng Peiyan, January 25, 2006)

- (27) The first decade of this century has seen major changes in the global political and economic landscape. (. . .) Great progress has been made in China's comprehensive reform, opening-up and modernization endeavor during this decade [para. 3]. (. . .)

We are pursuing a win-win strategy of opening-up to increase the openness of China's economy. Since joining the WTO in 2001, we have speeded up efforts to change the way of conducting foreign trade, (. . .). China today is a fully open market economy. The opening-up policy has both benefited China's development and the well-being of its people and contributed to regional and global economic growth [para. 6]. (. . .)

China will continue to deepen reform and opening-up and resolutely remove institutional hurdles to increase the momentum of pursuing sustainable development [para. 14]. (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

Deregulation of the market lessens the government function in controlling trade. Hence, for the globalists, 'restricting trade' is 'exactly the wrong thing to do' (24). Trade organizations, such as the WTO become the player and act as a resource of legitimizing the free trade. The WTO is committed to the global free trade through 'reform' and the reduction of 'tariffs', taxes and 'other barriers' from trade. The globalist point of view is that government interventions in economy, such as setting the tariffs on import and export, can limit the progress of global economic development.

Governments should, therefore, interfere in the conduct of trade as little as possible (25). If present, the engagement of the government is merely to facilitate the process of globalization for example free movements of capital (Fairclough, 2006) and provision of infrastructures. Altogether excerpts (22)–(27) indicate that the globalists internalize the neoliberal ideology through the notion of liberalizing market ('liberalize world trade', 'the elimination of trade distortions and barriers'), eliminating government capital controls ('too much government involvement in the market'), reducing tariffs ('cut tariff', 'removed mom-tariff measures', 'remove institutional hurdle'), privatizing public services, and weakening regulations that protect labors. Governments by making use of international agencies—IMF, WTO—naturalize this discourse through universalization that global economy is inevitable and it is essentially materialized for example by 'liberalization' of 'trade' and 'investment'.

The powerful WTO has approved global competition and unregulated market as the best opportunity to create the equal prosperity of the world's population. This new governing regime increasingly provides a major general control over every aspect of the lives of the majority of the world's people. What not said is that the control is not for the economic well-being of nations as the claim is often made but rather on the enhancement of the power and wealth of the world's largest corporations and financial institutions. The approval of the Uruguay and other further WTO's agreements has institutionalized a global economic

and political structure that makes every government increasingly dependent on a baffling system of transnational governance designed to boost corporate profit (Wallach & Sforza, 1999), often with complete ignorance of social and environmental consequences. The WTO and other trade agreements have moved away beyond their traditional roles of 'setting quotas and tariffs'. Now such institutions set new and unprecedented controls over democratic governance. Erasing national laws and economic boundaries to foster capital mobility and free trade has led General Motors, Shell and other mega-corporations to celebrate their success. The establishment of the WTO marks a momentous formalization and strengthening of their power. To the WTO and its supporting alliance, the globe is viewed primarily as a common market and capital source. Governments, laws and democracy are conceived as the irritating factors that restrict the exploitation and limit the profit (Wallach & Sforza, 1999).

States and multinational companies shape the globalization of trade and finance through the discourse of 'opening-up'. The contexts of discourse of 'opening-up' include 'market', 'trade', 'investment' and 'development'. The word 'open' perhaps has a less provocative meaning compared to the term global; it is used in other contexts such as the domain of education, for example open university; the university that is open welcomes every person, but sounds less competitive. This is a reason why perhaps Premier Wen Jiabao seems to have preferred the term open to global. The word 'open' also suggests that there should be no secret agenda from a special state in the global economy. In other words, there must be accountability, transparency, and trusted governance between countries.

From a systemic grammar point of view (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), the word 'open' can be used as a verb, such as in excerpt (25) and therefore it can co-occur with an inanimate colligated subject 'nations' and its predicate collocations 'market', 'trade' and 'investment'. However, the word is used as an adjective as in (27). Whether it is used as a main verb or a modifying adjective, in the discourse of globalization

the word 'open' is an indicator of globalist style, part of language that embodies neoliberal economy. In fact, leaders from the USA and China see neoliberalism as the tenet that encourages the world toward more 'open trade' and discursively construct it as 'trade liberalization', removal of 'mom-tariff measures', 'opening-up', and removal of 'institutional hurdles'. The clause 'But Congress should consider how freer trade affects the nation as a whole' in (23) constitutes the genuine statement of a neoliberal economic perspective. The denial 'but' challenges the outcry that 'trade liberalization creates winners and losers'. No mentions is made that uncontrolled trade liberations ruins the welfare of society, because it sets up limit to the intervention of government in economic practices and overrides democracy.

Governments and financial institutions (the World Bank and IMF) need to 'reform' their economic and political perspectives to thrive in the global economy. They thus need to be adhered to competitive and open market. It is so open and interconnected that there is no possibility of turning back. In the interconnected global economy, market and trade require liberty policies. We can refer to this as "forced democratic" global economy. Nations including developing economies need to follow the discourse as a powerful strategy, for example, for fulfilling an essential term and condition for receiving loans from the World Bank, joining the WTO or attracting Foreign Direct Investments. The discourse of globalization is translated into the discourse of 'economic development' through open and competitive market. The globalists do not argue that uncontrolled trade competition leads to monopoly of the global economy by the (multinational) giants, leaving out basic universal rights such as food security and equal access to resources. For them, the government involvement in regulating market has to be reformed for the sake of so-called free market while in fact they are fostering a dominant nation's progress and its hegemonic corporations.

6. Summary

This chapter has attempted to unravel the sort of ideology that the texts on globalization are potentially capable of (re)constructing. From the analysis of the excerpts, it demonstrates that the texts on globalization discursively construct new capitalism and neoliberalism. The construction of these economic ideologies is manifested through universalization of the operational beliefs and values of the global economy. These fundamental values and beliefs are instilled through discursive elements: trade liberalization, capital flows, global competition, and reduction of governments' regulations in trade, among others.

The analysis suggests two things. First, new capitalism is a form of capitalism that has attempted to dominate the power in the global economy, politic and other social aspects of human life. It makes use advances of technology, management expertise, telecommunication, and knowledge economy for its modus operandi. Advances in technology are seen to have changed the way people work, communicate and do businesses. The internet for example is claimed to have changed the way people work in many aspects. Unfortunately, the advances in telecommunication technology have not benefited the world society as a whole. They are still more accessible to communities in the developed world. People in LDCs cannot easily have an access to telecommunication technologies. As a result, the materialization of global economy is partly still a dream for those people, especially when these people are forced to compete to boost the economic growth. Politically, since not every state is capable of competing in the marketplace, the social-Darwinism philosophy of "survival of the fittest" emerges and Neitzscheist "will to power" is inevitable.

Second, neoliberalism is the political project that attempts to achieve the full development of new economies. Neoliberalist sees globalization as an inexorable economic logic in the contemporary capitalist society. The neoliberal value system is a manifestation of the economic, political, and social agenda that is promoted as a tenet by the WTO, IMF, World Bank, leaders of state and leading economists. Neoliberal

proponents contend that modern economy is materialized in the forms of transcendental free trade, investment liberalization and knowledge economy; the government involvement in the economy needs to be placed at the minimum. By means of these economic practices, a social change is expected in the contemporary global society. Sadly, the change has yet been equally materialized. In short, globalization is real; however, people need to be aware of both its discursive and material processes, so that the advantages of globalization are fairly distributed to all layers of the world society.

CHAPTER 3

Discourse of Economic Globalization

In this chapter, I will examine the salient relationship between discourse and economic globalization. The focus will be primarily on the discourse of economic globalization during the 2008 global financial crisis. I will start with the notion of globalization as it is defined in academic literature from different disciplines and perspectives. Using similar analytical tools made available in argumentation and discourse analysis, the chapter will then provide the analysis interspersed with real excerpts from newspaper Op-Eds and political economic speeches.

1. Introduction

Globalization is an unprecedented and seriously debated phenomenon. It is often trapped in economic provisos which are regarded as the broadening and deepening linkages of national economies into a

worldwide market for capital, goods, and services. Globalization has also been seen in both positive and negative senses. Positively, globalization is regarded as a new way of interaction concerning free trade, market liberalization, and flows of capital among nations (Held et al., 1999). Negatively, globalization is an inevitable myth that offers particular perspective on the global trading and financial order and dismisses other perspectives by declaring them as unrealistic or unfeasible (Hirst & Thompson, 1996). To put it differently, globalization in the context of critical scholarship (Sparke, 2013; Fairclough, 2013; Peck & Theodore, 2007; Scholte, 2000) is virtually an ideology of political economy created by capitalist discourse that promotes and operates on the principle of free movements of goods, capital, information and services between countries. Although this conception of economic globalization is vulnerable to ramification, it is still formidably shared among supporting groups of globalizing economists, state leaders, corporate managers, commercial circles and many journalists. The way of internalizing this discursive practice is not neutral; it attaches political and social beliefs to the economic system of capitalists who have access to exercise power and dominate the system of global economy.

Consequently, since the emergence of globalization debate in the 1990s (see Hirst & Thompson, 1996), the relationship between language (discourse) and social realities—discourse and the reality on global economy and of its impacts on, manifestations and ramifications—has become a burgeoning field of scientific inquiry. The interdependence between these aspects has drawn attention from a number of academic disciplines, such as political economy, sociology, and critical linguistics. Although globalization virtually falls within the field of political economy, some critical discourse analysts also seem to have currently paid their attention to this phenomenon (Fairclough, 2006; Monica, 2003; Flowerdew, 2002). They agree that globalization as an economic, political and social phenomenon cannot entirely be separated from discourse, because the two aspects are dialectically related. They observe that it is through discourse or other semiotic practices that a particular social reality, such as global economy can socially be constructed (Fairclough,

2006). However, although there is a body of literature that addresses globalization from a discursive dimension, they often lack evidence from textual analysis (for example, Koh, 2005; Hay & Rosamond, 2002). There is thus a need for a transdisciplinary approach at least between political economy, sociology and CDA to unraveling the issue scientifically.

This chapter therefore approaches economic globalization from a (transdisciplinary) CDA perspective (Fairclough, 2006); a version of CDA that commits to conducting a dialogue with other disciplines—political economy (Jessop, 2004), argumentation (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004) and systemic functional linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Fairclough (2003) asserts that discourse is a moment of networks of social practices; it is social acts of people doing, talking and writing things; it is a particular way of representation, of meaning-making in conjunction with other practices, such as promoting free trade. According to Fairclough (2014) globalization project is a good but an incomplete process. He thus sees discourse of globalization as social practice that has a dialectical relationship between the discursive processes and material social processes (Fairclough, 2006). Social practice does not only reflect reality, but it also can change reality. Social practice which is created in a particular way constitutes a social order, such as an economic order in a particular society at a particular space and time (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

This chapter attempts to especially examine the discursive construction of global economy in strategic texts. What is meant by a strategic text is a discourse type (Fairclough, 2003) that is specifically concerned with the systems of political economy, government policies and plans, and the ways these elements are strategically embedded in genres such as newspaper articles. Vaara, Sorsa & Pälli (2010) use a nearly similar term 'strategy text', referring to a text type which deals with organizing strategies for a city plan in Finland that is textually constructed in genres which include interviews and presentation slides. They relate the term strategy text to language-based organizing activities whereas this book uses the term strategic text, inspired by

Fairclough (2003, p. 199), to refer to the discursive representation of global economy that involves political economy, social belief systems, state policies, and planned economic strategies. A strategic text has an economic and political nuance. The strategic texts analyzed in this chapter are newspaper Opinion-Editorials (Op-Eds) and political speeches.

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze how an author—defined as a writer or speaker who produces text—discursively constructs global economy in the strategic texts. A special reference is made to the strategic texts during the 2008 global financial crisis. The study is thus guided by the following academic enquiries: how discourse of economic globalization is constructed in the strategic texts during the global financial crisis; how the authors organize their arguments in the strategic texts during the global financial crisis; how the authors use argumentation strategies to construct the discourse of global economy in these texts

2. The Notion of Globalization

Relatively few previous studies have systematically examined the discursive processes of globalization during the financial crisis. Fairclough & Fairclough (2011) seek to incorporate practical reasoning into CDA and analyze the UK government's 2008 Pre-Budget Report as an illustration. Their study was primarily aimed at revisiting the paradigm for critical analysis of discourse. Kutter (2014) studied the discursive construction of the Greek financial crisis in the German financial press. She found that the discursive representation of the Greek crisis was used to catalyze the reform of the European Economic and Monetary Union and to reinforce economic integration. Many other scholars have in effect focused on material processes of globalization. They assert that globalization is a process triggered by and gives rise to increasing transborder flows of goods, money, services, people, information, and culture. Globalization is "a process (or set of processes) which embodies

a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions . . . generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power” (Held et al., 1999, p. 16). The flows, networks and interconnections are generally diverse in character, including: flows of goods and money and international financial and trading networks in the economic field; inter-governmental networks and interdependencies and interactions and interconnections between international agencies such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization and government agencies at national and regional levels (Fairclough, 2006). These global processes also include the mobility of people as migrants, tourists, or members of commercial or governmental organizations; flows of images and representations and interactions through contemporary media and forms of technology and so forth. In brief, all the ideas about globalization are concerned to a large extent with a process leading to greater interdependence and mutual understanding among economic, political, and social institutions in the world, and agencies in general as well as advance in technology.

Globalization, as indicated above, has essentially been discussed more in the context of economy than in any other perspective. For example, the Japanese corporate management guru, Kenichi Ohmae (1994) describes globalization as an imaginatively world-scaled business opportunity. Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990, p. 63) regards globalization as consequence of modernity as he puts it, “modernity is inherently globalizing” and as a decoupling or “distanciation” between space and time. Sociologist Manuel Castells (1996, p. 92) also emphasizes the economic aspects of the globalization as he defines it as “an economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale.” Sociologist Gary Gereffi (1994) writes about global “commodity chains,” whereby production is coordinated on a global scale. Political scientist Robert Gilpin (1987, p. 389) defines globalization as the “increasing interdependence of national economies in trade, finance, and macroeconomic policy.” In a similar vein, other scholars

(Held et al., 1999; Ritzer, 2009; Adams, 2011) also point out that the reality of globalization is a continuous economic process driven both by fundamental economic policy changes by individual governments and by technological innovation. New emerging-economy countries and sources of supply of and demand for an ever-increasing number of goods and services are being integrated at an accelerating tempo into a global economy (Ohmae, 1994). As such, it is often claimed that globalization is an inclusive process through which emerging countries like China and India join the developed nations as increasingly integrated "equal partners" in the now so-called global economy. Some people raise questions whether globalization is truly a new phenomenon under the sun. They contend that the entire course of human history can be seen as the gradual expansion of transportation and communication networks; in that context, globalization may be little more than an extension of past patterns of human interaction (Sparke, 2013; Scholte, 2000; Bauman, 2013). This process of dominance virtually comes under the sense of internationalization. However, internationalization has existed for centuries; globalization is an idea whose time has come (Held et al., 1999). And since it embraces every angle of political economy, globalization should be seen more than enhanced internalization of human interaction if the process is to be more distinctive and meaningful (Hirst & Thompson, 1996). What is absent from these multiple-complex perspectives is a viewpoint that includes text as part of globalization processes.

For the sake of studying globalization from its linguistic domain, it is therefore reasonable to add another standpoint that globalization *is* an ideological project for the expansion of power with multiple meanings and perspectives. It is linguistically a process of re-semanticization of the word *global* through the use of metaphor (Hasan, 2003) that gives rise to emergence of ideologies founded on the principles of free movements of capitals, goods & services, and information as well as the abolition of government intervention in economic affairs: no restrictions on manufacturing, no barriers to commerce, no tax and tariff on import. Stated in a more polished form, globalization is both the processes of

representing imaginaries in discourse and making them actualize in material manifestation. In other words, globalization is both a material phenomenon and a political project (Sparke, 2013).

I see globalization from an economic perspective and treats it as a particular facet of discourse. Globalization is a social manifestation and discourse practice is of social manifestation as well. The discourse of globalization is a subject of social construction in response to social realities. In other words, discourse is the vital character in constructing economic realities. But discourse of globalization is a complex social issue. We thus need to combine CDA with political economy to extend the theory of the relationship between discourse and globalization which is so-called transdisciplinary (Fairclough, 2006). This adoption is derived from the standpoint that economic systems are politically embedded in text and that both political and economic objects are initially discursively constructed (Jessop, 2004; Fairclough, 2006). The combination between CDA and political economy will assist us in the analysis of concrete examples from an emerging economic country and an industrially advanced one—notably China and the USA—to show how political economy can be incorporated into the analysis of texts. The paper contends that social reality and discourse have a two-way relationship; they embody each other. In other words, social realities are partly discourse. Discourse does not exist independently from the world of objects it represents; they are different but not discrete (Fairclough, 2006). The paper thus attends to ‘globalization’ with the oscillating analysis in which a dialogue across disciplines is put to work when looking at the social problem, i.e., the global financial crisis. The analysis of strategic texts is motivated by this conception.

3. Approach to Discourse of Globalization

This chapter is also built upon CDA, but it is supported by argumentation analysis for the analytical framework. Fairclough’s version of CDA and its reference to SFL’s lexico-grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen,

2014) for textual analysis is used. The argumentation theory applied is the pragma-dialectical approach (van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2004). CDA is put to work with argumentation studies without the former being reducible to the latter (Fairclough, 2013; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011). To bring these disciplines into a more solid dialectical relation, we can refer to the argumentation structure and strategic maneuvering conceptualized by the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation theory (van Eemeren, 2010).

The pragma-dialectical approach sees argumentation as a social, verbal activity, which can be performed orally as well as in writing. The foremost task of an analyst is to examine the standpoint, the argument structure and the rhetorical strategies. Genres such as an Op-Ed article or a political speech must have a standpoint, argumentative structures and ways of persuasion. Typical of such genres is that discourse participants (or speakers and hearers) may or may not share similar points of view. In the argumentative discourse of such a situation the discourse producer then tries to make his or her standpoint more acceptable, credible or truthful by formulating 'arguments' that are purported to sustain the chosen point of view. Argumentation on global economy must have a standpoint. An author can adopt a positive, negative or neutral standpoint. For example, when an author asserts that 'I think globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon', in that the author has adopted a positive standpoint with respect to the proposition that globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon. An author can alternatively say that 'I do not think globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon, in that the author has adopted a negative standpoint. An author can also even state that 'I do not know whether globalization is an unprecedented phenomenon', in that the author has not committed herself to this proposition in a positive or negative way because she is not sure about it. In that case, the author is taking a neutral standpoint. Whether it comes first or later, the standpoint is identifiable in either at the argumentation stage or concluding stage (van Eemeren, 2018). The role of authors in argumentation is to defend the standpoint that they have adopted. Since an argumentative discourse is exchanged around

an adopted standpoint, unrevealing the way the point is manifested is important in analyzing the discursive construction of global economy during the financial crisis.

An argumentative discourse generally has a rational structure. Whether or not argumentation structures vary with an ideological position is still a quest. The content of an argumentation however may depend on the ideology one believes in. And 'good' and 'bad' argumentation is rather something that varies with individual speakers than with group membership (van Dijk, 2009). Of course, like any genre, various argumentative discourses may be learned and be associated with a profession and hence with professional ideologies: An influential politician, leading economist or newspaper columnist is probably more experienced in 'good' argumentation than those who do not have such professional training and experience. Discourse and argumentation structures may relate to one's expertise attained through education, training and experience.

The aim of the parties (proponent and opponent) to be involved in argumentative discourse is to find out ways of resolving a difference of opinion. This implies that the parties are obliged to abide by the rules instrumental in achieving the argumentation goal by maintaining a certain standard of reasonableness (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). As is the case for many genres, such as an Op-Ed article or political speech, argumentation is controlled by a number of normative rules, interaction principles and efficient strategies of actual performance. Some of these normative rules are: 1). the proponent who puts forward a standpoint is to defend it; 2). the proponent may defend his or her standpoint only by advancing the argumentation related to that standpoint; and 3). the reasoning in the argumentation must be logically valid or must be capable of being made valid (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004; van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017). In reality, of course, one may break the rules of argumentation, for instance by using fallacies, false moves in the arguments, but still respect interaction principles (for instance of respect or cooperation) or still be a very efficient arguer (van Eemeren, 2010).

However, interacting in such a way does not mean that the parties cannot resolve the difference of opinion in their own favor. To put it differently, the parties involved in a critical discussion can use rhetorical means in argumentative discourse as long as they maintain the rules of the discussion and they must be responsible for what they say or imply. Central to the analysis of argumentative discourse, therefore, is also the role of rhetorical dimensions that are conceived as strategic maneuvering for influencing result of argument. As was alluded in Chapter 1, the strategic maneuvering manifests in three ways. The first strategy is called the *topical selection*, in which the arguers make a convenient choice from the options. The arguers may choose the materials they find easiest to handle. They begin by introducing the specific subjects that are pertinent and significant to the conversation, which might help the proponent by supplying the dispute area of each dialectical stage. The second tactic is adaptation to *audience demand*, when the disputants select the viewpoints they believe would be most palatable to the audience. They make an effort to elicit empathy from the audience by appealing to their values, sensibilities, or preferences. The third tactic is *presentational options*, when the disputants select the range of rhetorical devices that best frame their points of contention. They can choose the presentational devices, such as loaded definitions, generalizations and rhetorical argumentative structure (van Eemeren, 2010). In brief, the analysis of argumentation together with CDA contributes to better understanding the linguistic and social processes of constituting the practices of global economy.

4. Textual Evidence

China and the USA become the sources of strategic texts. This consideration is taken based on the principle that we cannot even think about globalization or discuss it effectively without reference to specific locations and places (Beck, 2000). For each of the two countries the strategic texts are classified into two categories: the Op-Ed articles from newspapers and speeches. The two modes of genre are chosen to avoid the privilege of one genre over the other. Four texts have been chosen to

represent the world economies and the mode of genre. The newspaper texts came from the *China Daily* to represent China the *Washington Post* to represent the USA. The Op-Ed articles in these newspapers are usually contributed by well-known figures. The *China Daily*, which was established on June 1, 1981, is the most influential national English-language newspaper in China and circulated abroad in more than 150 countries and regions. It is not only the most widely circulated Chinese newspaper among the majority of Western readers but also the most frequently quoted Chinese newspaper by international news media. According to its website source, the *China Daily* is often called the "Voice of China" or "Window to China", because it is regarded as one of the country's most authoritative English media outlets and an important source of information on Chinese politic, economy, society and culture. For a basic reason, the *China Daily* is chosen because it transmits China's national images, politic, and foreign policy to the international community. The *Washington Post* is chosen because its positions on foreign policy and economic issues are of a definitively conservative stance. For example, it advocates free-trade agreements. Meanwhile, the speeches were also delivered by influential figures on several occasions. To represent China, I choose a speech by Wen Jiabao. Premier Wen Jiabao delivered the speech in Chinese, but this chapter refers to the English version of the speech which was authoritatively prepared by the government of China. For the U.S. counterpart, a speech by George Bush was selected. The criteria of text selections are the period of publication and the issues raised in the texts.

5. Discourse Analysis of Excerpts

5.1 Discourse of Global Economy during the Financial Crisis

The material processes of global economy were interrupted by the 2008 financial crisis. The world economy was not progressing as it had been discursively practiced. This indicates that no economic system is resistant for all time. Even the neoliberal global economy is at risk. The following excerpts reveal that the global market economy can also

suffer from a financial crisis. I underline the linguistic elements I find highly pertinent to the topic under discussion. Some of the excerpts are reused for the purpose of the critical issue in question.

- (1) The Financial Crisis Is Also an Opportunity to Create New Rules for Our Global Economy. (headline)

We are living through the first financial crisis of this new global age. And the decisions we make will affect us over not just the next few weeks but for years to come. [para. 2] (. . .)

We are all in this together, and we can only resolve this crisis together. If we do this, 2008 will be remembered not just as a year of financial crisis but as the year we started to build the world anew. [para. 11] (*Washington Post*, October 17, 2008)

- (2) And today I appreciate you giving me a chance to come and for me to outline the steps that America and our partners are taking and are going to take to overcome this financial crisis. [para. 1] (. . .)

The financial crisis was ignited when booming housing markets began to decline. As home values dropped, many borrowers defaulted on their mortgages, and institutions holding securities backed by those mortgages suffered serious losses. [para. 10] (. . .)

This is a decisive moment for the global economy. In the wake of the financial crisis, voices from the left and right are equating the free enterprise system with greed and exploitation and failure. [para. 26] (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

- (3) Protectionism has swept across the world in the face of the financial crisis. (*China Daily*, April 02, 2009, para. 3)

- (4) This annual meeting has a special significance. Amidst a global financial crisis rarely seen in history, it brings together government leaders, business people, experts and scholars of different countries to jointly explore ways to maintain international financial stability.

promote world economic growth and better address global issues.
[para. 1] (. . .)

The ongoing international financial crisis has landed the world economy in the most difficult situation since last century's Great Depression. In the face of the crisis, countries and the international community have taken various measures to address it. [para. 2] (. . .)

The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world. [para. 8]
(Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009)

The excerpts indicate that the current global economy is not a durable economic system. The definite nominal groups 'the financial crisis', 'the global financial crisis', and 'the ongoing international financial crisis' all explicate that the global economy has been interrupted by the financial turmoil, but which is 'rarely seen in history'. The financial crisis in the age of global liberalism has actually affected the economic progress of developing countries and industrially advanced ones as well, such as China and USA. The 2008 financial crisis is a blow to the global economic project. It puts at risk both the global economic system and its material processes such as free market as an author says 'The ongoing financial crisis has landed the world economy in the most difficult situation' and 'is a challenge for the whole world'(4). Furthermore, circumstance of time 'since last century's Great Depression' and the nominal groups 'This financial crisis' in (2) and 'the global financial crisis' in (4) all presuppose that such crisis has never emerged in the era of globalization. The text also shows that the cause of the financial crisis is recognizable. For example, 'when booming housing markets began to decline' (2); nevertheless, the agency that precipitated the crisis is not identifiable. The verbal group 'was ignited' (2) is a passive form in which the actor of the material process of the verb 'ignited' is in doubt. However, the impact 'brings together government leaders, business people, experts and scholars of different countries to jointly explore ways to maintain international financial stability' (4). This is because economy and politic work closely during the global financial crisis (Fairclough & Fairclough,

2011). Although it is not explicitly stated, the responsibility of the crisis should be on big tycoons, such as Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and Lehman Brothers that ignited the U.S. financial instability (see McDonald & Robinson, 2010). The authors who construct the texts admit that the financial crisis hinders the process of prevailing global economic processes, for example as in 'We are living through the first financial crisis of this new global age' (1), 'The financial crisis was ignited when booming housing markets began to decline' (2), 'Protectionism has swept across the world in the face of the financial crisis' (3) as well as in 'The ongoing international financial crisis has landed the world economy in the most difficult situation since last century's Great Depression' (4). The verbal groups 'was ignited', 'has swept' and 'has landed' imply that capitalist economic system is not to be blamed for the financial crisis.

The excerpts demonstrate that the authors see the global financial crisis as a challenge and an advantageous event as in 'The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world' (4) and 'The Financial Crisis Is Also an Opportunity to Create New Rules for Our Global Economy' (1). They linguistically and socially regard the crisis as a good thing. They textually construct the crisis as a natural socio-economic process; they perceive it as a personalized process that requires a political intervention. Ideologically, this is part of the process of globalization in which that nobody is in charge of, thus 'the whole world', 'the international community' and passive 'was ignited'. Consequently, countries in the world have to adapt to globalization processes in accordance with their own politic and economic strategies (Flowerdew, 2002).

The nominal group 'financial crisis' can grammatically become the initial participants of the clauses, for example, 'the (global) financial crisis is ...' and does not require the material or mental processes. This is because 'the financial crisis' is seen an economic phenomenon as if it happened by itself. But when the economy gets entangled in politic, humans as the animate agency must take over the matter. The excerpts below illustrate:

(5) We must deal with more than the symptoms of the current crisis. We have to tackle the root causes. (*Washington Post*, October 17, 2008, para. 7)

(6) Secondly, we must ensure that markets, firms, and financial products are properly regulated. [para. 19] (. . .)

Third, we must enhance the integrity of our financial markets. [para. 20] (. . .)

Fourth, we must strengthen cooperation among the world's financial authorities. (. . .) We should also reform international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, which are based largely on the economic order of 1944. (. . .) we should move forward with other reforms to make the IMF and World Bank more transparent, accountable, and effective. [para. 21] (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

(7) As the saying goes, "A fall in the pit, a gain in your wit," we must draw lessons from this crisis and address its root causes. In other words, we must strike a balance between savings and consumption, between financial innovation and regulation, and between the financial sector and real economy. [para. 2] (. . .)

We should encourage regional monetary and financial cooperation, make good use of regional liquidity assistance mechanisms, and steadily move the international monetary system toward greater diversification. [para. 10]

We should expand the regulation coverage of the international financial system, with particular emphasis on strengthening the supervision on major reserve currency countries. We should put in place a timely and efficient early warning system against crisis. We should introduce reasonable and effective financial regulatory standards (. . .). We should tighten regulation of financial institutions and intermediaries and enhance transparency of financial markets and products. [para. 11] (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009)

In the excerpts above, the social actors of the clauses are human with material process verbs 'enhance', 'strengthen', 'strike', 'expand', 'reform' and 'tighten', among others. These verbs collocate with deontic modality 'must' and 'should', implying a high judgment and confusion as well. This linguistic process characterizes the discourse of global economy during the financial crisis as the state leaders and experts are searching for new strategies for the global economy. When dealing with new economic strategies, the authors put forward their arguments with the material process verbs.

The animate social agents are central in dealing with political economy during the crisis. Therefore, the first-person plural 'we' constitutes the actors. In contrast, the free market economic practices can run without the government intervention, the so-called *laissez-faire* policies of the de-regularized. Consequently, characterized by the linguistic process of nominalization or reification, 'globalization' is regarded as a self-process phenomenon in the absence of animate agency. The excerpt below illustrates:

- (8) The reforms I have outlined are vital to ensuring that globalization works not just for some but for all hard-pressed families and businesses in all our communities. (*Washington Post*, October 17, 2008, para. 9)

From this excerpt there is a tendency from the author to use a nominalization 'globalization' when addressing the social process of phenomenon. As a self-process phenomenon, globalization is ensured that it 'work not just for some but for all hard-pressed families and businesses in all our communities' although in reality it is transnational corporations that globalize the economy/trade/market and so forth. In the excerpt, Gordon Brown, the architect of global economy, obfuscates the agency. He sees globalization as the self-regulating process and thus linguistically inculcates it in terms of a grammatical metaphor (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The most intriguing aspect of the discourse is that globalization should not be seen from a negative point of view, but a positive one. In the excerpt, the viewpoint of globalization is internalized

by a parallel structure of 'not just' ... 'but for all' resulting in a more positive perspective 'globalization works not just for some but all hard-pressed families and businesses in all our communities'.

The present globalization particularly with regard to the global economy is being mystified by the financial crisis. The crippling global financial crisis provides us with a sign that modern capitalism has reached the end of its time (Harvey, 2010). Surprisingly, free market ideologues and hyper-globalists claim that such a collapse exist not because there is no sufficient government involvement but because there is too much government involvement in the economy:

(9) History has shown that the greater threat to economic prosperity is not too little government involvement in the market, it is too much government involvement in the market. (Applause). (George Bush, November 13, 2008, para. 24)

The neoliberal language 'history has shown . . . not too little government involvement in the market (but) too much government involvement in the market' provides an indication that Bush's economic thinking is far from the Keynesian paradigm in which government intervention is considerably important in a country's economy. The globalist discourse of economy views that the financial crisis emerges, because market is not deregulated, but intervened ('too much government involvement'). The social assumption here is that market can operate freely. This may be true in some way, but it does not necessarily mean that free market is not susceptible to a crisis when there is no government intervention. The statement in the excerpt (9) is a matter of politic. Thus, like a political system, an economic system is always in the state of flux and adherents either attempt to sustain the existing economic system through changes and transformation or seek for an alternative, but the latter is uncommon.

Economically it is admitted that the global crisis was triggered not only by too much presence of the government in political economy

but also by excessive expansion of financial institutions, inappropriate economic policies, high consumption but low savings:

- (10) This crisis is attributable to a variety of factors and the major ones are: inappropriate macroeconomic policies of some economies and their unsustainable model of development characterized by prolonged low savings and high consumption; excessive expansion of financial institutions in blind pursuit of profit; lack of self-discipline among financial institutions and rating agencies and the ensuing distortion of risk information and asset pricing; and the failure of financial supervision and regulation to keep up with financial innovations, which allowed the risks of financial derivatives to build and spread. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009, para. 2)

At the same time, a confession is made that one way of tackling the crisis is by expanding demands:

- (11) As a big responsible country, China has acted in an active and responsible way during this crisis. We mainly rely on expanding effective domestic demand, particularly consumer demand, to boost economic growth. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009, para. 4)

There seems to be two contradictory discourses in the current global economy; the discourse of the financial crisis, where savings are needed and the discourse of consumption where spending is necessary. Confusion exists in the discourse of current global economy. However, state leaders are encouraged to have positive attitudes:

- (12) The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world. Confidence, cooperation and responsibility are keys to overcoming the crisis. Confidence is the source of strength. [para. 8] (. . .)

Let us strengthen confidence and work closely together to bring about a new round of world economic growth. [para. 15] (Wen Jiabao, January 29, 2009)

- (13) Today, the same sort of visionary internationalism is needed to resolve the crises and challenges of a different age. And the greatest of global challenges demands of us the boldest of global cooperation. [para. 4]

The old postwar international financial institutions are out of date. They have to be rebuilt for a wholly new era in which there is global, not national, competition and open, not closed, economies. International flows of capital are so big they can overwhelm individual governments. And trust, the most precious asset of all, has been eroded. [para. 5]

Confidence about the future is vital to building confidence for today. [para. 7]

To do this, we need cross-border supervision of financial institutions. [para. 8] (*Washington Post*, October 17, 2008)

- (14) We live in a world in which our economies are interconnected. [para. 4] (. . .)

We must strengthen cooperation among the world's financial authorities. [para. 21] (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

The authors of the excerpts above argue that the financial crisis is solvable when world leaders have 'confidence', 'trust' and are willing to 'work together' and 'strengthen cooperation'. The discourse from other fields is incorporated into the global economic discourse. From a political economy point of view, financial crisis is intrinsic in capitalism itself; it is the means by which it renews itself (Harvey, 2010). But this phenomenon is not articulated in the discourse of financial crisis. It can be true that global capitalism has opportunities to renew itself through productivity only if the goods and services the giants produce have a

strong demand for high returns. Global cooperation is constituted by networked ('interconnected') economic systems that facilitate exchanges of information, goods, capital, and labor. The very structure of this network is vulnerable to severe impacts resulting from socio-political dynamics of the local systems. Malfunction in any point of this network would easily spread, creating damage to the entire system (McDonald & Robinson, 2010). Such risk can exist in the global financial system constituted by a network of local independent financial institutions. If one local institution experiences a breakdown, the whole network will be exposed to fatal risk; therefore, there is a need for a 'cross-border supervision' (13). George Bush argues that 'We live in a world in which our economies are interconnected', but the interconnected economies are the most vulnerable to a crisis (Harvey, 2010). This is a risk of globalization. The risk of the so-called hyper-globalization is even worse when there is no circulation of 'trust' among the actors to whom the system is bestowed. Hyperglobalist frequently pass this phenomenon unchecked. If the circulation of trust grows thin, the whole financial system will get into a recession and finally collapse (McDonald & Robinson, 2010). For example, Iceland that is financially 'interconnected' collapsed in a matter of weeks. Furthermore, the impact of crisis affects both local and global society, such as the collapse of the giant investment bank Lehman Brothers, which has institutionally contributed to the recession of American economy and finally the world economy.

Taken altogether, the context of the U.S. and China texts is concerned with the economy in crisis. However, their contexts seem to be different in the course of history. The USA has always been a liberal country that is contingent on and allows for the free market impulse through competition in a single marketplace. That said, for a long time, the USA has been on the capitalist stance by liberalizing the system of trade and market as revealed in the excerpts below:

- (15) Free market capitalism is far more than economic theory. It is the engine of social mobility—the highway to the American Dream. (. . .). [para. 28]

The record is unmistakable: If you seek economic growth, if you seek opportunity, if you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go. (Applause.) And it would be a terrible mistake to allow a few months of crisis to undermine 60 years of success. [para. 31]

The world will see the resilience of America once again. We will work with our partners to correct the problems in the global financial system. We will rebuild our economic strength. And we will continue to lead the world toward prosperity and peace. [para. 37] (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

Americanism and the hegemony exist in the excerpt above. The nominal groups 'the American Dream' and 'the resilience of America' are two entities that can only refer to the USA. The author argues that 'social mobility', 'social justice' and 'human dignity' is attained through 'free market capitalism'. The clause 'the world will . . .' and 'we will lead . . .' represent the U.S. contested dominance of global economy. China, on the other hand, is a former communist country that heavily relied on an economic system characterized by the collective ownership of property and by the organization of labor for the common advantage of all members as well as a system of government in which the state plans and controls the economy. A single, often authoritarian party holds power, claiming to make progress toward a higher social order in which all goods are equally shared by the people. Production facilities are state-owned and production decisions are made by official policy and not directed by market action.

In the present situation, however, even China seems to be dependent on the global market and has to follow and abide by the system of neoliberalism and global capitalism in struggle for dominance in the global economy. This statement is supported by the discursive practice in the strategic text:

(16) I want to reaffirm here China's abiding commitment to peaceful, open and cooperative development. China is ready to work with other members of the international community to maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth, tackle various global risks and challenges, and contribute its share to world harmony and sustainable development. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009, para. 14)

The excerpt above indicates that China is now firmly in support of the global system of economy even in the face of financial turmoil. The verbal group 'reaffirm' presupposes that China has been consistent in promoting 'world economic growth'. China is therefore ready to cooperate with other nations to 'maintain international financial stability'. Although not asserted, this political economic stance emerges because China is a world major exporter and therefore its leaders are willing to 'tackle various global risks and challenges' for 'world harmony and sustainable development'.

Wen Jiabao articulated this statement because he wanted to look 'good' to other leaders of state, chiefs of central banks, and foreign policymakers. The prepositional phrase 'with other members of the international community' and nominal groups 'cooperative development', 'world economic growth' and 'world harmony' illustrate Jiabao's political economic stance in which China is a committed country in promoting the well-being of the world society. This political economic position of China is compatible with that of the USA in which Bush's statement (15) sees 'working with partners' and 'rebuilding our economic strength' as the required strategies for economic recovery.

Altogether the analysis of global economic discourse during the global financial crisis provides us with an account that both the USA and China are textualizing the discourse of global economy in a similar socio-political context, namely, being engaged in promoting world economic growth even though national interests are inevitable. We now

turn to the main standpoint and argumentation structures of the global economic discourse during the financial crisis.

5.2 Structure of Arguments in Discourse of Global Economy

During the global financial crisis, state leaders, free-market economists and even newspaper columnists take part in debating the issue. The focal standpoint of their arguments internalizes a lasting socio-economic belief. The global economy is argumentatively treated in discourse as an inevitable economic logic that is not possible for turning back. The best way to uncover the construction of this logic is by dismantling the argumentation. The argumentation structure here is analyzed according to the pragma-dialectical approach, which is based on the principles of maximally argumentative analysis and maximally argumentative interpretation (van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017). Numbers symbolize the arguments and sub-arguments of each text. Since each text contains multiple arguments, the numbers appear in sequence. The bracketed numbers with apostrophe indicate implied arguments or implied sub-arguments. The structure of arguments is set out in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. The Arguments on global economy during the crisis

Title, source and author	Structure of argumentation
	1 This is the first financial crisis of the new global age.
Out of the Ashes	2 The global financial crisis requires global solutions.
<i>Washington Post</i> , Gordon Brown, October 17, 2008	2.1 We have to rebuild the new international financial institutions.
	2.2 We need confidence to resolve the global financial crisis.

	2.3	We need the boldest global cooperation to solve the crisis.
	2.4	We have to recapitalize our banks across many continents.
	3	The financial crisis is a defining moment and an opportunity to create new rules for our global economy.
Financial Markets and World Economy George Bush, November 13, 2008	1	The financial crisis was unavoidable.
	1.1	The massive inflow of foreign capital and easy credits affected the housing market.
	1.2	The financial crisis was ignited when housing markets declined.
	2	We need broader reforms to strengthen the global economy.
	2.1	Our nations must make our financial markets more transparent.
	2.2	We must ensure that markets, firms, and financial products are properly regulated.
	2.3	We must enhance the integrity of our financial markets.
	2.4	We must strengthen cooperation among the world's financial authorities.
	3	Capitalism is the most efficient and just way of structuring an economy.
	(3.1')	(Free market capitalism should be implemented by all nations.)
	3.2	Free market capitalism is the engine of social mobility.

3.3 The crisis was not a failure of the free market system.

(3.3.1') (Free-market capitalism should not be blamed for the financial crisis.)

4 We face this financial crisis together and we need to defend capitalism together.

**Strengthen
Confidence and
Work Together for
a New Round of
World Economic
Growth**

Wen Jiabao, January
28, 2009

1 This financial crisis is the most severe since the Great Depression.

2 The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world.

2.1 We must restore market confidence.

2.2 We need to deepen international economic cooperation.

2.3 We should reform the international financial system.

2.4 We should hold responsibilities and obligations to minimize the damage caused by the international financial crisis.

3 Confidence, cooperation and reform are keys to tackling the crisis.

Compromises Needed to Save Global Economy <i>China Daily</i> , Liu Junhong, April 02, 2009	1	Global economy is on the verge of collapse.
	1.1	Protectionism has swept across the world in the face of the crisis.
	1.2	European countries and the US hold different views towards policies on international finance due to protection of their interests.
	2	The G20 summit should coordinate policies and strategies among different powers to save the world economy.
	3	Compromises needed to save global economy.

The overall construction of arguments on the global economy during the financial crisis as presented in Table 3.1 is in the form of problem-solution structure. The major standpoint of arguments as set out in Table 1 can be amalgamated by means of a modus ponens analysis, that is, an “if...then...” statement (van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017), which can be illustrated as follows:

Premise 1: If global economy is faced with a financial crisis, then we must find solutions to the crisis.

Premise 2: Global economy is faced with a financial crisis.

Conclusion: Therefore, we must find solutions to the crisis.

The conclusion of argumentation in the discourse is that global economy must sustain even though it is faced with the financial crisis. The standpoint is defended by multifaceted arguments as illustrated in Table 3.1. The arguments encourage the restructuring of chaotic global economy through opportunity, confidence, and challenge, which is regarded as the driving forces for recovery. The major standpoint is embedded in the discourse by a mixture of discursive processes from political economy, monetary economics and sociology of capitalism as

well. The discourses from these disciplines are articulated together in the discourse of financial crisis. The global economic project is regarded as an exorable economic logic that must be maintained all time.

The first-person plural 'we' of the arguments in Table 3.1 is the exclusive-community 'we' that refers to leaders of state and monetary policymakers. The arguments illustrate that the authors regard the global financial crisis as a 'defining moment for the world economy'. They also see the crisis as an opportunity, i.e., 'the opportunity to create new rules', presupposing that the global economy needs 'new rules' and 'compromises', because the practices of existing global economy are assumed to have fulfilled national interests, for instance, protectionism. Altogether the arguments reveal that, although it may be at stake, the global economic discourse and its real manifestation is worth fighting for. The discursive struggle is not only in the form of economy, but also in political and social aspects. The inquiry which follows will extend our discussion about the major standpoint and argumentation structures to include the rhetorical means of persuasion.

5.3 Strategic Maneuverings in Discourse of Global Economy

5.3.1 Topical Selection

The discourse of global economy is strategically maneuvered through topical selection. The topic of the discourse during the global financial crisis seems to suggest that the authors are defending the ideas of capitalist globalization. Whether it is clearly stated in title of the press like 'Compromises needed to save global economy' (*China Daily*, April 02, 2009) and in the headline 'The financial crisis is also an opportunity to create new rules for our global economy' (*Washington Post*, October 17, 2008) or it can be derived from the overall propositional content of text, the topic of discourse is all about the struggle in the current global economy. Like any other social problem, the global financial crisis can be a 'defining moment', 'challenge' or 'opportunity'; hence an active social process that is hard but needs to be tackled.

The topic choices are made most relevant to the context of situation (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) and the mental model (van Dijk, 2009) as part of a bigger issue in the current process of the global economy. Since the global economy affects everyone, its discourse topics correspond to the field of social life, that is, the current global economic growth in the chaotic situation. These topics are raised and their arguments are put forward, because they are potential for measuring the economic development of the world economy. The topical potential suggests an economic transformation from the current situation to a better condition, discursively through legitimization as in 'Compromises needed to save global economy' and inexorable economic logic as in 'We live in a world in which our economies are interconnected.'

The texts are bound to the conundrum of global economy and its survival in the age of globalization. For example, the Op-Ed article by Gordon Brown 'Out of the Ashes' (*Washington Post*, October 17, 2008) and his attention-getting sentence 'This is a defining moment for the world economy' is compatible with the topic of article. This chapter was written in response to the reform of the international financial system by the European Union and the USA. This Op-Ed article is persuasive. From a transdisciplinary paradigm, what one can detect from the context of its headline and the article as a whole is that recontextualization is mobilized—a movement from the economy 'is' to the politic 'ought'; the economy is nationally sluggish. Therefore, it needs restructuring between economy and politic and rescaling from the national, regional to the global economy, from closed to open economies. In other words, it is a system of neoliberal economy that operates here—the economic structure that attempts to restrict the trade regulation of the government by 'new rules', but allows it to be decided by the global market. New rules can include tight supervision 'To do this, we need cross-border supervision of financial institutions' (13). Some countries have to supervise and regulate others in terms of financial matters. The hidden agenda beyond the discourse of supervision within the global economy is the legitimization of dominance and control of the developed economies over the least developed ones. The dominance

and control are usually exercised by manipulating the mind of the public through discourse (van Dijk, 2009).

To accord with the audience demand, the discourse topic is selected from a potential of issues. For example, the macro topic of George Bush's speech was about the summit's ways to tackling the financial crisis entitled 'Financial markets and world economy':

(17) The leaders attending this weekend's meeting agree on a clear purpose — to address the current crisis, and to lay the foundation for reforms that will help prevent a similar crisis in the future. We also agree that this undertaking is too large to be accomplished in a single session. The issues are too complex, the problem is too significant to try to solve, or to come up with reasonable recommendations in just one meeting. So this summit will be the first of a series of meetings. [para. 5]

It will focus on five key objectives: understanding the causes of the global crisis, reviewing the effectiveness of our responses thus far, developing principles for reforming our financial and regulatory systems, launching a specific action plan to implement those principles, and reaffirming our conviction that free market principles offer the surest path to lasting prosperity. (Applause.) [para. 6]

Part of this excerpt indicates that George Bush speaks for the other state leaders 'The leaders attending this weekend's meeting agree on a clear purpose ... and reaffirming our conviction that free market principles offer the surest path to lasting prosperity'. At the beginning of his speech, George Bush introduces the topic i.e. the global financial crisis and offers suggestions of how governments in the world should deal with it cooperatively, but later he links the financial crisis to the resonance of free market capitalism:

(18) Like any other system designed by man, capitalism is not perfect. It can be subject to excesses and abuse. But it is by far the most efficient and just way of structuring an economy. [para. 27]

Free market capitalism is far more than economic theory. It is the engine of social mobility—the highway to the American Dream. It's what makes it possible for a husband and wife to start their own business, or a new immigrant to open a restaurant, or a single mom to go back to college and to build a better career. It is what allowed entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley to change the way the world sells products and searches for information. It's what transformed America from a rugged frontier to the greatest economic power in history—a nation that gave the world the steamboat and the airplane, the computer and the CAT scan, the Internet and the iPod. [para. 28]

Ultimately, the best evidence for free market capitalism is its performance compared to other economic systems. Free markets allowed Japan, an island with few natural resources, to recover from war and grow into the world's second-largest economy. Free markets allowed South Korea to make itself into one of the most technologically advanced societies in the world. Free markets turned small areas like Singapore and Hong Kong and Taiwan into global economic players. [para. 29]

Cuba, once known for its vast fields of cane, is now forced to ration sugar. And while Iran sits atop giant oil reserves, its people cannot put enough gasoline in its— in their cars. [para. 30] (George Bush, November 13, 2008).

This topic shift occurs because George Bush is talking in front of American audience, but for a global impact. He takes the opportunity of economic crisis issue for granted and contextualizes it into preaching the gospel of capitalism. This topic shift does ideological work; it promotes capitalism. The ideology attaches to the vocabulary 'free market', 'engine of social mobility' and 'other economic systems.' The

main topic of argumentative discourse is manifested in the title 'Financial Markets and the World Economy', but later it derails to free markets and capitalism. The purpose of speech was to outline the steps that America and its partners are going to take to overcome this financial crisis. But the argumentation shifts; it is rhetorically correct, but argumentatively fallacious. In other words, the argument seems to be sound, but is not so. This is because it violates the rule that the proponent must defend the topic and observes the relevance rule (van Eemeren, 2018). It is thus a good argument, but with a bad process. When the argument derails, George Bush social identity also shifts from the president of the United States to the mouthpiece of capitalism. Simply put, the speech is socially and cognitively defending capitalism as it is clearly asserted in 'Like any other system designed by man, capitalism is not perfect. It can be subject to excesses and abuse. But it is by far the most efficient and just way of structuring an economy' (18). The denial linker 'but' and the superlative 'most efficient' presuppose as if other economic systems are less efficient and not just.

In a different part of the speech, George Bush claims that the other models of economy—Cuba's communist and Iran's Islamic socialist—are detrimental and backward, as in 'Cuba, once known for its vast fields of cane, is now forced to ration sugar. And while Iran sits atop giant oil reserves, its people cannot put enough gasoline in its— in their cars' (18). The author raises the topic that is easier to handle and most agreeable to the audience. He picked up the less developed countries and presented their weaknesses. He undermines the development of these countries. He does not realize that the development of these countries are not always attributed to the economic systems they hold, but to the global discriminations in an opportunity due to the hegemonic political economic policies such as embargos, blockades and limited accesses to technological advances. There is also a polarization in the excerpt. The USA is represented in a positive way while Cuba and Iran are represented negatively.

5.3.2 Adaptation to Audience Demand

Argumentative discourse does not always look neutral to all audiences. The fact that George Bush chose the Federal Hall National Memorial as the location for the speech delivery is political. The speech is strategically maneuvered in order to show that Americans are steadfast in holding their positions in coping with practices of the global economy even during the financial crisis. After all, the speech was delivered several days before the G20 talks about the global economic crisis. George Bush put forward the argument that is not only easy to handle and but also most agreeable to audience as in (18). In the case of the context and discourse topic there is a dialectical relation between the discourse of global economy and venue. George Bush could have addressed his speech under the title 'Financial Markets and World Economy' at the National Cathedral as he did when he responded in the rival speech to the 9/11 attacks. But this speech is not about war on terror. Consequently, the Federal Hall National Memorial is one of the best places. What one can learn from the speech is the evidence that discourse on a particular social problem has social relations with other social entities (Fairclough, 2013). The embedded clause 'what makes it possible for a husband and wife . . .' (18) presumes that other economic systems cannot do better than 'free market capitalism'. Economic hardship of the "uncounted for" is marginalized. Therefore, Bush's statement can be ideological. As covered by Al-Jazeera and RT between August and November 2011, the statement is contradictory to the fact; hundreds of Americans had to sleep on their pick-up trucks on the street amid the seizure of their homes by the capitalist investment banks. More American children are now dependent on their food stamps. But George Bush is still eager to promote the idea that capitalism 'transforms' America into a great economy, and 'changes' the way people buy and sell their products, without considering that capitalism is beneficial to a few people but detrimental to the others. In other parts of speech [para. 34], George Bush persuades the audience to believe that the past failures of capitalism in 1929, 1940s and 1970s

were restored by the free-market economy. The most apparent evidence that adaptation to audience demand emerged in Bush's speech is when he links the speech to capitalism with the audience acceptance.

Discourse and social reality have a dialectical relationship. The dialectical interdependence between discursive and non-discursive aspects provides the authors with resources for saying things according to communication setting. For example, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao delivered a speech at the opening ceremony of the World Economic Forum (WEF) meeting in Davos on January 28, 2009. The speech was attended by the WEF chairman Professor Schwab, members of the forum, governors of central banks, corporate managers, market analysts and the like. This all has its relevance to China's role in the global economy and these people determine how the global economy propels. The speech was delivered with contents that were in accordance with audience demand. Premier Wen Jiabao bows to the free-market ideology and agrees to the developed countries' proposal of finding solutions to the global financial crisis. For such a maneuvering strategy, Wen Jiabao makes persuasive statements in the 2009 WEF meeting that:

(19) As a big responsible country, China has acted in an active and responsible way during this crisis. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009, para. 4)

The verb group 'has acted' and circumstance of manner 'in an active and responsible way' presupposes that people thought China did not act in such a way. At the end of that speech Wen Jiabao convincingly states:

(20) We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win progress. [para. 7] (. . .)

The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world. Confidence, cooperation and responsibility are keys to overcoming the crisis. Confidence is the source of strength. The power of confidence is far greater than what can be imagined. [para. 8] (. . .)

I want to reaffirm here China's abiding commitment to peaceful, open and cooperative development. China is ready to work with other members of the international community to maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth, tackle various global risks and challenges, and contribute its share to world harmony and sustainable development. [para. 14] (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009).

This partly reused excerpt demonstrates that, although Wen Jiabao does not use the ideological word 'global' for the context of economic growth, he uses it for 'risk' and 'challenges'. This is the political economic strategy of China from the discursive perspective. The articulation of 'the commitment' agrees with audience demand. If the utterance had been 'I want to reaffirm here China's abiding commitment to free, *global* economic market', it would sound provocative. The WEF members would think of emerging China as the economic rival of the dominant USA. But given the fact that his authority as a leader from China is concerned with capital (economic, social, cultural), even the socialist Wen Jiabao is transforming China into the global capitalist economy. This transformation is discursively manifested through the audience demand in terms of conciliatory words 'reform' and 'opening-up' as in 'We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win progress.'

The discourse of 'opening-up' is enacted to be less provocative. He uses it as an indicator of globalist style, denoting liberal economy. But politically as an emerging economic country that wakes from its communist orthodoxy, for China the discourse of 'opening-up' is in some way well-matched with the globalist audience's expectation that China has woken up from its communist slumber and embraced the free market ideology. This does not deny that the contents of the speeches are in general still tied with China's national economic interests, where banal nationalism is self-evident in that one's nationality is inevitably articulated in front of the general public. The discourse of 'opening-up' portrays China's involvement in the world economic arena by rescaling its national interests.

The use of nominal groups 'challenge', 'confidence' and 'cooperation' in (20) is a discursively strategic bow to the audience demand of other influential figures, the international political economists, and certainly the WTO and the IMF. After all, Jiabao's counterparts, Gordon Brown and George Bush, use the same lexical items to address the issue. The bow is not physical but semiotic, repeating and borrowing what one has said and agreed upon.

5.3.3 Presentational Choices

From a genre perspective, the strategic texts are all talking about the same social problem, the same social reality, that is, the meltdown of global economy *vis-à-vis* in the global financial crisis. The global economy is generally argued as real—the concrete results have been achieved. But sometimes it is imagined, which no more than the intellectual language game. This imagination is presented through 'conditional if' discourse as illustrated in the following excerpts:

- (21) In the next few weeks, we need to show the same resolve and spirit of cooperation to create the rules for our new global economy. If we do this, 2008 will be remembered not just as a year of financial crisis but as the year we started to build the world anew. (*Washington Post*, October 17, 2008, para. 11)
- (22) The record is unmistakable: If you seek economic growth, if you seek opportunity, if you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go. (George Bush, November 13, 2008, para. 31)

The conditional clauses in (21) and (22) are part of 'irrealis' statements (Fairclough, 2003); they are assumptions and predictions. The enactment, discursive formation of such an argumentation strategy as conditional clauses is ideologically motivated. The use of the conditional "if" for the discourse topic strategically shapes a populist discourse that free market is an effective system to gain economic prosperity and that everybody is responsible to contribute. That is, the discourse supports free trade

of global capitalism and belittles its negative impacts on the small firms, and the owners and their family. The 'spirit of cooperation' (21), the 'free market' (22) and its '60 years of success' (15) are naturalized as the indicators of economic globalization success. The 70 years of success of the socialist system, as that of USSR, is not confessed but undermined (18). The general technique of argumentation is thus substantially manifested through the derailment of the arguments, that is, overall the arguments are about tackling the global financial crisis but at the same time promote capitalism.

In addition, references are often made to advances of technology as in (18) and statistical figures (below) to indicate the success of the rescaled economy. The assertion concerning statistical figures strategically polishes the argumentation:

(23) The Chinese Government has rolled out a two-year program involving a total investment of RMB 4 trillion, equivalent to 16% of China's GDP in 2007. (...) This two-year stimulus program has gone through scientific feasibility studies and is supported by a detailed financial arrangement. RMB 1.18 trillion will come from central government's budget, which is expected to generate funds from local governments and other sources. [para. 4]

(24) China's economy is in good shape on the whole. We managed to maintain steady and relatively fast economic growth in 2008 despite two unexpected massive natural disasters. Our GDP grew by 9%. CPI was basically stable. We had a good grain harvest for the fifth consecutive year, with a total output of 528.5 million tons. Eleven million and one hundred and thirty thousand new jobs were created in cities and towns. [para. 6] (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009)

The rhetorical strategy of presentational choices by referring to the statistical figures for generalization, as illustrated above, is to convince the discourse participants. Such argumentative techniques of presentational choices (van Eemeren; 2010) and the statistical method

(Fairclough & Thomas, 2004) characterize the discourse of global economy. The economic growth is argued to be a direct impact of free-market economy, 'reform' and 'opening up' which then is translated into the statistical figures.

The language of statistical methods is manifested by the nominal groups 'a total investment of RMB 4 trillion' and '9% growth of GDP'. No information is provided whether the growth is based on all layers of society or on the wealth of a few elites and business tycoons. The account of global economic issues through the presentational choices such as 'conditional if' and the uses of statistical figures constitute part of the discursive construction of the thriving global economy. But when a reality check is conducted, the global economic growth is very much in injustice, the widening gap between the rich and poor.

6. Summary

This chapter has examined the discursive construction of globalization, especially the global economy as articulated in the strategic texts from the CDA and argumentation perspectives. It can be concluded from the discussion that the discourse of global economy during the crisis is constructed through universalization and naturalization of its past success. Global economy is seen as an inexorable economic logic driven by such factors as free market, competition and opening-up. The prevailing practices of this economic logic were mired by the 2008 financial crisis. The resonance of this economic system is thus selected in the speeches of political elites and mass media coverage, so that people have insights of the current progress of global economy.

The authors reconstruct and defend the discourse of global economy in the period of financial crisis by persuasive argumentation. The authors select the topics that are to handle and most agreeable to the audience. The arguments contain a problem-solution structure. The financial ruin is arguably treated as challenges and opportunities to create new rules for the global economy. Practices of global economy must be maintained even in the epoch of the financial crisis. The global

leaders are encouraged to have confidence, restore global economic cooperation and work together to tackle the crisis. The authors use deontic modality (must, have to, should) plus verbs of material processes ('enhance', 'strengthen', 'strike', 'expand', 'reform') in presenting solutions to the crisis. The topics of discussion about the financial crisis are also used to promote the advantages of such issues as free-market capitalism and economic reforms to create new economic strategies but the same system. Unrealistic statements and statistic figures can be enacted to anticipate the success of global economy.

The global economy is presumed to be inevitable. The world civil society therefore should adapt the real programs, but needs to transform and emancipate the ones that are not compatible with the discursive practices of globalization agenda that preach to create the economic well-being of people through equity of global transformation. For that reason, there is a need of acquiring critical language awareness for the world society on the importance of understanding both the discursive processes and the material processes of globalization.

CHAPTER 4

Discourse of Global Economic Strategies

In this chapter, the analysis focuses on the discourse of the global economic strategies as they were construed by bank chiefs, state leaders, and influential economists in the media, economic forums, and state addresses during the 2008 global financial crisis. The chapter will cover such critical issues as reforming the global economic system, maintaining flows of capital and investment, and sustaining competition in the global market. The approaches employed to deal with the topic will be state theory, cultural political economy, and critical linguistics.

1. Introduction

Global economy can be embedded in discourse and is politically determined. It is arguably an ideologically motivated economic practice of globalization involving discourse which is produced and naturalized by the proponent states, globalist individuals, governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations. Consequently, since the

rise of globalization era in the second half of the twentieth century, the relationship between language (discourse) as a form of social structure and globalization as an economic phenomenon has been more salient in the transformation, restructuring and re-scaling of global issues. For example, during the 2008-2011 global economic crises, state leaders advanced their own arguments to seek new ways to restructure the global economy. This exemplifies my point that discourse plays a significant role in representing particular social reality such as the global economic policy. It also illustrates that discourse is politically and socially constructed. For instance, a political speech as specific semiosis may construct a particular political economic perspective that ultimately brings about social transformations in the contemporary global society. The interrelationship between discourse as an element of the social practices and the new global economic agenda in these turbulent times thus becomes a scientific inquiry in language-based critical social science.

The real-estate bubble of the 2000s, subprime mortgages, and audacious financial engineering practices such as excessive lending precipitated the 2008 global financial crisis that is difficult for recovery. This economic turmoil gives rise to supposedly new economic strategies such as the structural reform of financial institutions in both developed and developing countries (Shiller, 2008; Crotty, 2009). The United States as a developed country and China as an emerging economic country, for instance, have probably set up essential strategies in coping with the global economic processes in the turbulent times. Their state leaders as politicians attempt to provide solutions to the economy in the downturn through discourse. As a result, to cope with the recession, language as a means of constituting socioeconomic practices is of considerable importance in ensuring potential solutions to the global financial problems and establishing new strategies of the global economy. This is because economic strategies are always articulated in and through discourse (Jessop, 2004; Fairclough, 2006). In other words, global economy has discursive character and is politically constituted. Therefore, when dealing with globalizing processes of economy, it

is necessary to refer to language and political economy. The social processes of economic form of globalization and political economy have a dialectical relationship. By means of critical social inquiry, such as CDA, this dialectical relationship provides us with strong understanding of global economy as both textual and social material processes.

Recapping previous literature on discourse and the global economy in turbulent times, I have identified some studies that focus on the global financial crisis in the context of discourse analysis and interrelated disciplines. For example, Fairclough & Fairclough (2011) investigated the UK government's response to the economic crisis in the 2008 pre-budget report. They were concerned with the quest of incorporating argumentation theory into critical discourse analysis (CDA). The study was specifically aimed at bringing practical reasoning to CDA so that the discipline provides further contribution to the development of critical social science. Their analysis of the corpus of the UK government's response to the economic crisis suggests that practical reasoning should be incorporated into CDA to better understand the discursive processes of a social problem. Meanwhile, Lischinsky (2011) used corpus linguistics to investigate how economic actors construct the financial crisis in annual reports from 75 large Swedish companies. He refers to 50 documents released by the companies. The quantitative analysis shows that the crisis is strongly associated with abstract, macroeconomic aggregates and less with stakeholders. The qualitative analysis reveals that many of the concordances are abstract nominalizations concealing the social actors.

Recently few other scholars have also been interested in the discourse of economic crisis (De Ville & Orbie, 2014; Kelsey et al., 2016). De Ville & Orbie (2014) investigated the European Union (EU)'s trade policy discourse between 2008-2012 financial-economic crises. Their analysis shows that the EU's trade discourse has been adapted to the changing crisis environment. They identify four subtle changes of the EU's trade policy discourse: defensive, offensive-desirable, offensive-necessary and necessary-but-not-sufficient. They argue that

the EU trade Commissioners' discourses between 2008 and 2012 have continued to legitimize neoliberal trade through subtle re-articulations of the relationship between free trade and the crisis. They assert that theoretically the study contributes to CDA as well as the EU studies. In a similar vein, Kelsey et al. (2016) examined the discourse of financial crisis and austerity programs as the domain of an interdisciplinary scheme. Their analysis is based on the frameworks of rhetoric, storytelling, and political economy to explain the ideological dynamics of social and financial discourse. The study reveals that the reforms of banking sector and austerity programs are often represented through moral mechanisms of storytelling and rhetoric. Politically, national austerity programs are also contextualized with the global financial crisis.

This chapter is also concerned with the financial crisis from a CDA perspective as an interdisciplinary approach to language-based social inquiry. Nevertheless, it focuses on a different theme and larger scale, that is, the discursive construction of global economic strategies during the 2008-2011 global financial crises. It will concentrate on the economic strategies of the United States and China as representations of the world countries for the global economic studies during the crisis. In addition, this chapter has a different set of objectives and resorts to political economy, systemic functional linguistics, and state theory that commit a dialogue within CDA as an interdisciplinary study in critical social science. This chapter has three main purposes: it attempts to identify the global economic strategies constructed discursively during the financial crisis; it aims to describe how these global economic strategies are constructed in discourse; and it also seek to explain the opaque relationship between the discursive process and the global economic strategies in turbulent times.

The argument of this chapter has a set of premises. First, discourse on a particular topic within the global economic crisis is shaped to construct new economic and political strategies. Second, these strategies are raised from a stock of global economic issues. Third, the text also discursively constructs the state economic policy. To explore

these assumptions, we need to work on some specific enquiries and provide coherent responses. The enquiries are specifically related to the desirable global economic strategies in the turbulent times, the representation of these strategies by state leaders in political economic discourse.

2. The Global Economic Discourse

This chapter draws upon critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the constructivist critical science for investigating the relationship between discourse and global economic strategies in turbulent times. Social constructivism is adhered to a stance that the world around us is socially and textually constructed (Fairclough, 2013). The role of critical science is to provide people with resources for saying and doing things. As a political project, critical science is aimed at “altering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural and political goods in contemporary societies” (Kress, 1996, p. 15). Since a social transformation constitutes the major goal of doing critical science, a most suitable conceptual framework for this scientific inquiry is an explanatory critique (Bhaskar, 1986). The explanatory critique belongs to part of critical inquiry that can be in the form of critical realism (Fairclough, 2006; Sayer, 2000). The aim of explanatory critique is to reflect on the social problem at issue and provide solutions for the society with the medium of language (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

The framework is drawn upon an amalgamation of various ideas from Fairclough (2006); Jessop (2004); Yu (2015); Jessop (2008); Halliday & Matthiessen (2014), which creates CDA as a transdisciplinary study. Fairclough (2006) sees discourse as a moment of social practices, articulated by social agents within human activities including economy and politic. Discourse can contribute to constituting, transforming imaginaries into realities or merely maintaining the status quo. Theorizing state from philosophy of language perspective, Yu points out that state is conceptualized through linguistic processes. Yu (2015) argues that the use of language and the development of linguistic

communication underlie the establishment of governments, states and economic, political and social institutions.

The approach is slightly different from Fairclough (2006) and Jessop (2004) in that as a critical discourse analyst I attempt to conceptualize CDA as a discrete discipline supported by an amalgamation of social semiotics (including SFL, argumentation), state theory, and cultural political economy. In what follows, I shall first of all briefly set up the theoretical orientation of state theory, cultural political economy and then move to the issue of discourse and identity.

2.1 State Theory

This chapter resorts to state theory for part of the theoretical framework to commit a dialogue. It is called the 'theory of nation', because this term is rarely found in critical theory. The term state itself is difficult to define, but for the fundamental cornerstone of theoretical framework of this chapter, there is a need for the definition. A state is often defined as a distinct set of political institutions. However, in the contemporary theoretical framework, a state is conceived as a social relation (Jessop, 2008). This relational viewpoint enables to see state in terms of economic, political and cultural domains of the capitalist mode of production and the division of society in a national state. Seeing state from this perspective, the framework enables an analyst to look at state in the form of structure that constitutes the selectivity of strategies and actions.

State in its modern form is endowed with a multifaceted mechanism including economy and politic. As the economic, political, and cultural processes transform through space and time, the perception, position, and constitution of the structure of state has been affected by the entrenchment of contemporary globalization (Giddens, 2000). The role of state is salient in the constitution of economic and political strategies in contemporary globalization. What is meant by strategies here includes discursive formation (Foucault, 1979). Every social practice including economy has a discursive moment. The state itself, what is often narrowly

called government in the U.S. political economy, emphasizes not on territorial entity but on socio-spatial relations with differential strategic effects including discourse (Fairclough, 2006). Semiosis seen from the discursive perspective plays a crucial role in constructing, construing, and enacting imaginaries of globalization which can be manifested in reality. The presence of conflating structural and discursive concerns in a more inclusive strategic-relational analysis helps develop a reflexive analysis (Sum & Jessop, 2015), which oscillates between the analysis of discursive moment and the extra-discursive structures.

2.2 Cultural Political Economy

The term *political economy*, according to the World Bank, is subject to multiple understandings. Its origin can be traced in the work of French Physiocrats, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, David Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* and Karl Marx's *Capital*. In this body of work, the term referred to the conditions of production, distribution, and consumption or what today is understood as *economics*. In other words, political economy is an interdisciplinary study drawing upon economics, political science, sociology, among others, in explaining the crucial role of political factors in determining economic outcomes. Meanwhile, the term cultural political economy is quite new in academic literature. It is regarded as a post-disciplinary approach to human inquiry of complex social life in quest for the balance of social forces.

Cultural political economy (CPE) combines concepts and tools from critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical economic and political inquiry to investigate the discursive and material processes of the capitalist mode of production, what has lately been called "a law of globalized value" (Amin, 2010, p. 12) that ultimately leads to the unequal global development. According to Sum & Jessop (2015), cultural political economy is still a burgeoning transdisciplinary approach to critical realism, which is concerned with "the semiotic and structural aspects of social life" (p.1). CPE deals with the intersubjective production of meaning in which semiosis plays a crucial role. The framework of the inquiry is not

to add culture to the economy, but to relate culture to social processes of economic imaginaries that have possibilities to be manifested in reality. The concern emanates from a viewpoint that our social life is so complex that it needs semiotic mechanism to explain it without reducing it to semiosis. CPE sees semiosis as the intersubjective production of meaning (Jessop, 2004). It is a paradigm shift in institutional political economy enlightened by the cultural turn and evolution in linguistics that recognizes semiosis contribution to the economic transformation and enactment of social relations. Epistemologically, CPE recognizes “both the constitutive role of semiosis and the emergent extra-semiotic features of social relation and their conjoint impact on capacities for action and transformation (Jessop, 2004, p. 161).

2.3 Critical linguistics

Semiotic factors contribute to construal, construction, and enactment of economic strategies, policies, and identities by selection and resonance of particular discourses embedded in argumentation, rhetoric, genre chains or even in linguistic trivialities such as personal pronoun, modality and prepositional phrases.

The state theory supports the analytical framework in terms of agency and space-time relation. A state especially nation-state is inherently construal formation of moral values, economic strategies and policy that are discursively constituted and politically predetermined. Jessop (2002) argues that political economy plays a vital role in rescaling the economy and spaces (national, regional, and global). Meanwhile, Jessop (2004) and (Sum & Jessop, 2015) focus on the semiotic dimension of political economy; they contend that the economy is culturally and politically constructed. Nonetheless, their approach to semiotic and cultural political economic analysis is somewhat in abstract. The framework needs to be supported by language analysis involving systemic linguistics and argumentation analysis. The diagram is therefore stimulated by Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics (SFL) which studies language according to three fundamental functions of

language: ideational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and textual metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The ideational metafunction is concerned with construing our experience of the world, which can be manifested as knowledge or ideology. The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with the enactment of identity (for instance, national identity). The textual metafunction deals with the creation of text, which as a whole constitutes genre, for example, a speech on the global economy. SFL views language as a resource for making meaning that resides in text.

As the conceptual framework is inspired by the transdisciplinary approach to language and globalization in contemporary society, this chapter refers to CDA which commits a dialogue between disciplines, i.e., critical linguistics, political economy and state theory. The scheme is centered by discourse as one moment of social material processes, realized ontologically in the current study in the form of concrete text. In other words, the scheme is centered by a social problem that has a semiotic aspect—discourse of global economy in turbulent times. The circles in the diagram represent disciplines and layers of analysis. The segments symbolize “dialogicality” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 42) and the dashed lines indicate that the analyst needs to cross the discipline by which the explanatory critique enables to oscillate from one discipline to another in analyzing texts on the global economy.

According to Fairclough (2003), to deal with the language-oriented social problem, one needs to refer to genre which is a way of interaction, such as political speech, Opinion-Editorial article, discourse which is a particular way of representation, for example, new economic strategies, and style which is a way of being, in our current case, the state. The transdisciplinary approach is used to tackle the social order (social and material processes of global economic strategies). The transdisciplinarity is located in the oscillating process of analysis, between linguistics, political economy and state theory. This chapter refers to CDA because of the standpoint that global economic agenda is politically embedded in discourse and that both political and economic objects are socially

constructed in discourse (Fairclough, 2006). In other words, discourse is constitutive and constituted. Consequently, the combination of critical linguistics, political economy and state theory allows the analysis of texts to be coherently integrated through a dialogue between theories that later provide resources for actualization of economic and political practices. The notion of transdisciplinary will be elaborated in the analytical approach below.

The discursive representation of global economy is a complex social phenomenon. It is viewed to be crucially determined in constituting and internalizing the way we talk about the systems of government policy, state politic, and development and the way we look at other social realities. To theorize global economy as a facet of discourse, we draw from a dialectical view that guides to the standpoint that discourse and economic practices are internalized and internalize within other moments or practices (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004). As a regulated system of talking and doing things, the social practice as treated in this chapter has various orientations—economic, political, and social—discourse may be embodied in all of these without any of them being reducible to discourse (Fairclough, 2003).

To reiterate the main points, language or semiosis in general is a complex phenomenon. It is not an independent mechanism. Therefore, its analysis needs to be incorporated with the analysis of other phenomena (be they economic, political, cultural activities). Structural relations emerge between these mechanisms.

3. Approach to Global Economic Discourse

The approach used to collect empirical materials and analyze the texts in this chapter shares an important set of family resemblances with critical linguistics and political economic forms of investigations. The most suitable analytical framework as it has been described above is therefore critical discourse analysis (CDA) that sees discourse as a particular way of representation of the social world from a transdisciplinary standpoint. CDA in this chapter is used as an inclusive

term to mean a conceptual framework for doing discourse analysis and analytical framework as well. This allows the analysis to oscillate between the two main paradigms of explanatory critique, that is, critical reading on “social structures” (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 16-17; Fairclough, 2013, p. 172) which is part of linguistics and critical social analysis on “strategies of social agents” (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 22-23), which is part of political economy. The analytical framework also seeks to include state policy analysis, which is part of state theory. As set out above, the system of analysis of discourse applied in this chapter, appositely, is transdisciplinary. It involves linguistics (Fairclough, 2003), cultural political economy (Jessop, 2004; Hahnel, 2015), and theory of state (Jessop, 2008). Thus, we need a transdisciplinary analysis for examining “the workings of language in *new economy* society” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 1, *italic mine*) as the focus of inquiry.

The analytical framework is based on CDA insights that treat discourse as semiotic (language), the inter-subjectivity production of meaning, as an irreducible element of all material social processes. We can see social life as interconnected networks of social practices of diverse sorts—economic, political, cultural etc. (Fairclough, 2003). This chapter regards discourse of globalization as a practice within social life consisting of three interrelated dimensions: genre (practice of interaction), discourse (practice of representation) and style (practice of constituting identity). This paradigm of exploration allows the analyst to investigate the two types of genre both through textually oriented analysis and through a social explanation. This is because CDA views language as a form of social practice, which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices. The analysis can focus on (1) the linguistic aspects of the text (the concrete ontological form); (2) processing relating to the circulation of text (intertextuality and interdiscursivity); and (3) the wider social practice which the text politically concerns and to which the communicative event belongs. This chapter is based on the first and third dimensions. The analysis will focus on the propositional content and linguistic features of texts which include: evaluation in texts and value assumptions; argumentation,

presupposition and implications; process types, representation of social agents and their actions; vocabulary, choices of vocabulary, the meaning of key words and patterns of collocation.

This chapter focuses on economic texts which are specifically concerned with political economic issues, state policies and strategies in the time of financial meltdown and the ways they are embedded in such genres as political economic speeches. The texts come from the United States as the world's first largest economy and China as the second largest one. References will be made to a particular source of text, that is, one Op-Ed article and four speeches that are related to the global economy in turbulent times. These texts are produced by influential figures—heads of state—and circulated by governmental institutions and mass media. The texts deal with the state's new economic agendas and interests to cope with the meltdown. These texts are strategic genre, not because they disseminate information to the global society but because their contents are decisive in shaping the government's economic policy/strategy and concerned with both the inculcation of ideology and agendas of political economy (Fairclough, 2003). In other words, the texts constitute a means of communicative action that attempts to influence and create mutual understanding rather than merely disperse information. The consumers of these texts are influential figures too, including leaders of state, members of the parliament and central bank governors who are certainly concerned with the global economic crisis.

For the China context, the texts were originally in Chinese. This chapter nevertheless uses the English versions. As they were authoritatively prepared by the government of China, the texts still belong to the discourse of China's economy. The texts for the texts for analysis are set out in the table below.

Table 4.1. Texts for analysis on global economic strategies in turbulent times

Date	Author	Title	Word count
Oct 17, 2008	Gordon Brown, <i>Washington Post</i>	Out of the Ashes	705
Nov 13, 2008	George Bush	Financial Markets and World Economy	2,955
Sept 13, 2010	Wen Jiabao	Consolidate the Upward Momentum and Promote Sustained Growth	3,246
Jan 21, 2011	Barrack Obama	Competing in the Global Economy	2,325
Sept 14, 2011	Wen Jiabao	Promote Sound, Sustainable and Quality Development	2,821
Total word count			12,052

The analysis in this chapter is labor-intensive and very much qualitative work. Consequently, I will be able to analyze only a limited number of excerpts. The analysis of the fragments purposely represents a 12,052 word-corpus, which knowingly leads to a topic-based exploration. As a common analytical convention, paragraphs are marked by (para. 0). Omissions are marked by dotted line (. . .).

4. Global Economic Strategies in Discourse

In what follows, I shall present the evidence in the form of excerpts and provide an analysis for them. As a common practice in CDA, the analysis is always interspersed with text excerpts. The exploration of global economic issues in this chapter relies on a topic-based analysis. As has been described in the Introduction, it is assumed that there are strategies in the form of precepts that the state leaders consider highly

desirable during the global economic recession. Among the important strategies are: reform the global economic system, maintain flows of capital and investment, and sustain competition in the global market. I shall discuss each of these major characteristics of the current global economy in turn.

4.1 Reform the Global Economic System

Reform is one of the essential strategies in the practices of global economy in turbulent times. The discursive practice of the current economy focuses on rescaling from local, national to global and restructuring the economy and politic. The notion of flexibility in defining space and time is conceived as a crucial feature in the economic downturn. The excerpts below provide illustrations:

[1] The old postwar international financial institutions are out of date. They have to be rebuilt for a wholly new era in which there is global, not national, competition and open, not closed, economies (para. 5). (. . .)

We have to tackle the root causes. So the next stage is to rebuild our fractured international financial system (para. 7). (. . .)

To do this, we need cross-border supervision of financial institutions (para. 8). (. . .)

Tomorrow, French President Nicolas Sarkozy and European Commission President José Manuel Barroso will meet with President Bush to discuss the urgent reforms of the international financial system (. . .). The reforms I have outlined are vital to ensuring that globalization works not just for some but for all hard-pressed families and businesses in all our communities (para. 9).

Over the past week, we have shown that with political will it is possible to agree on a global multibillion-dollar package to recapitalize our banks across many continents. In the next few weeks, we need to show the same resolve and spirit of cooperation

to create the rules for our new global economy (para. 11). (Gordon Brown, *Washington Post*, October 17, 2008)

- [2] The leaders attending this weekend's meeting agree on a clear purpose — to address the current crisis, and to lay the foundation for reforms that will help prevent a similar crisis in the future (para. 5). (. . .)

In addition to addressing the current crisis, we will also need to make broader reforms to strengthen the global economy over the long term. This weekend, leaders will establish principles for adapting our financial systems to the realities of the 21st century marketplace (para. 17). (. . .)

One vital principle of reform is that our nations must make our financial markets more transparent. For example, we should consider improving accounting rules for securities, so that investors around the world can understand the true value of the assets they purchase (para. 18).

Fourth, we must strengthen cooperation among the world's financial authorities. For example, leading nations should better coordinate national laws and regulations. We should also reform international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, which are based largely on the economic order of 1944. To better reflect the realities of today's global economy, both the IMF and World Bank should modernize their governance structures (para. 21). (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

- [3] We will deepen reform and increase the dynamism and vitality for sustainable development. China's development and progress would not have been possible without reform and opening-up. And to achieve the modernization goal of building a prosperous, democratic, culturally-advanced and harmonious country, we still need to rely on reform and opening-up. (. . .) We must deepen comprehensive reforms in the economic, political and other fields to enable the entire system to better meet the needs of developing a modern economy and building socialist democracy, push forward

social equity and justice and facilitate the free and all-round development of the people (para. 12). (Wen Jiabao, September 13, 2010)

- [4] We have taken an active part in the reform of the global economic governance structure and the building of regional cooperation mechanisms, and worked to deepen bilateral and multilateral economic and trade relations. China today is a fully open market economy. The opening-up policy has both benefited China's development and the well-being of its people and contributed to regional and global economic growth (para. 6). (. . .)

We will continue to advance both economic and political structural reform to create strong impetus for economic and social development (para. 14). (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

The excerpts indicate that reform is conceived as the crucial strategy in tackling the global economy in turbulent times. Being able to define critically and implement the concept of time and space: past vs. today, national vs. global, closed vs. open is absolutely necessary. The processes of rebuilding, rescaling, and reforming are not predetermined, not naturally given, but socially constructed (Fairclough, 2006). For example, the discourse of national economy is rescaled from China to global. Thus, there is now a need for reform of 'the global economic governance structure' [4].

Time and space are emphasized as in a 'wholly new era' the economy is not 'national' but 'global'; hence the global economy is articulated to include worldwide, 'China's development . . . regional and global economic growth' or being rescaled 'across many continents' [1], by deepening 'bilateral and multilateral economic and trade relations' [4]. Modifying adjective 'global, not national' [1] entails that the global economy is in crisis and thus it needs to be 'rebuilt' and rescaled. Since rescaling economies is a political exercise, the process involves human agents 'we' as in 'we need cross-border supervision' [1], 'we have shown . . .', 'we will also need to make broader reforms to strengthen the global

economy over the long term’ and ‘We should also reform international financial institutions . . . ’ [2] and ‘we must deepen comprehensive reforms . . . ’ [4]. The unsaid here is that despite rescaling, there exists dominance even during the financial turmoil. The control is in the form of trade liberalization in which now the United States, Western Europe, Japan and China lead the global economy. The control is also in the form of new ‘rules for our new global economy’ such as international financial supervision. But these rules are mainly supervised by ‘leading nations’, notably the United States and UK through the Bretton Woods institutions—the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO.

As a smart emerging-economy country, China represented by its leaders strategically maneuvers by taking part in the global economy through the reform and opening-up policy [3]. The policy provides China with a safe haven to bow politically to the dominant U.S. and European paradigm of the global economy and at the same time prioritizing national interests. In fact, such discursive practice is no more than lip service—an intelligent attempt to maintain a status quo by the metaphor of ‘opening-up’ and ‘reform’. This statement seems pejorative, but it can be true because the discursive representation of global economy does not seem to abandon the national interests, goals and motives of an engaging country. China’s reform includes restructuring state-owned enterprises, promoting exports and improving the investment climate. The verbal process ‘will continue’ [4] presupposes that China has already reformed its economic policy. Since it started deregulating its economy in 1978, China has transformed itself from the proletariat economy into state capitalism. It is moving from the socialist to a full market-based economy system.

Restructuring the economic practices is part of reform. It aims at changing the ways a country operates its economic policies and strategies in reorganizing enterprises for the long-term development. The excerpts below provide us with some typical examples:

[5] We are seizing the opportunity to push ahead comprehensive industrial restructuring and upgrading. In tackling the international financial crisis, we have always given top priority to transforming the economic development pattern and restructuring the economy. In the past two years, domestic demand, consumption in particular, has played an increasingly strong role in driving economic growth. (. . .) What is more important is that we have made all-round arrangements for accelerating the transformation of economic development pattern and economic restructuring from a macro and strategic perspective (para. 3). (. . .)

We need to take into consideration both the immediate needs and long-term development and, while continuing to energize the recovery, create conditions for sustainable development through structural reform. This is a common task for all countries (para. 7). (. . .)

We must deepen comprehensive reforms in the economic, political and other fields to enable the entire system to better meet the needs of developing a modern economy and building socialist democracy, push forward social equity and justice and facilitate the free and all-round development of the people (para. 12). (Wen Jiabao, September 13, 2010)

The main argument in the excerpts is that restructuring the global economic development is essential in turbulent times. Restructuring is textually constructed as ‘top priority’ which includes ‘transforming the economic development pattern’ from small to a large scale and from micro to ‘a macro and strategic perspective’ which is politically seen as a ‘common task for all countries.’ The process of restructuring enables a globalizing country to increase domestic demands that plays a crucial role in driving the economic growth in the short term. It also facilitates a country’s economic growth in the long run. Restructuring is taken for granted as a strategic momentum in the processes of global economy. Restructuring and rescaling are internalized through a contextualized movement from the economy to the politic, from ‘closed’ to ‘open’ and

from local, regional, national to global. Restructuring is a dialectical process. Economy and politic constitute each other. Both rescaling and restructuring economic practices involve human participants 'we' as in 'we will continue to advance both economic and political structural reform [4] and nations as in 'for all countries' [5]; hence, the interface between economy and politic is inevitable in the age of global economy. The inexorableness in the global economy brings about a ruling dominance with an imperialist register. Heron (2008, p. 86) point outs that globalization is "intricately tied up with the forces of imperialism and is essentially, not really new in form, but rather new in the nature of its manifestations of domination." This domination is not only discursively constructed in texts but also practiced in global social life.

Reform also includes reaffirming the deregulation of economy. It is the process that removes distortions caused by regulations or the presence of government. The term deregulation can be used interchangeably with 'opening', a name for similar policies to promote neoliberal free-trade economies. Supporters of neoliberalism such as the WTO believe that removal of regulations encourages the efficiency of a market by raising competitiveness and ultimately lowering prices—especially wages. Deregulation of the economic practices has been a major trend in Britain, the United States, and Japan. These practices are supported by the international institutions like the OECD, the IMF, and the WTO.

State leaders of the producing countries advocate the reduction of 'government intervention' in the economy. Even in the turbulent times, they still argue that market should be 'free from the intervention of government' because 'a fully open market economy' not only benefits a producing country but also contribute to 'global economic growth'. The excerpts below (partly reused) provide a picture of deregulation of the economy:

[6] All these steps require decisive actions from governments around the world. At the same time, we must recognize that government intervention is not a cure-all. For example, some blame the crisis on

insufficient regulation of the American mortgage market. But many European countries had much more extensive regulations, and still experienced problems almost identical to our own (para. 23). (. . .)

History has shown that the greater threat to economic prosperity is not too little government involvement in the market, it is too much government involvement in the market (para. 24). (. . .)

When nations open their markets to trade and investment, their businesses and farmers and workers find new buyers for their products. (. . .) Thanks in large part to open markets, the volume of global trade today is nearly 30 times greater than it was six decades ago—and some of the most dramatic gains have come in the developing world (para. 32). (. . .)

Stories like these show why it is so important to keep markets open to trade and investment. This openness is especially urgent during times of economic strain (para. 34). (. . .)

There are clear-cut ways for nations to demonstrate the commitment to open markets (para. 35). (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

- [7] The first decade of this century has seen major changes in the global political and economic landscape. It has also seen rapid industrialization and urbanization in China. Great progress has been made in China's comprehensive reform, opening-up and modernization endeavor during this decade (para. 3). (. . .)
- [8] We are pursuing a win-win strategy of opening-up to increase the openness of China's economy. Since joining the WTO in 2001, we have speeded up efforts to change the way of conducting foreign trade, improved the import and export mix, upgraded the processing trade and vigorously developed trade in services. (. . .) China today is a fully open market economy. The opening-up policy has both benefited China's development and the well-being of its people and contributed to regional and global economic growth (para. 6). (. . .)
- [9] China will continue to deepen reform and opening-up and

resolutely remove institutional hurdles to increase the momentum of pursuing sustainable development (para. 14). (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

Deregulation of the market is textually manifested by the economic strategy frequently referred to as 'opening-up'. The lexical choice 'open' seems to be the euphemism of 'global'. As the economy is part of social life, it is an open system. Therefore, ontologically the 'openness' stance is constructed through the lexical item 'open' or 'opening-up'. As euphemism, the word 'open' perhaps has a less provocative meaning compared to the word 'global' *per se*; it is used in other social contexts such as education—open university. A university that is open welcomes every person but sounds less competitive. The word 'open' also suggests that there should be no secret agenda from a special state in the global economy. In other words, there must be accountability, 'transparency', and trusted governance between countries. Simultaneously, lexical 'open' indicate the value of liberalizing economic practices, that is, open in competition. From a SFL perspective, the lexical choice 'open' can be used as a verbal group as in 'When nations open their markets' [6] and therefore it can co-occur with an inanimate colligate subject 'nations' and its predicate collocations include 'market', 'trade' and 'investment'. However, the word is used as adjective as in 'open markets', 'open economies', 'open multilateral trading regime'. Whether it is used as a main verb or modifying adjective, in the economic texts the word 'open' is part of language that embodies neoliberal free market.

In [6] the government action in the economy is decisive and the intervention is denounced despite the fact that in July 2008 to save the economy "the US government poured \$200 billion into Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the mortgage lenders, and nationalized them" (Chang, 2011, p. 8). State involvement functions as an essential salvage only when the economy is on the verge of collapse. That is how the capitalist system of economy operates. In [7] the nonfinite clause 'Since joining the WTO in 2001' presupposes that the WTO is an economic institution that endorses free trade. It is not the government but the WTO that is

the player, acting as the economic social actor in legitimizing free trade. Its deregulation of trade lessens the state's function in controlling the economy. The WTO, formed on January 1, 1995, as a successor of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in the Uruguay Round Agreements now with 134 member countries, is committed to the global free trade through the reduction and removal of 'tariffs', 'barriers', and 'institutional hurdles' from trade. Back in 1994, GATT Director General Peter Sutherland said "Governments should interfere in the conduct of trade as little as possible" (speech on the U.S. approval of WTO in New York on March 3, 1994).

The powerful WTO and other international trade agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreements have approved global competition and unregulated market as the best opportunity to create the equal prosperity of the world's population. This new governing regime increasingly provides a major general control over every aspect of the lives of the majority of the world's people. Unfortunately, the control is not for the economic well-being of nations as the claim is often made but rather on the enhancement of the power and wealth of the world's largest corporations and financial institutions. The WTO's agreements is committed to global free trade providing opportunities for multinational corporations as a resource for accumulation of wealth without taking into account the devastating consequences of free trade practices on environment. Some advocates pretend to have considered the issue by manufacturing consent that "freer trade appears to be good for the environment" (Antweiler, Copeland & Taylor, 2001, p. 877).

The Bretton Woods agencies, the World Bank, the IMF and particularly the WTO sanctify the intellectual property rights (IPRs) as an economic operational tenet and the state leader approves it. The excerpts below including reused illustrate:

[10] On 1 August 2008, the Beijing-Tianjin Intercity Railway, China's first top-class high-speed rail with full intellectual property, was put into operation, shortening the travel time between Beijing and Tianjin

to only 30 minutes and binding the two major municipalities as one (para. 3). (. . .)

We will upgrade the traditional industries with advanced technologies, nurture a number of internationally competitive enterprises with their own intellectual property and well-known brands, and build a number of world-class modern industry clusters which can serve as growth drivers, so that China can move from a big manufacturing country to a strong manufacturing country (para. 9). (. . .)

China's development is open development. China's opening-up is long-term, comprehensive and mutually beneficial. We will uphold all policies conducive to opening-up. China is committed to creating an open and fair environment for foreign invested enterprises. China gives high priority to intellectual property protection and has already made this a national strategy (para. 13). (Wen Jiabao, September 13, 2010)

[11] We will enhance capacity to create, utilize, protect and manage intellectual property rights and bring into play the creativity of the whole society (para. 11). (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

The crucial value of the free-market system is the attempt to deregulate trade and fully justify the property rights of individuals and 'enterprises.' The argument in the excerpts implies that the IPRs are not entirely secure in China but they are a reward for those who are hardworking and capable of competition. The IPRs refer to the intangible property resulting from inventive activity. They control two broadly categorized groups of ownership: industrial property and copyrights. The former includes industrial designs 'China's first top-class high-speed rail' and trademarks for brand identity 'well-known brands.' The latter refers to works such as paintings and music. The term in academia is now appropriated to suit economic discourse. Thus, IPRs need to be

'utilized', 'protected' and has become 'a national strategy'. This indicates that market is practiced based on the principle of *laissez-faire* (letting the economy do what it wants, self-regulating) in which governments should stay out of economic matters because corporations (the invisible hands) know the market better than the government. This policy is part of the characteristic of neoliberal economy, a political project that aims at facilitating the restructuring and rescaling of relations across social fields (economic, politic, and social) and spaces (national, regional, and global). This is a notorious social change of the contemporary global society (Fairclough, 2003). The change of market systems brought about radical attacks (for example, riots and looting in Britain in August, 2011) by the affected groups of people who used to live with support from the state. These people contend that the neoliberal controlled economy creates a wider division between the rich and poor.

The most severe consequences of deregulation are not from trade liberalization but from liberalization of the capital or financial markets. Financial deregulation, for example, allows banks and corporations to borrow abroad and invest without any government controls or coordination and without sufficient bank supervision. When connected by communication technology used in the international monetary system, speed of the process of capital transaction can be increased globally. For example, persuaded by the IMF and western governments, Asian governments agreed on radical financial deregulation in 1990s which ultimately led to the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Thanks to small and medium-size enterprises, Asian countries, for example Malaysia and Indonesia survived from the crisis.

Trade deregulation, without doubt, benefits importing and exporting services and not people at large. The goods imported into a country cannot become cheap only because there is no tariff or taxes. Brokers or distributors are always in pursuit of high profits. Deregulation of market can work properly if the economy is under state's control and is managed by wise leaders, who are scarcely found in modern times and let alone in the competitive and individualistic society. Riots in many parts of

globe in mid and late 2011 indicated that the current economic form of globalization needs a paradigm shift. Otherwise, conflict of interests can prompt the bigger crises, such as global financial turmoil and currency war. The unfair practices of global economy have led to opposition of capitalist economic ideology, such as Wall Street Occupy Movement in October of 2011 that was unable to control the liberalized economic system which is susceptible to recession due to “capital hunger”. For that reason, the ideological manifestation that major economic countries like the United States and China galvanize in constructing the discourse of global economy is the emergence of obviously inevitable impacts of free market on the global economy that has led to the international financial crisis and national instable currencies. The globalist often speak of ‘free-market economy’ in the name of democracy without thinking that a too free economy destroys democracy.

4.2 Maintain Flows of Capital and Investment

Maintaining flows of capital and investment constitutes another desirable economic strategy that the globalists keep promoting in turbulent times and it is assured as part of the social material processes of globalization. Capital and investment act as resources for global economic development that need to be open, moved and increased. The excerpts below (partly repeated) illustrate:

[12] The old postwar international financial institutions are out of date. They have to be rebuilt for a wholly new era in which there is global, not national, competition and open, not closed, economies. International flows of capital are so big they can overwhelm individual governments. And trust, the most precious asset of all, has been eroded (para. 5).

When President Bush met with the Group of Seven finance ministers last weekend, they agreed that we all had to deal with not only the issue of liquidity in the banking system but also the capitalization and funding of banks. It was clear that national action alone would not have been sufficient (para. 6). (. . .)

Over the past week, we have shown that with political will it is possible to agree on a global multibillion-dollar package to recapitalize our banks across many continents (para. 11). (Gordon Brown, *Washington Post*, October 17, 2008)

[13] This is a city whose capital markets have attracted investments from around the world and financed the dreams of entrepreneurs all across America. This is a city that has been and will always be the financial capital of the world (para. 2). (George Bush, November 13, 2008)

[14] We have pursued the dual strategy of introducing foreign capital and encouraging Chinese companies to invest overseas to achieve greater balance between the use of FDI and overseas Chinese investment (para. 6). (. . .)

China will continue to develop education as a priority, bring about all-round human development, and promote economic development on the basis of improving the quality of human capital. For a major developing country like China, boosting education and improving quality of human resources will drive economic development and make it more competitive. We will act quickly to achieve economic growth by increasing the quality of human capital rather than by just using more workers (para. 10). (. . .)

We will continue to improve foreign-related economic laws, regulations and policies so as to make China's investment environment in keeping with international standard, transparent and more business friendly (para. 15). (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

Capital refers to a form of economic resources. It can refer to man-made materials, financial wealth, means of production and distribution as well as labor, often called 'human capital'. The excerpts demonstrate that capital involved generally includes: financial wealth 'international flows of capital', 'foreign capital'; means of distribution 'capital markets'; and human resources 'the quality of human capital'. The issues of

the 'quality of human capital' and 'transparency' matter for the global economy in recession. It is presupposed that capital is transferable from one place to another, hence 'flows of capital'. This movement of capital is economically global as in 'international flows of capital'. But the movement of capital is socially and politically constructed. The invisible hands do the job, hence, 'the capitalization and funding of banks' (self-process entity), 'to recapitalize our banks across many continents' (active nonfinite verb without overt agency), and 'a city whose capital markets . . . a city that has been . . .' (personification of space).

The 'flows of capital' [10] means the transfer of money abroad; thus they are 'international'. They attract investors and governments, but they can sometimes erode trust between governments as represented in [1] above. Capital must keep flowing in turbulent times. Capital needs circulation to provide the owners of the means of production with a surplus they can excerpt as profits. It can be short, medium or long term but all have some effect on the exchange rate because money entering or leaving a country has to be converted from one form of currency to another. Medium- or long-term capital flows are considered less troublesome because they have less dramatic effect on the exchange rates and often associated with investment. As a result, they 'can overwhelm individual governments'. In contrast, short-term capital flows can be speculated for profit generated by interest-rate levels. A rapid growth of short-term flows can also lead to the increased instability of financial markets, such as the late 1990s East Asia crisis and the U.S. led 2008 global financial chaos. When the crisis occurs, governments must 'recapitalize banks'. This is because capital flows are the life blood of the capitalist system. The system sometimes weakens, gets interrupted and enters crisis. Then it alters again; hence, the enigma of capitalism is a vicious circle. This system of political economy can be transformed, for example, from old capitalism (ownership of land, factories) to new capitalism (financial market, technological information, knowledge). Most important of all, the system offers people 'freedom'. People who endorse capitalism can do what they want and run any business they like; it provides them with dignity and profit because of competitive

hard work. Profits in capitalist economy are perceived as a reward for those who are capable of competition. One way to get financial rewards is through investment.

Excerpts [11] & [12] indicate that 'investment' like capital can move from one country to another called 'foreign direct investment' or 'FDI'. The word and its derivatives can collocate with a number of words including 'foreign', 'fixed' (adjectives), 'environment', 'overseas', 'utilization' (nominal groups), and 'make', 'use', 'attract' (verbal groups). The adjectival words are politically concerned with source or condition. The nominal groups are concerned with political economy; meanwhile the verbal groups that the word accompanies are grammatically to do with material process verbs. The grammatical colligation of 'investment' is geographical spaces, for example, 'a city', 'the world', 'America', and 'China'. The excerpts show that investment has become an essential concept in the discourse of global economy in turbulent times. Politically, investment has become one of the many different things that need to be globalized. Therefore, its contribution to globalization gains is discursively indisputable. The potential object of investment is 'capital' or money that provides investors with higher returns. As used in [11] & [12], investment seems to signify brownfield investment, that is, acquisition of local firms by a foreign company rather than greenfield investment, establishing new firms that will provide training for labor force; this is because training the new labor force is less profitable. Even though improving 'the quality of human capital' is a priority, it is only for making the economy 'more competitive'. Taken together, the United States and China have liberalized capital and investment, but no mention is made that the countries have also liberalized labor. The aim of argument in the excerpts is to win the state leader and investor approval of a reshaped global economic strategy in turbulent times, not to promote labor rights.

Conceptually every country is encouraged to develop, equal growth of the world, for example through FDI. But in reality, investment tends to move into its favored locations. Consequently, investment is more

difficult to negotiate for some economies. This is one side effect of unequal globalization. The main objective of the global economy is to boost equal growth for mankind, i.e. a process of global social changes. However, capitalists do not throw a dice when they invest their money. They are selective. They choose the most promising location. The imprudent state of affairs is that capitalists now invest more in financial markets than in productive economic activities. Capital also has a nationality. The profits accumulated from investment go to the home countries of investors. But this policy is not articulated in the texts. Furthermore, capital investments are concentrated in the developed world and in a few developing countries. In recent years, China as the world's second largest economy has become the most preferable. China has become an easy target for investment because foreign investors generally aim to take advantage of cheaper labor. Many other Asian countries such as Cambodia and Bangladesh are neglected. This happens because there is an alleged lack of infrastructure, facilities and skilled labors in these countries or because of the small market that exists there. The majority of developing countries still allocate more finances from their fiscal budget for social welfare, food sustainability, clean water and sanitation. As a result, they are unable to build better roads, industrial ports, and airports to attract FDI.

The undesirable consequences of the free movement of capital and investment hurt neglected countries. For example, as lack of FDI is suffered by countries of the "Third World", marginalization and inequality are unavoidable. This could be the case because "investment does not flow from the areas of capital abundance to the locations where capital is relatively scarce. Instead, it tends to concentrate in favoured locations" (Kiely, 2000, p.1066). North America, Western Europe, Japan, and China are among the most favored; less developed Central America, South Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa as well as small states are marginalized (Bora et al., 2004; Lee & Smith, 2010). Indeed, the flows of wealth to the "Third World" have declined for hundreds of years and created inequality of investment opportunities for less developed countries (Milanovic, 2016). Marginalization does not always mean low quantities

of investments but it also means low quality. That is, companies invest in the locations where 'human capital' is cheap. This is partly in line with globalization from the Washington consensus onwards that was directed at freeing the movement of capital and labor so that businesses could find the cheapest labor force in the most convenient locations. For the sake of the overall-targeted development of humankind, the alternative globalization—the one that emerges from “below” must be compelled—by empowering the labor and labor providing countries.

Investment can boost the economic growth if it is equally distributed. However, in the real practices, investors tend to concentrate in promising locations with a large profit. Countries that have large market for goods and services but with lower cost of productions will attract investment most. On the other hand, countries that provide small market do not attract capital investment. Ultimately, to reduce poverty as one objective of globalization remains merely a claim that is discursively constructed. The claim is getting more difficult to prove when the current global economic growth is sluggish and heavily dependent on stiff competition. This is the topic to which we now turn.

4.3 Sustain Competition in the Global Market

Competition is not a new thing in the economy. The value of stiff competition in the global marketplace is inculcated in the discursive construction of global economy in turbulent times. This strategy is highly desirable and motivated by the notion that economic activities in this modern age are regarded successful if nations are capable of high competition. Competition stands hand in hand with the concept of opening-up discussed above. The following excerpts partly reused provide examples of the concept of competition as a strategy of practicing the global economy in turbulent times:

- [15] The old postwar international financial institutions are out of date. They have to be rebuilt for a wholly new era in which there is global, not national, competition and open, not closed, economies (para. 5). (Gordon Brown, *Washington Post*, October 17, 2008)
- [16] We've seen our economy transformed by rising competition from around the globe (para. 5). (. . .)
- So we know we can compete. Not just in the industries of the past, but also in the industries of the future (para. 12). (. . .)
- [17] For America to compete around the world, we need to export more goods around the world. That's where the customers are. It's that simple (para. 13). (. . .)
- [18] During those meetings, we struck a deal to open Chinese markets to our products. They're selling here, and that's fine. But we want to sell there (para. 16). (. . .)
- [19] Now, nobody understands this better than Jeff Immelt. He understands what it takes for America to compete in the global economy. As he mentioned, I've appreciated his wisdom during these past two years. We had a difficult, difficult crisis on our hands (para. 22). (. . .)
- [20] The past two years were about pulling our economy back from the brink. The next two years, our job now, is putting our economy into overdrive. Our job is to do everything we can to ensure that

businesses can take root and folks can find good jobs and America is leading the global competition that will determine our success in the 21st century (para. 28). (. . .)

[21] So ultimately winning this global competition comes down to living up to the promise of places like this (General Electric) (para. 34). (Barrack Obama, January 21, 2011)

The common definition of lexical item 'competition' is a situation in which two or more people or groups are trying to get something which one person or group can have. Competition is also an activity involving two or more firms in which each firm tries to get people to buy its goods in preference to the other firm's goods. These two definitions of 'competition' inform us that competition is a condition in the first definition and an activity in the second that involves two or more people or firms. Conceptually, these definitions are self-evident. In the discourse of global economy, however, the word is used in terms of winning, not losing. Competition is also taken for granted in achieving a nation's economic successes. The fact that a strong competition does not always lead to fair free trade but to monopolistic market controlled by world giants is not represented in the texts.

Competition is a contested economic component even in the face of recession. The excerpts indicate that competition is economically global, hence 'the global competition' and 'this global competition'. But at the same time, competition can be 'rising'. Most importantly competition needs to be won as in 'winning this global competition'. The agency or grammatical colligation of competition process is nations as in 'For America to compete around the world' and 'America is leading the global competition'. This argument presupposes that competition is not a win-win economic activity, but an activity that creates market winners and losers. This is illustrated in the uses of argumentative indicator 'so' to conclude the points in [14]. After all, each nation is in pursuit of competitive advantage. Competition still amounts to a global economic strategy in the turbulent times since it supposedly keeps boosting growth of the global economy. This strategy is politically constructed by

the dominant economies and their financial institutions. Like the flows of capital, competition is determined by market. Economic globalization provides opportunities for countries around the world to compete in the single global marketplace. But the reality is different from what the dominant globalists proclaim. Most of the economies are dominated by giant corporations. As a result, there is no fair competition in the global market. For instance, the Switzerland's patented trademark dairy products Nestlé reach the global market from the EU single market—destroying small local dairy companies and the livelihoods of poor farmers (*GRAIN's* report, December 7, 2011). Despite huge profits from the products, the corporation rarely takes part in helping reduce starvation in poor countries like Somalia and Ethiopia even though it sells the products there. In fact, Nestlé was even accused of having killed babies in those places (*INFACT's* report, 2004).

Despite the claim 'there is global, not national, competition' and 'open, not closed, economies', the course of history has shown that competition as a system of global market is, in the end, not always fair. This is because a strong trade competition very often brings about monopolistic market. Only those companies that manufacture mass productions will control the market. Ultimately, certain groups of people and firms control the global economy. Global economy of course does not exist without competitive trade. Countries are encouraged to compete in order to thrive and provide jobs for their people. The discursive character of this globalist strategy is illustrated in utterances 'we've seen our economy transformed by rising competition from around the globe' and 'America is leading the global competition', which shows that the United States is still eager to dominate the global economy by means of naturalizing competitiveness value in economic social affairs. Given the fact that not all companies particularly those located in the developing economies are giants, this desirable value needs to be transformed, so that local and national companies in those countries are able to participate in the global economy by cooperating with the giants, such as Silicon Valley and General Electric.

Competition in the globalized economy is seen as the engine of a new economic system. One way of economic competition in the global economy is to produce large amounts of goods and provide high quality services. The discourse of global economy encourages companies (for example, *Coca Cola*, *Nestlé*, and *Citibank*) to manufacture special goods and services in order for them to compete. When the companies are producing large quantities of specific goods, the opportunity for them to compete is 'open' and as a result of that the competitive free trade becomes global. The worst consequence of it is that the practice of global economy brings about an unhealthy competition. That is, the social Darwinism of 'survival of the fittest' emerges. Small firms have to produce limited amount of goods and they have to raise the prices. For example, in Malaysia a global candy company can sell six pieces of chewing gum for only MY\$1 and still gets profit. Conversely, a similar small local firm must sell three pieces of chewing gum for MY\$1 in order to get profit. As a result, the local small firms attract only few consumers and ultimately, they collapse. The practices of existing global capitalist economy give rise to perils not promises.

The most dangerous peril is monopoly. The competitive market has placed the nation state like the United States to hold the top position in the global hierarchy because of its capacity to compete in the global market. The United States and the G7 have attempted even to control worldwide financial markets in order to exercise the monopoly, using the U.S. dollar as one of the main currencies of transaction. More than that, the United States and its seven partners managed to establish the Bretton Woods institutions, the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO. But these institutions have not done much to facilitate development in developing countries. Instead, they prefer countries which are excellent competitors. The role of competition in the practices of global economy has made the social affairs, free trade, import and export vulnerable to oppression. At the beginning the process of competition is like a game of football. It normally runs smoothly, but in the long run it may turn to a real competition. This is because whether the game is held for friendship or for a trophy, the participants of each side are cognizant that the set

target is to win the game. The same is true in a global marketplace. Although countries sign mutual trade agreements as stated in 'we struck a deal to open Chinese markets to our products' [14], each country endeavors to obtain the best opportunity. In other words, the countries engaged in the agreement always attempt to export more but import less. Accordingly, the discourse of export predominates the discourse of import in the economic texts. This suggests that it is the strongest producing country that will benefit most.

One can learn from 'They're selling here, and that's fine. But we want to sell there.' that the global economy involves exports and imports between countries. The triviality 'and that's fine' is pragmatically insincere. Politically, this is because the economic policies and politic of a country are the most determinant. At first, the reification of open competition in the global economy is manifested via discourse. Then the discursive practice moves to social reality, manifesting through productions–distributions and imports–exports. A country can win either at the discursive practice or in actual material processes or even both. Normally competition is of the same importance within the practices and within the hybridity of moments of economy and politic. As the two practices have a dialectical relationship, those countries that control the discursive practice also dominate the actual material processes. Although an open competition plays a guiding role in the global economy, it does not seem to support the globalist statement that globalization benefits everyone. The global economic project definitely benefits some countries and simultaneously it does hurt others. For instance, the U.S. market once rejected China-made children's toys because the American authority considered them to be unsafe. This rejection indicates that economic cooperation is unable to escape exclusionism. The actual fact is that China is able to produce cheap and low-quality industrial goods and products because of labor surplus.

The discursive practices of solutions to the global economic crisis have yet significantly contributed to the manifestation of material processes of the economic practices. The global economy is still

sluggish; it is on the back of economic fragility in advanced countries and moderately moving in developing countries. In the United States the economic growth is generally supported by consumption but weak exports. In Europe the economy is bolstered by stronger domestic demand but low inflation. In China, the slow economic growth persists and has changed from investment driven growth to consumption driven. Other emerging market countries still suffer stagflation with low economic growth and high inflation. In addition, the gap between the rich and poor is getting more widening even in the developed countries. The world financial institutions, the IMF and the World Bank, have yet offered better solutions to the crisis.

5. Summary

This chapter has addressed the discursive construction of global economic strategies during the financial-economic downturn from state leaders' perspectives. Using CDA as an interdisciplinary, explanatory critique, the paper has identified a number of essential economic strategies highlighted in the discourse of global economy in turbulent times. The strategies include reforming the global economic system, maintaining flows of capital and investment, and sustaining competition in the global market. Generally, these neoliberal economic strategies were textually embedded in value assumptions, argumentation, and lexical choices.

The state leaders argued that reform was still part of the social material processes of global economic practices in turbulent times. Structural reform and retrenchment of the state regulation in the socio-economic sphere was significant for sustaining global development. Although it was the state that finally saved the economy through bailout, state intervention was undermined during the crisis. The discourse of 'opening-up', 'restructuring', 'reforming', and 'rebuilding' a free-market economy represents state leaders' sustainable belief in the new capitalist global economy. In the period of the crisis, the state leaders still advocate the practices of neoliberal economy without

considering that the deregulation of trade benefits importing and exporting corporations, not the general public since goods keep getting more expensive for the majority of people. Reduction of tariffs and taxes are not sufficient conditions for making things easy to get and cheap. Importers and distributors are always in search of high profits. Economic activities will work properly and benefit all layers of society if the economy is under a wise control of the government.

The analysis identifies capital movements in the form of 'international flows of capital', 'foreign capital', and 'overseas investment' as an economic strategy in the era of global economic recession. This strategy is also represented through other lexical resources: 'capital markets', 'recapitalization', 'recapitalize', 'use of FDI' with syntactically concealed human responsibility. The issues that free capital movements increase the global economic growth were highlighted. In real practices, however, investors tend to concentrate in certain countries in which they can get higher returns. Countries that have large market but lower cost of productions attract investment most. On the other hand, countries that provide small market do not attract investment. Therefore, provision of well-being for all humankind as an objective of economic globalization remains as a discursive practice.

The analysis also reveals that competition is regarded an important strategy in the practice of global economy in turbulent times. The item 'competition' and its derivatives are employed to promote this strategy as to adapt a change of the old global economy to new era. The state leaders emphasize that nations need to compete globally to attain success. In practice, however, strong competition does not always lead to fair free trade but to monopolistic market controlled by giant corporations. This drawback of the free-market economy was not articulated in the texts. The proponents of free-market ideology claim that globalization allows for a healthy, competitive global economy. But real competition brings about dominance of selected corporations, particular groupings, powerful states, and regionalization instead of economic globalization.

CHAPTER 5

Discourse and National Identity

In this chapter, I will explore the relationship between discourse and identity as has generally been presented in academic literature and critical inquiries on the constitutive role of discourse in constructing national identity in the domain of the contemporary global economy. The main objective of the chapter is to identify and describe the linguistic resources used to construct national identity in the political economic speeches during the 2008–2011 global financial-economic recessions. The chapter also attempts to explain the opaque relationship between the discursive and economic elements in the formation of national identity. The textual evidence is derived from three political economic speeches of the former Premier Wen Jiabao of China. The chapter also draws upon critical discourse analysis and cultural political economy.

1. Introduction

The chapter starts with an excerpt from a speech of the former Premier Wen Jiabao in response to the world economy on the verge of a global meltdown that emerged in September 2008.

Will China's economy continue to grow fast and steadily? Some people may have doubts about it. Yet I can give you a definite answer: Yes, it will. We are full of confidence. Where does our confidence come from? It comes from the fact that the fundamentals of China's economy remain unchanged (. . .). We will pursue balance growth of domestic and external demand and establish a long-term mechanism to expand domestic demand, consumer demand in particular (. . .). We will spur economic development through innovation and promote scientific and technological advances and upgrading of the industrial structure. (*Speech addressed in Davos at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting on January 28, 2009*).

This quotation underpins my attempt to conduct a case study on the discursive construction of national identity in the speeches of Wen Jiabao during the 2008–2011 global financial recessions. The quotation entails that semiosis cannot be taken for granted without analysis. This is because semiosis as language in use is a potential resource of meaning-making and sometimes it does ideological work too.

The 2008–2011 global financial-economic recessions precipitated by the subprime crisis that led to the collapse of Lehman Brothers, a global investment bank and two mortgage giants—Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac—in September 2008 almost ruined the world's financial system. World leaders, business executives, and management gurus were shocked by this early twenty-first century meltdown as at the time the global economy represented by USA and China was expected to boost. State leaders, heads of international financial institutions, central bank governors, and leading economists see the crises from different perspectives. They put forward different arguments, set up

new strategies, offer different solutions, but they are faced with the same situation of a financial storm of historic proportions. This must have happened because each country sees the crises in accordance with its national interests. In other words, each country is required to find solutions to transform itself in the time of the crisis. However, it raises doubts how the countries could cooperate in the meltdown since they have different interests. Central bank chiefs and state leaders propose diverse solutions that are commensurable with the pursuit of their particular interests. For instance, the Bank for International Settlements collects 89 speeches of senior central bank officials on the 2008 global financial crisis. Similarly, as can be seen in the state websites, leaders of states also outline the arguments with respect to their national interests. From a discursive point of view, the speeches not only attempt to provide solutions to the global financial-economic recessions through new path-shaping moments, reforms and restructuring but they also play an important role in constructing national identity and new economic imaginaries and strategies. Nonetheless, this chapter seeks to address the constitutive role of discourse in enacting national identity. In what follows, I take an opportunity to provide academic literature on the topic in question.

The discursive construction of financial crisis and national identity has been explored by some scholars. Bickes, Otten, & Weymann (2014) highlight the media role in the discursive construction of financial crisis that beset three European countries: Greece, Spain, and Italy. The study stresses on the differences in the evaluation and presentation of the crisis. Similarly, Lodge and Wegrich (2011) focus on the argumentation patterns of the discourse of the global financial crisis, revealing that cultural theory can be employed to analyze argumentation patterns of the financial crisis discourse on the financial regulation enacted in the media. They argue that contestation among different viewpoints emerged in response to the crisis. De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) examine the discursive construction of Austrian national identity in a variety of genres including: speeches of politicians, newspaper articles, posters, slogans, and interviews. The texts was analyzed through

discourse-historical approach. Wodak et al. claim that while previously the approach was used to examine the discursive construction of differences, it is also applicable for the analysis of the sameness. The study is concerned more with testing an inquiring paradigm rather than accomplishing the research program of dialectical social theory.

Ricento (2003) analyzes the discursive construction of the American national identity that emerged during the Americanization campaigns in 1914–1924. The analytical technique was drawn upon Ruth Wodak’s discourse-historical approach. It is justifiable that there are three representations of Americanism in the texts. Two representations are in agreement with the American identity. The third is considered narrow-minded and against attempts of promoting democracy. Ricento suggests that the arguments found in today’s American public discourse are traceable to the model of competing discourses during those campaigns. The analysis was focused on historical texts. Similarly, Hutcheson, Domke, Billeaudeau and Garland (2004) focus on the discursive construction of Americanism, especially post September 11, 2001 attacks. They examine the media discourse in *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, reporting “war on terrorism” for five weeks after the aftermath. Hutcheson et al. find that the U.S. government and military officials promote American national identity, the core values and the power of American people while they simultaneously condemn the enemy. Following the style of their politicians, the journalists also use similar nationalistic language in their news reporting.

Drawing upon Fairclough’s account of intertextuality, Li (2009) investigated how meanings of national identities and ideologies are constructed in *The New York Times* and *China Daily*’s reports of two particular events: the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia in May 1999 and the air collision between a U.S. military airplane and a Chinese fighter jet in April 2001. While highlighting the meaning making processes of intertextuality and interdiscursivity as heterogeneous elements in text construction, Li argues that “the multidimensionality of text and the dynamic process for its production is especially important for a critical examination of the construction of

meanings about national identities and positions” (p. 114). Her analysis show that meanings about national identities, positions, and images are related to the particular events and the interactions between discourses, styles, or genres reproduced in the news texts. In the bombing event, Li finds that *The New York Times* constructs an image of China trapped in wild nationalism with its unreasonable, fanatical, and incompetent protests to the bombing, whereas *China Daily* develops a discourse that represents China as a nation that promotes peace and justice through a condemnation of NATO’s aggression and admiration of its citizens engaged in fights against the aggression. In the collision event, *The New York Times* constructs China as the U.S. military and political rival which is a potential threat to the U.S. foreign policy, whereas *China Daily* projects China as a nation which respects international regulations in its political and military activities. Li studies national identity in terms of broad social analysis, intertextuality, leaving out the linguistic trivialities such as the use of collective pronoun and adverbs of place that can signify the presence of nationalism. This body of literature implies that both spoken and written discourse has become the major concern of the identity studies on different selected topics and approaches. Nevertheless, although investigation on identity is a burgeoning topic, the issue concerning national identity in the political speech on global financial-economic recessions has received scant attention. This chapter seeks to incorporate semiosis with political economy. Accordingly, it aims to identify, describe, and explain the linguistic features used to construct national identity. At the macro level, it seeks to discuss the role of semiosis as a mechanism in embodying the economic, political, and cultural practices of China’s economy. The study has a single hypothesis, that is, the speeches are resources for constructing national identity as well as economic policy. The chapter is thus designed to explore the ways national identity inculcated in the political economic speeches, the linguistic features used to construct national identity, and the economic policy enacted in discourse.

To seek for answers to the enquiries above, this chapter refers to critical discourse analysis (CDA) and cultural political economy (CPE).

CDA focuses on the analysis of the semiotic elements of social practice—the regulated ways of talking about things. In the present study it is the discursive role of political economic speeches in constructing national identity that becomes as part of social practice. CPE relates culture to social processes of economic imaginaries that have possibilities to be manifested in reality. Both CDA and CPE see semiosis as an intersubjective production of meaning—an irreducible element of all material social processes (Fairclough, 2006; Sum & Jessop, 2015). CDA highlights the social wrongs in the practice of social life. We can see social life as interconnected networks of social practices of diverse sorts (economic, political, and cultural). Social life is an open system configuring networks of practices (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The study of semiosis allows for insights into examining the discursive role in human communication concerning these interconnected networks of practices including the construction of national identity. In the present study, CDA attempts to commit a dialogue particularly with CPE and systemic functional linguistics (SFL) as a transdisciplinary approach in exploring national identity. As the theoretical rationale, I shall explain the concept of nation, national identity, and critical analysis of discourse recognized as the dialectical-relational approach in a language-based critical inquiry below.

2. The Notion of National Identity

The discursive quest for the definition of nation and national identity is traceable to the works of classical philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Locke and Rousseau. These thinkers treated nation as a natural end of human community and national identity as a “collectively shared conception of the good life” (Parekh, 1994, p. 492); the good life that each individual shared, but differed from others in relation to polity. In the modern quest, a nation is often defined as “a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (Smith, 1991, p. 42). National identity is described as the person’s identity and sense of belonging to one state or one nation;

it is “a constructed *and* public national self-image based on membership in a political community as well as history, myths, symbols, language, and cultural norms commonly held by members of a nation” (Hutcheson et al., 2004, p. 28). Similarly, Schlesinger (1991) describes national identity as a specific form of collective identity that polarizes into the inclusive ‘us’ and the exclusive ‘them’. This chapter adapts the modernist perspective of national identity that conceives the nation as a modern invention, created by political forces that include industrialization and technological innovation (Gellner, 1983), emerging capitalist economic systems (Hobsbawm, 1990), and the rise of mass media (Jackson, 2005) that produce myths constructed by national leaders (Hutcheson et al., 2004) and through political and financial institutions (Fairclough, 2006; Peet, 2009; Stiglitz, 2002).

CDA like the social constructivist sees the nation as “systems of cultural representations” (Hall, 1996, p. 612). It differs from the traditional understanding of national societies as being fixed and stable in history and society. Hall in his introduction to the concept asserts that “[a] national culture is a discourse—a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conception of ourselves” (p. 13). Similarly, Wiley (2004), who studies nationality in the context of globalization, emphasizes the need to study meanings within particular social spaces and to see the nation as a particular kind of an organizational logic by which society can be organized. This view regards the nation as a regulative system that brings together and reorganizes social, economic, and political practices into meanings that people attach to. The nation scale is “typically the product of social struggles for power and control” (Jessop, 2008, p. 105). This does not suggest that the national scale should be taken for granted without considering its relations with other territorial spaces (local, regional, and global) and non-territorial (economic, social, and cultural). Spaces are contested entities. They thereby have discursive characters.

It has been widely argued that identity is the intersubjective production of discourse. CDA scholars usually link identity to the

different discursive moments. For instance, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) relate identity to discursive settings in which people do 'identity work'. Identity is thereby defined in its broadest sense—how people display who they are to each other. Benwell and Stokoe also identify the discursive construction of identity in institutional settings, spatial locations, and commodified contexts. Although their account of identity is in general, Benwell and Stokoe provide an engaging and accessible framework of a broad and varied field which will be of use to discourse analysts. Their concept of spatial and virtual identities is relevant to investigation into national identity. This is because they propose the use of textual evidence as well as visual evidence to explore the role of space and place in identity construction.

This chapter also refers to Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart's (2009) account of national identity. They relate national identity to discourse in terms of a "mental construct" and "imagined community" (p. 22). They argue that national identities are the intersubjective product of discourse. Wodak et al. also put forward that "the institutional and material social conditions and practices interrelate dialectically with discursive practices" (p. 4). Referring to CDA, they regard discourse as a form of social practice. Discourse has a dialectical relationship with other social practices that are inherently related to particular institutions and social structures which can be embedded in the discursive practice. In other words, discourse is constitutive and constituted (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Wodak et al. claim that national identity can be constructed through macro-strategies and micro-strategies. At the macro level, the most comprehensive strategies employed in the discursive formation of national identity are constructive strategies. These strategies are used by promulgating unification, identification, and solidarity. With respect to the micro-strategies in the discursive construction of national identity, they can be manifested in linguistic devices which include: personal reference (personal pronouns as 'we', 'they'); spatial reference (adverbs of place as 'in China'), (prepositional phrases as 'from our government'); and temporal reference (temporal conjunction as 'whenever'), (adverbs

of time ‘next year’), (temporal preposition as ‘in advance of’, ‘in the course of’).

The theoretical justification for this chapter is also drawn upon Billig’s (1995) concept of nationalism as a form of ideology that makes nations appear natural. He refers to this kind of representation as banal nationalism. The term refers to the methods by which the concept of a particular nation is constructed and perpetuated, both in society as a whole and in the minds of individual citizens. State leaders can construct this subtle nationhood by a number of ways: unprecedented access to media with large audiences, political speeches at the World Economic Forum (WEF), Annual Meeting of the New Champions, and other economic summits. For Billig, the term nationalism encompasses the “collection of ideological habits (including habits of practice and belief) which reproduce existing nations as nations” in everyday life (p. 6). Billig sees national identity as an everyday phenomenon embedded in and influences our lifeworld or civil society (Habermas, 1984; see also Gramsci, 1971, pp. 210–276) through socialization—education, politic, media, and everyday practices (Wodak et al., 2009). The notion does not apply only to the developed western states but also to any state in the world. Billig points out that although the claims and actions of political elites should never be taken for granted—they can be suspicious, state leaders tend to see their nation in the international arena as among members of imagined nation-states, acknowledging that competitions exist among nations. This nationalism can be produced and reproduced in political speeches. These genres can ‘enlighten’ the audience on the issues of their homeland as well as social and political stance.

3. Analytical Approach

3.1 The Linguistic Corpus

To cope with the 2008–2011 global financial-economic recessions, influential figures of a big economy country such as China put forward their views on the solution to the crisis. During this meltdown, political economic speeches were usually addressed by state leaders in tackling

with issues of a nation's foreign economic policies, a nation's interests in such issues as the restructuring of global economy and free market. In other words, the presentation of the issues is worth disseminating because it affects policy-making, governmental reactions and the like. This chapter particularly concentrates on China.

China was chosen because it is an emerging economy which plays a very important role globally and has its distinct strategies in the global economy; its economic policy and political roles are decisive and affect 1.4 billion of people at home and hundreds of millions abroad. This populous country has led the global economy in the last four decades. The texts for investigation emanate from three speeches of the former Premier Wen Jiabao. The general historical context of the speeches was the emergence of the 2008 financial crisis. Wen Jiabao delivered the speeches in Chinese; this chapter examines the translated versions made available by the government of China. The speeches are entitled: *Strengthen Confidence and Work Together for a New Round of World Economic Growth* (Davos, January 28, 2009); *Consolidate the Upward Momentum and Promote Sustained Growth* (Tianjin, September 13, 2010); and *Promote Sound, Sustainable and Quality Development* (Dalian, September 14, 2011). As the English version of the speeches was authoritatively prepared by the government of China, it is still reflective of the institutional discourse. These speeches were addressed to members of the World Economic Forum and the world. Altogether the speeches, treated as a small corpus, consist of 9,016 words.

There are three main reasons why these political economic speeches are chosen for analysis. Firstly, the speeches are potential resources of embodying national identity. They are concerned with the global discourse that instils the attitude, values, and the viewpoints of the state leaders of China in response to the crises; they embed in nationalism and globalism. Secondly, the speeches are conceived as social practice of both structure and social events that emerged during the 2008–2011 global financial-economic recessions. They figure in aspects of social life of talking and happenings during this chaotic period. They

construct past failures and future possibilities—economic imaginaries—at the national and global level. In other words, the speeches are used not only for exchange of meaning but they also address pivotal issues, such as economic strategies/policies, possible solutions, accountability, and good governance. Thirdly, these texts are part of communicative and strategic action in the public sphere that provides a semiotic resource for the analyst to identify and analyze typical examples.

The criteria that guide the selection of the speeches are the dates of publication 2009–2011 and the issue of global financial-economic recessions. This period is chosen because it was also the reemerging epoch of economic globalization debates. Although the pervasive debate of global economy was unleashed since 1980s, the discourse of economic globalization reached the peak again after the late 1990s Asia's financial crisis and was once more at the beginning of the 21st century when the global financial crisis emerged, which was a blow for the capitalist system of economy. In other words, each of the texts is chosen because it concerns with the global economy in crisis which also beset China. For the analytical purpose, the corpus is represented by excerpts. The text sources are verified by the fact that they all appear in the context of contemporary economy of China in the face of the global financial-economic recessions. The computer search helps locate part of the text in which the intended word or phrase occurs. Nevertheless, in order to avoid contextual distortion, be able identify the typical excerpts in the corpus, and provide a larger co-text for interpretation, I have used manual techniques rather than machine. This allows the implementation of qualitative analytical technique that is attuned to the quantitative textual evidence.

3.2 Analytical Resources

As was alluded to in the Introduction above, this chapter applies CDA and CPE to better understand national identity embedded in political economic speeches during the 2008–2011 global financial-economic recessions. Scholars recognize that CDA is an “analysis of

dialectical *relations between* discourse and other objects, elements or moments,” (Fairclough, 2013, p. 4, italics in original), which “involves the use of discourse analytic techniques, combined with a critical perspective, to interrogate social phenomena” (Ainsworth & Hardy, p. 236). Simply put, CDA is an interdisciplinary analysis. The current study employs CDA for linguistic analysis which is underpinned by CPE for the macro-reflexive social analysis (Sum & Jessop, 2015), seeing discourse and economy in dialectical relations. CPE is concerned with the intersubjective production of meaning and thereby recognizes “both the constitutive role of semiosis and the emergent extra-semiotic features of social relation and their conjoint impact on capacities for action and transformation” (Jessop, 2004, p. 161). Accordingly, for the analysis of linguistic resources, this chapter refers to SFL, focusing on a number of analytical categories including nominal groups, the first-person plural pronoun, transitivity system (process types), modality, and prepositional phrases. These analytical categories are set out with the following methodological arguments:

(1) Nominal group

Nominal or noun phrase as it is called in formal linguistics can structurally occupy the subject slot or the complement of a clause. The referential meaning of the nominal group depends on the word *per se*. It can denote an entity, spatial reference or location (the name of a country, for example, *China, China's economy*). Political economic discourse tends to be commensurable with space and scales (local, national, regional, global), depending on the understanding of the current conjuncture of world capitalist development (Sum & Jessop, 2015). In effect, analyzing national-oriented space and scale can contribute to the understanding of national identity.

(2) Pronouns

Pronoun in English can serve relational values. A relational value refers to the extent to which one feels valued by others. Politically speaking, the pronoun *we*, for instance, can be used inclusive or

exclusive signification. The use of the first person plural pronoun *we* in a political speech by the leader of a nation may include the leader and its people. Although the uses of generic *we* (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985) are difficult to interpret, the contextual clue provides sufficient background information.

(3) Transitivity

Transitivity construes the world of experience into a manageable set through a grammatical system known as process types (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Thompson, 2014). SFL typically recognizes three main types of processes in English transitivity system: Material (doing and happening), Mental (experiencing or sensing), and Relational (being or becoming). In addition to these three main process types, SFL also recognizes three other process types: Verbal (saying), Behavioral (behaving), and Existential (existent).

(4) Modality

Modality can be said as the interconnection in discourse between making meaning of reality and enactment of social relations or to use the terms from SFL, between the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Fairclough, 2003). In other words, modality is significant in texturing identities. Undertaking modality as an analytical tool underpins the investigation of the constitutive role of discourse in constructing national identity.

(5) Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases or adverbs of place refer to a group of words that functions as circumstances, including places or locations, for example, *in China*. From the viewpoint of CDA, adverbs of place can enact national identity. Adverbs of place do not merely indicate grammatical relations, but they can refer to geopolitical spaces. This requires a dialectical approach where CDA and CPE need to be incorporated.

As the analysis is contingent on the text-driven procedure, these analytical tools are referred to at the point they are relevant to the analysis of the excerpts.

4. National Identity in Texts

The discourse of the global economy during the 2008–2011 financial-economic recessions tend to be a political economic arena to construct national identity. As was illustrated in the Introduction, the potentiality of embodying national identity in the discourse of global economy occurs in the excerpts from speeches of Premier Wen Jiabao. National identity in the speeches is identifiable at least in three ways: Uses of the first-person plural ‘we’, nominal groups and adverbs of place. I shall discuss these linguistic elements directly below. The frequency of ‘we’ as used in the three speeches can be seen in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. The occurrence of ‘we’ and its derivatives in the speeches

	we	us	our
Number of occurrences	148 (76%)	6 (3%)	41 (21%)

Table 5.1 indicates that the first-person plural in the form of subject ‘we’ predominates the object form ‘us’ or the possessive form ‘our’. Generally, this entails that the speeches highlight political economy of China since the subject acts the agent of structuring the economic and political strategies during the recession.

Noun phrases or nominal groups in SFL terms and adverbs of place also provide resources for the analysis of national identity. The table below sets out the occurrences of nominal group ‘China’ and possessive adjective ‘China’s’ in the 9,016-word speeches.

Table 5.2. Occurrences of 'China' and 'China's' in the speeches

	China	China's
Number of occurrences	47 (44%)	60 (56%)

Notice that the possessive form 'China's' occurs more frequently than the nominal one 'China' in the speeches (Table 5.2). These linguistic items can form adverbs of place indicating scale at the level of national or owning of resources. As the article will show below, it seems to suggest that politics and economy in China is a collective enterprise in which both the nation and state control the economy at least at the level of imaginaries not in material reality. In the inquiry which follows, I shall provide a detailed account of the topic in question.

4.1 First Person Plural 'We'

The interpretation of the pronoun 'we' and its derivatives in the speeches can be very complex. In effect, the pronoun 'we' in English is complicated even when it is dealt in the theory of grammar. The interpretation of 'we' is built upon the knowledge of grammar and discourse, that is, as it occurs in the texts on the background of global economic discourse. There is a collective 'we' occurring in the speeches; consequently, the national we-group emerges in the texts. This can be said so, because from a semiotic perspective the globe is economically and politically divided during the crisis as at the time leaders of states were bewildered. The following are excerpts for illustrations of the first person plural 'we' indicating nationalism.

Excerpt 1

We encourage our enterprises to upgrade technologies and make technological renovation. We support them in making extensive use of new technologies, techniques, equipment and materials to restructure their product mix, develop marketable products and improve their competitiveness. Our financial support policies are

being improved, a sound credit guarantee system installed and market access eased for the benefit of SME development. (. . .). We are developing high-tech industrial clusters and creating new social demand and new economic growth areas. Fifth, substantially raise the level of social security. We have accelerated the improvement of social safety net. We will continue to increase basic pension for enterprise retirees and upgrade the standard of unemployment insurance and workers' compensation. We will raise the level of basic cost of living allowances in both urban and rural areas, welfare allowances for those rural residents without family support and the special allowances and assistance to entitled groups. (. . .). We give priority to education and are now working on the Guidelines of the National Program for Medium- and Long-Term Educational Reform and Development. This year, we will increase public funds for free compulsory education in rural areas, offer more financial support to students from poor families and improve the well-being of middle and primary school teachers so as to promote equity in education and optimize the educational structure. We are using every possible means to lessen the impact of the financial crisis on employment. We are following a more active employment policy [para. 5]. (. . .) (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009)

Excerpt 2

We will pursue balance growth of domestic and external demand and establish a long-term mechanism to expand domestic demand, consumer demand in particular [para. 8]. (. . .)

We will spur economic development through innovation and promote scientific and technological advances and upgrading of the industrial structure [para. 9]. (. . .)

We will continue to conserve resources and protect the environment, and raise the efficiency in resources utilization and capacity in tackling climate change [para. 10]. (. . .)

We will strike a balance between economic and social development and strive to ensure and improve people's livelihood and promote social equity and justice [para. 11]. (. . .)

We will deepen reform and increase the dynamism and vitality for sustainable development [para. 12]. (. . .) (Wen Jiabao, September 13, 2010)

The uses of pronoun 'we' are pervasive in Excerpts 1 & 2 above. The first-person plural 'we' in the two excerpts is used exclusively and totally China-oriented. That is, 'we' obviously refers to the leaders of China and its people, hence, national identity, even though the speech was addressed to the WEF members and the world. The use of 'we' in this sense is authorial and/or rhetorical: it is used in the collective sense of 'the nation', 'the party'. It may be viewed as a special type of generic 'we'. The pronoun refers to the collection of people, the national community of China, functioning as banal nationalistic representation. It (re)produces the discourse of solidarity in the face of recessions and portrays the ideological retention of the state power as an ensemble of social relations, which enhances the spirit of togetherness from the people of China in practicing a form of state-led market economy. Wen Jiabao employs 'we' to symbolize nationalist consciousness of sharing the state as an imagined community.

Whether it is used as inclusive authorial or rhetorical, the pronoun 'we' in the excerpts polarizes in terms of the nationality 'we' the people of China because the speeches were addressed to the members of the WEF and the world community. It is used to ideologically share the interests in promoting the global economy with national interests. The first-person plural 'we' represents national responses to the global economy with respect to the global financial crisis. Syntactically the two excerpts indicate that 'we' is in the grammatical colligations with a number of material process verbs: 'raise', 'increase', 'support', 'pursue', 'spur', 'continue', 'strike', and 'deepen'. The use of such verbs indicates the presence of political legitimacy that signifies the delivering of growth and managing the crises.

The modal operator 'will' rather than 'shall' is used. The use of modal 'will' suggests that there is a blunder that has been sparked by the wrongly led global economy, which is in need of a set of self-evaluations and that the global governments are to take responsibility and measures to deepen reform and to spur economic growth by using innovations and advances of technology. But this reform needs to be adjusted to the 'moment' that does not destroy the environment which worsens the climate change; it is thus regarded as 'sustainable development'. The use of 'will' also implicates the social identity of Wen Jiabao as the state leader committed to what he articulates with respect to certainty of future strategic actions; therefore, 'will' collocates with the process verbs 'raise', 'establish', 'discuss', 'direct', 'deepen', which needs human agency. Replacing 'will' with 'shall' brings about less certainty, which is not appropriate when the statements are made by a state leader. In other words, saying 'we will' rather than 'we shall' is an indication of a particular style, the very optimistic attitude of the political stance of Wen Jiabao. Taken together, the use of first person plural 'we' in the excerpts characterizes the construction of national identity, because it constitutes as experiential themes in the clauses. Here is another excerpt that entails a similar picture:

Excerpt 3

But we in China remain level-headed. We are clear about the situation and we are fully confident about our future [para. 2]. (. . .)

We have continued to resolve challenging issues in development by carrying out reform and steadily improved the socialist market economy. (. . .) We have made full progress in expanding social services. (. . .) Through reform, we are removing bottlenecks hampering development and have released the initiative, enthusiasm and entrepreneurial spirit of the Chinese people [para. 5].

We are pursuing a win-win strategy of opening-up to increase the openness of China's economy. Since joining the WTO in 2001, we have speeded up efforts to change the way of conducting foreign trade, (. . .)

. .). We have pursued the dual strategy of introducing foreign capital and encouraging Chinese companies to invest overseas (. . .). We have taken an active part in the reform of the global economic governance structure and the building of regional cooperation mechanisms, and worked to deepen bilateral and multilateral economic and trade relations [para. 6] (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

National identity of China is also inculcated in Excerpt 3 above. The economic progress and processes are discursively constructed and are concerned to a great extent with the global economy in accordance with China's orientation. Even though the vocabulary 'foreign trade', 'the global economic governance structure', 'foreign capital', and 'multilateral economic and trade relations' is intermingled in the discourse, the presence of China's national identity is obvious. The first person plural 'we' refers to the leaders of China in particular and Chinese people in general. Therefore, the 'we' in this excerpt does not include any other nation.

It is unsurprising that national collectivity is discursively constructed in a very positive manner. For example, Wen Jiabao uses optimistic expressions 'remain level-headed', 'fully confident', 'full progress', 'removing bottlenecks', 'an active part' and 'encouraging Chinese companies' with human agent 'we' as the main social actor. The deployment of this linguistic strategy in the global economic texts opens room for Wen Jiabao to construct Chinese national identity while pretending to provide serious contribution to the global economic development. Taken together, all the excerpts above exemplify that national identity of China is inculcated in terms of national collectivity. The speaker applies constructive strategies to maintain national identity in tackling global financial recessions. The strategies promote togetherness by self-justification of what have been done in the past and what would be done in the future.

4.2 Nominal Group and Prepositional Phrase

Table 5.2 above indicates the number of occurrences of the items 'China' and 'China's' in the three speeches. In the excerpts below it is noticeable that the nominal group 'China' can occupy the participant slot of a verbal process. Meanwhile, the item 'China's' can function as a modifying adjective which together with the nominal group fills in the participant slot. It can also function as a nominal group in a prepositional phrase. In essence, the uses of these linguistic resources inculcate national identity.

Excerpt 4

China's economy is in good shape on the whole. We managed to maintain steady and relatively fast economic growth in 2008 despite two unexpected massive natural disasters. (. . .) When China, a large developing country, runs its affairs well, it can help restore confidence in global economic growth and curb the spread of the international financial crisis. (. . .) Steady and fast growth of China's economy is in itself an important contribution to global financial stability and world economic growth [para. 6]. (. . .)

Will China's economy continue to grow fast and steadily? Some people may have doubts about it. Yet I can give you a definite answer: Yes, it will. We are full of confidence. Where does our confidence come from? It comes from the fact that the fundamentals of China's economy remain unchanged [para. 7]. (Wen Jiabao, January 28, 2009)

Excerpt 5

Three years have passed since the outbreak of the international financial crisis. International organizations, governments, the business communities and the academia are all taking a hard look at the root causes of the crisis and exploring ways to sustain the growth of both the global economy and national economies. With regard to China's economic development, some people have hailed

its achievements, while some others have expressed doubt. Some are optimistic about China's economic future, while some others say that China is in trouble. But we in China remain level-headed. We are clear about the situation and we are fully confident about our future [para. 2]. (. . .)

With its development entering a new historical stage in the second decade of the 21st century, China is in an important period of strategic opportunities. Peace, development and cooperation remain the trend of our times. The international environment is generally conducive to China's pursuit of peaceful development [para. 7]. (. . .)

The current 12th Five-year Plan period is a critical stage in China's efforts to build a society of initial prosperity in all respects [para. 8]. (. . .)

China will continue to follow the strategy of expanding domestic demand, with focus on improving the structure of demand and increasing consumer demand to drive economic growth. Domestic demand is crucial and a necessary choice for a big country to achieve sustainable economic growth. China has 20% of the world's population. (. . .) With its per capita GDP exceeding US\$4,000, China has entered a key stage for upgrading consumption structure [para. 9]. (. . .)

China will continue to develop education as a priority, bring about all-round human development, and promote economic development on the basis of improving the quality of human capital. For a major developing country like China, boosting education and improving quality of human resources will drive economic development and make it more competitive. We will act quickly to achieve economic growth by increasing the quality of human capital rather than by just using more workers. (. . .) And we will move faster to make China not only a big country but also a strong country in both education and human resources. This will provide strong intellectual impetus for sustaining China's economic development [para. 10].

China will continue to build an innovation-driven society, speed up the development of an innovation system, and enhance the role of science and technology in driving economic and social development [para. 11]. (. . .)

China will continue to save resources and protect the environment, follow the path of green, low-carbon and sustainable development, use resources in a more efficient way, and develop stronger capacity for tackling climate change. To conserve resources and protect the environment is crucial to achieving sustainable development, and this is one of China's basic state policies. We will speed up the building of an industrial structure, a mode of production and a model of consumption that are conducive to resource conservation and environmental protection, and promote harmony between man and nature [para. 12]. (. . .)

China will continue to put people's interests first, pay more attention to ensuring and improving people's well-being and pursue common prosperity [para. 13]. (. . .)

China will continue to deepen reform and opening-up and resolutely remove institutional hurdles to increase the momentum of pursuing sustainable development. **China owes its rapid development in the past 30 years and more to reform and opening-up, and this will be equally true for its future development and progress** [para. 14].

China cannot develop itself in isolation from the world and the world also needs China for its development. Here, I wish to reiterate that China's opening-up to the outside world is a long-term commitment which covers all fields and is mutually beneficial. China's basic state policy of opening-up will never change. We will continue to get actively involved in economic globalization and work to build a fair and equitable international trading regime and financial system [para. 15]. (. . .)

I am confident that China's economy will grow over a longer period of time, at a higher level and with better quality and make new

contribution to robust, sustainable and balanced growth of the global economy [para. 18]. (Wen Jiabao, September 14, 2011)

These excerpts are also part of the governance discourse of the Chinese government on the contemporary economic strategies in which the social manifestation is generally still waiting. The repeated use of the verbal group 'continue' in the excerpts entails selectivity of the economic paradigm that advocates retention of the prevailing economic strategies and policies in the face of crises. National identity is embedded in specific nominal groups. The presence of the nominal group 'China' and the possessive form 'China's' constitutes conspicuous textual evidence. The item 'China' indicates a particular space functioning as the social actor. Meanwhile, the item 'China's' used for formulating nominal groups ('China's economy', 'China's economic future', 'China's economic development', 'China's basic state policies', and 'China's opening-up') represents national properties. As was identified in Excerpts 1-3, the first-person plural 'we' is also pervasive in Excerpt 5. This clearly demonstrates that national identity is at work in the discourse since the pronoun refers merely to Chinese society. Excerpts 4-5 provide evidence that the nominal groups and adverbs of place entrench the discursive construction of national identity and neoliberal economic policy. The spatio-temporal fixes emerge in the discourse as Wen Jiabao stresses on the national economy in the context of global crisis. The crisis is also seen as the path-shaping moment since he attempts to portray that the crisis would resolve itself by boosting national economic growth, for instance, by 'expanding domestic demand' and 'increasing the quality of human capital'

The excerpts show that the nationalistic nominal group 'China' is in grammatical colligation with other nominal groups 'development', 'economy', 'any other nation', 'steady and fast growth', 'a national strategy', 'a large developing country', 'huge potential', 'opportunities', 'national savings rate' and other positive nominal constituents. This indicates that the government of China is willing to be conceived as "being proactive" with respect to the discursive practices of the global

economy. Wen Jiabao highlighted China's involvement in promoting growth of the global economy even though China's economic growth was boosted by the domestic demand. As the crisis spread globally, China was able to produce but unable to sell. As a result, the domestic market was the current strategic solution. The Chinese government resorts to the economic strategy of adaptability in the face of shocks.

The discourse thereby constructs the policies and strategies of China's economy. At the lower linguistic level, the noun phrase 'China' or 'China's' generally occupies the subject slot. This demonstrates that national identity is being inculcated in the speeches, because it is the proper name 'China' that constitutes as Theme of the clauses. The presentation of the discourse is very much national-oriented. China is portrayed in the positive sense. Wen Jiabao related the item 'China' to the development of human capital, innovation-driven society, 'reform' and 'opening-up' strategy. The constitution, selection, and retention of reform and opening-up as a testimony of getting involved in 'economic globalization' in the course of economic crises are part of maintaining neoliberal economic strategies. However, this free market economic policy does not always contribute to the well-being of the people of China in general; instead, it creates the more widening gap between a few ruling elites and the subaltern groups as the state power enforces social democracy, but in the form of excerptive political and economic institutions. Wen Jiabao highlighted the issues of 'economic growth', 'education as a priority', 'innovation-driven society', 'low-carbon and sustainable development', and 'common prosperity', but the embodiment of such economic and political imaginaries functions merely as a discursive selectivity that frames future possibilities. This constructive strategy is thereby commensurable with the objective of reconstructing China's national identity on the global scale during the systemic financial-economic turbulences.

The excerpts also demonstrate that Wen Jiabao provides as a set of constructive evaluations for the national economy. The positive self-evaluation is manifested by the quality adjective 'well-established',

'good', 'fast and steadily', 'environment-friendly', 'comprehensive and mutually beneficial', 'remain unchanged', 'a higher level', and 'better quality'. Syntactically the proper name China as well as the human agent in the form of the first-person plural occupies the subject of the finite clauses as in 'China's economy is in good shape on the whole', 'China will continue ...', 'China cannot develop itself in isolation from the world', and 'We will speed up the building of an industrial structure'. Prepositional phrases also promulgate national identity as in 'But we in China', 'of China's economy', and 'like China'. The national interests are discursively more dominant in the speeches on the construction of the global economic crisis than the international interests even though mentions are made at least at the beginning and at the end of the texts as in Excerpt 5 that the speaker is talking about the global economy. In short, the uses of proper name 'China' and prepositional phrases in colligation with positive evaluative adjectives and positive material process verbs indicate that national identity is being instilled in the global economic texts. Wen Jiabao constructs the social reality, the socio-economic strategies and policies as well as what have been achieved; the ultimate objective of the discursive process is the manifestation of Chinese national identity in the trajectory of contemporary global economy. Although China's involvement in economic globalization ('opening-up to the outside world') was emphasized, it was not clear whether its participation was in import activities or in the dumping of China's goods into other countries. Taken together, the speeches construe a form of discourse that attempts to orient the spatio-temporal fixes of global capitalism to state policies and strategic conjuncture—a particular temporary economic strategy required during the global crisis.

5. Summary

The three speeches of Wen Jiabao during the global financial-economic recessions discursively construct national identity as well as entrench the neoliberal economic policy. The analysis demonstrates that the constructive strategies are deployed to inculcate national identity and that national identity is inculcated in terms of national collectivity. National identity is identifiable at least in three ways: pronoun 'we', noun phrases, and adverbs of place or prepositional phrases. Process types and modality analysis provide additional textual evidence for the constitutive role of discourse in the articulation of economic strategies and policies.

The first-person plural 'we' in the speeches tends to occupy the experiential themes in the clauses. It brings about relational values between the speaker and the entities being described, including places, scales, and properties. It was justifiable that Wen Jiabao deploys the inclusive 'we' while he could have used collective references—the government, the people of China, the bankers, and any other social actor. The use of pronoun 'we' in that circumstance implies that nationalism is at work in the discourse of global economy in the recession. The first person plural 'we' is politically used to indicate adherence to the speaker's nationality. In addition to the nationalistic 'we', nominal groups in the form of proper names signifying possession and location and prepositional phrases indicating spatial references also contribute to the discursive construction of national identity.

Although China advocates a free-market economy, it does so in accordance with its own economic policies and strategies. Its leader constructs national interests with respect to the actualization of global economy. In the face of shocks, the presentation of national interests predominate the global interests. China cannot avoid nationalism. The discursive practice of global economy in the meltdown thus goes hand in hand with economic strategies of the country. This conclusion is confined to the texts and the linguistic features on which the analysis has focused.

CHAPTER 6

Global Discourse from Two Largest Economies

In this chapter, I argue that studying the discourse global economy and its semiotic elements ought to refer to the location where it actually disseminates. This is because countries in the world have their own principles, policies, programs, and strategies in internalizing the discourse of global economy and materializing it in the actual practices. For example, there seems to be a number of different principles and social policies between the practices of global economy of the USA and those of China. These principles encourage the USA and China to internalize and materialize the global economy in their own constructed ways. In addition to the principles that can be different, there are likely to be the policies and strategies that are shared between these two populous countries. In the following inquiries, we shall pay our attention to these issues, including the neglected aspect of free market practices

on the recent development of economic globalization, that is, the currency war. This chapter is not going to repeat either the theoretical framework or the analytical tools. Theoretically and methodologically, it follows what has been set out in the previous chapters.

The chapter is set out to examine how the USA and China, as articulated by the the economists and state leaders, see the global economy in times of crisis. The chapter will first discuss the social policies that each country is committed to fostering the global economy. We are first concerned with the U.S. view on economic globalization and how it is constructed in discourse. Then we deal with China's perspectives on the same issues. After that the chapter tackles the issues from the paradigm of similarities. Later, I argue that based on the evidence from the texts on the current global economy *even* a free market itself cannot escape from serious obstacles, such as the 'currency war' in the processes of globalizing an economic agenda. Finally, I will summarize the important points of the chapter.

1. Introduction

In Chapter 1, I explained that analysing discourse around the global economy and its semiotic components should also take into account the actual place of dissemination. This is due to the fact that every nation in the globe has its own set of values, guidelines, plans, initiatives, and methods for taking the rhetoric of the global economy and putting it into effect. For example, there seems to be a number of different principles and social policies between the practices of global economy of the USA and those of China. These principles encourage the USA and China to internalize and materialize the global economy in their own constructed ways. In addition to the principles that can be different, there are likely to be the policies and strategies that are shared between these two populous countries. In what follows, we shall pay our attention to these issues. In this chapter, we shall briefly discuss one important, neglected aspect of free market practices on recent development of economic globalization, i.e., the currency war. In the end, the space is devoted to a CDA reflection.

The main purpose of this chapter is to examine how the USA and China, as articulated by the authors, see the global economy. The chapter will first discuss the social policies that each country is committed to fostering the global economy. We are first concerned with the U.S. view on economic globalization and how it is constructed in discourse. Then we deal with China's perspective on the same issues. After that the chapter tackles the issues from the paradigm of similarities. Later I argue that based on the evidence from the texts on global economy *even* a free market itself cannot escape from serious obstacles, such as the 'currency war' in the processes of globalizing an economic agenda. Similar analytical tools as those in the previous chapters are employed in this chapter. Finally, the important points are summarized.

2. The USA on the global economy

The study of global economy needs to refer to the history and the location of the country at issue. This is because a country has its own policies and ways constructed in discourse, showing a proactive participation in the global economy. The USA for example has its own civilization and its own ways of fostering the economic development. The American civilization is built upon three Western institutions: science, democracy and capitalism (D'Souza, 2002). These institutions are discursively constructed in the strategic texts. Yet, the most pertinent subject matters to the current work are the role of capitalism in sustaining development of the USA and democracy.

In America democracy predates industrialization. In the USA, capitalism developed as the cause or even the effect of the absence of strong Marxist movement in the country (Harvey, 2003). This was an opportunity for individuals to develop private companies especially when the government's involvement in economy was feeble (Rajan & Zingales, 2004). Different from the rest of the world, such as Europe and Asia, in the USA, capitalism developed without foreign influence (Harvey, 2010).

The intellectuals of the 'First World' argue that capitalism and the Industrial Revolution have contributed to the prosperity of the U.S. economy since the middle of 19th century (D'Souza, 2002). This statement can be linked to the excerpts below (including reused) from the U.S. sources that portray the history of American capitalism in the world economy:

Example 1

- (1) The "modern" debate over trade barriers can be traced to the 19th century. Then as now, the debate has been dominated by special interests (land barons vs. merchants in the 19th century; the AFL-CIO vs. the Chamber of Commerce today). There is no question that trade liberalization creates winners and losers. Affected citizens and companies have every right to plead their case [para. 1].

But Congress should consider how freer trade affects the nation as a whole. Since World War II the United States has led the international quest to liberalize world trade and investment [para. 2]. (*Washington Post*, 07 June 2005)

- (2) When he died in 1848, John Jacob Astor was America's richest man, leaving a fortune of \$20 million that had been earned mainly from real estate and fur trading. Despite his riches, Astor's business was mainly a one-man show. He employed only a handful of workers, most of them clerks. This was typical of his time, when the farmer, the craftsman, the small partnership and the independent merchant ruled the economy [para.1]. (. . .)

Just as John Jacob Astor defined a distinct stage of capitalism, we may now be at the end of what Chandler perceptively called "managerial capitalism." Managers, of course, won't disappear. But the new opportunities and pressures on them and their companies may have altered the way the system operates. Chandler admits as much. Asked about how the corporation might evolve, he

confesses ignorance: “All I know is that the commercializing of the Internet is transforming the world.” To fill that void, someone must do for capitalism’s next stage what Chandler did for the last [para. 11]. (*Washington Post*, 26 October 2006)

- (3) For the past 30 years, American capitalism has been on a roller-coaster ride [para. 1]. (. . .)

As it turned out, America’s obituary as an economic superpower was premature. By the turn of the millennium, the Anglo-American economic model was back on top [para. 3]. (*Washington Post*, 27 February 2008)

- (4) Among the institutions that are most crucial to economic growth are those that enable a country to allocate capital to its most productive uses. Such institutions establish and maintain strong property rights, an effective legal system, and a sound and efficient financial system. (Frederic Mishkin, 26 April 2007, para. 2)

- (5) Some features of the world trading regime, such as excessive restrictions on trade in services and the uneven protection of intellectual property rights, are both unfair and economically counterproductive. Working through the World Trade Organization or in other venues, we should continue to advocate the elimination of trade distortions and barriers in our trading partners even as we increase the openness of our own economy. We should also work to ensure that both we and our trading partners live up to existing agreements under the World Trade Organization. (Ben Bernanke, 1 May 2007, para. 29)

- (6) This is a city whose capital markets have attracted investments from around the world and financed the dreams of entrepreneurs all across America. This is a city that has been and will always be the financial capital of the world. (Applause.) [para. 2]. (. . .)

Free market capitalism is far more than economic theory. It is the engine of social mobility—the highway to the American Dream.

It's what makes it possible for a husband and wife to start their own business, or a new immigrant to open a restaurant, or a single mom to go back to college and to build a better career. It is what allowed entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley to change the way the world sells products and searches for information. It's what transformed America from a rugged frontier to the greatest economic power in history—a nation that gave the world the steamboat and the airplane, the computer and the CAT scan, the Internet and the iPod [para. 28]. (George Bush, 13 November 2008)

The propositions of the statements from the excerpts above are lionizing capitalism. The nominal groups 'the commercializing of the Internet', 'trade liberalization', 'the new opportunities', 'the uneven protection of intellectual property rights', 'the elimination of trade distortions and barriers', 'free market capitalism' and 'the engine of social mobility' characterize the capitalist discourse. The same holds true for the verbal groups: 'affects', 'has led', 'establish and maintain', 'may have altered' and 'has been and will always be.' The discourse is produced in the American context. Yet its main message is actualization of the imperialist global economy. Excerpts (1) and (2) focus on the trajectory of American capitalism, the transformation from managerial capitalism to the next stage of its development, i.e. technology. Excerpts (3)–(5) are concerned with the actual practices of the capitalist enigma measured in time scale 'For the past 30 years' and the modus operandi 'property rights', 'a sound and efficient financial system' and 'the elimination of trade distortions and barriers'. Excerpt (6) indicates a fairly explicit, strong conviction to capitalism that the USA has embraced and has made America 'the greatest economic power in history'. This capitalist thinking is sustained and reproduced in the U.S. discourse and in text as a social event.

The way the authors construct the capitalist discourse in the excerpts is multifaceted; it involves political economy, history, and commerce. The economic philosophy behind the American capitalism can be

traced back to the work of Adam Smith, *the Wealth of Nations* (1776), where he described the property rights, free trade, and competition. In the course of the U.S. economic progress, giant businesses such as those that belonged to the Fords and Rockefellers were so greedy that they monopolized the economy, defeating their straggler counterparts (summarized from the article ‘Capitalism’s Next Stage’, *Washington Post*, 26 October 2006; see also below). The accomplishment of capitalism was also acknowledged to be supported by technological advances and interstate transportation infrastructures including railroads that channeled the U.S. cities, such as New York and Chicago:

- (7) It began with railroads. In 1830 getting from New York to Chicago took three weeks. By 1857 the trip was three days (and we think the Internet is a big deal). From 1850 to 1900, track mileage went from 9,000 to 200,000. But railroads required a vast administrative apparatus to ensure the maintenance of “locomotives, rolling stock and track” —not to mention scheduling trains, billing and construction, as Chandler showed in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book “The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business” (1977) [para. 5].

Elsewhere the story was similar. Companies didn’t achieve lower costs simply by adopting new technologies or building bigger factories. No matter how efficient a plant might be, it would be hugely wasteful if raw materials did not arrive on time or if the output couldn’t be quickly distributed and sold. Managers were essential; so were statistical controls. Coordination and organization mattered. Companies that surmounted these problems succeeded. Typical was Singer Sewing Machine. Around 1910 it produced 20,000 to 25,000 machines a month and had 1,700 U.S. branch offices, whose salaried managers supervised an army of salesmen [para. 6]. (*Washington Post*, 26 October 2006)

- (8) A lot has changed since those early days. We’ve seen technologies transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another [para. 5]. (. . .)

What Silicon Valley can contribute to a new American economic model is not just its fantastic technology, but its entrepreneurial spirit. Silicon Valley is about a culture of risk-taking, not just by companies and investors, but workers as well. It's about companies where everyone understands that the way to get rich is to make great products that change the world. And it's about management that eschews bureaucracy, that values talent above all else, that includes fun in the compensation system and expects ideas and inspiration to flow from the bottom up rather than the top down. [para. 13]. (Barrack Obama, 21 January 2011)

In the course of history the American capitalism evolved as advances in transportation and technology emerged. The operations of businesses were redirected from infrastructures 'railroad' to superstructures 'professional managers, engineers and accountants' that gave rise to managerial capitalism 'Coordination and organization mattered' which later develop into new capitalism, i.e. information technology (2) and (6).

Since the practices of global economy emerged in 1980s the U.S. led-capitalism began to dominate the world discursively constructed as in 'By the turn of the millennium, the Anglo-American economic model was back on top' and 'a city that has been and will always be the financial capital of the world'; the dominance is attained through economic neocolonialism and imperialism (Harvey, 2005). The expansion of the U.S. capitalism was at the beginning imaginaries formulated through a Bretton Woods institution, GATT and then replaced by WTO (Lowes, 2006).

The most obvious track of the expansion of the U.S. capitalism is when advances in technology are in control of the economy. The negation 'not just its fantastic technology, but its entrepreneurial spirit' (8) presupposes that modern technology 'transforms the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another'. Modern technology means that people can interact in a space unrestrained by territory in the sense that distance becomes unproblematic (Woods, 2000). As

space and distance no longer become obstacles, the U.S. products and services from computer technology such as IBM and Microsoft to junk food restaurants such as KFC and McDonald and their accompanying soft drink *Coca Cola* all have taken the world stage. Through the regulations of Bretton Woods organizations represented by GATT, WTO with its neoliberal globalization activities that were previously carried out within national boundaries now can be undertaken globally or regionally. In that sense, space becomes 'deterritorialized' (Woods, 2000) and 'reterritorialized' (Fairclough, 2006). Unfortunately, the contagious impact of this 'universalization' on the global society is the fact that developed countries take the advantages to the detriment of others less developed.

In its development, American capitalism did not just attempt to control the global market via its products and services but also gave rise to new capitalism that stressed on the role of managements in the global economy. Unsurprisingly, since the middle of the 20th century the American model of new capitalism to a great extent has expanded to management (8) and organizations (Chiapelo & Fairclough, 2002; Fairclough & Thomas, 2004) for these points of view on the role of management in new capitalism as prescribed by management experts within the discourse of global economy (see Kanter, 2001; Ohmae, 1994). Virtually, this phenomenon is not new at all. For example, for years almost all major universities in the USA have offered an MBA program for potential students. In fact, the departments for businesses and administration degrees outnumber the program for peace studies. This propensity is imitated by major universities in both the 'First World' and the 'Third World' countries.

The advances and significance of mastering information technology and management have provided an illusion for and enlightened the minds of young people around the globe, praising information technologies as if they could eat notebooks. Management is conceived of as the same importance as capital—wealth and machinery—in the discourse of new capitalism (Ohmae, 1994; Kanter, 2001).

The U.S. government endeavor to lead the globalizing process of the world economy. The authors persuade the discourse participants to accept the value that the citizens of the USA are capable of dominating the global economy. Vocabulary such as ‘competition’, ‘trade liberalization’, ‘free market’ plays a crucial role for the U.S. globalization processes in the discursive construction of the global economy. Below are other excerpts (repeated) for another picture:

- (9) A recent study by the Institute for International Economics concluded that American living standards are roughly 10 percent higher as a result of globalization’s benefits (cheap imports, greater competition, new technologies). Globalization’s winners vastly outnumber its losers [para. 1].

Unfortunately, that could change if the world economy turns out to be unstable — incapable of sustaining adequate growth or vulnerable to severe crises. For the moment the dangers are abstract [para. 2]. (*Washington Post*, 16 March 2005)

- (10) Although we have been focusing on how globalization promotes financial development, we shouldn’t forget that trade globalization, which involves both trade liberalization and an export orientation, is a key driver of economic growth for reasons additional to those already mentioned. (Frederic Mishkin, 26 April 2007, para. 34)

- (11) Ultimately, the best evidence for free market capitalism is its performance compared to other economic systems. Free markets allowed Japan, an island with few natural resources, to recover from war and grow into the world’s second-largest economy. Free markets allowed South Korea to make itself into one of the most technologically advanced societies in the world. Free markets turned small areas like Singapore and Hong Kong and Taiwan into global economic players. Today, the success of the world’s largest economies comes from their embrace of free markets [para. 29].
(. . .)

The record is unmistakable: If you seek economic growth, if you seek opportunity, if you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go. (Applause.) And it would be a terrible mistake to allow a few months of crisis to undermine 60 years of success [para. 31]. (George Bush, 13 November 2008)

- (12) We've seen technologies transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another. We've seen our economy transformed by rising competition from around the globe [para. 5]. (. . .)

But in an ever-shrinking world, our success in these efforts will be determined not only by what we build in Schenectady, but also what we can sell in Shanghai. For America to compete around the world, we need to export more goods around the world. That's where the customers are. It's that simple. (Applause.) [para. 13]. (Barrack Obama, 21 January 2011)

The bracketed nominal groups ('cheap imports', 'greater competition', and 'new technologies') refer to the scientific evidences that American people have improved their living standards due to their participation in globalization. The global economy may be contested 'unstable', but it is ensured that 'Globalization's winners vastly outnumber its losers' (9). This means that the practices of the global economy must keep running.

The initial positioning of the concession clause 'Although we have been focusing on how globalization promotes financial development' (10) and the conditional clauses 'If you seek economic growth', 'if you seek opportunity', and 'if you seek social justice and human dignity' (11) as Themes manifest the authors' conviction that 'trade globalization is a key driver of economic growth' and that 'the free market system is the way to go' (11). The articulation took place in the global context, but the US economic precept is actually being preached to other countries. The free trade can mean competition from selling products to foreign countries to maintaining the state's currencies (see below). To be able to compete economically, politically and globally, the US economy tends

to rely on big enterprises such as the General Electric and the Silicon Valley.

President Barack Obama in (12) ensures that the US giant companies like GE attain the success through competition. He sees global competition as a transformative force that American people need to sustain in 'an ever-shrinking world.' From the U.S. authors' ways of texturing texts (for example, George Bush and Barack Obama), we can say that the simple strategy that the USA deploys in the era of global economy is intensifying production, increasing exports, rising GDP, and enjoying prosperity. But most fundamental to that is the hegemonic agenda. The social hidden agenda of the capitalist USA is to naturalize the global economy thus amassing monopoly of the global economy through the so-called 'free trade' and 'global competition' broadly constructed by the semiotic resource that 'the best evidence for free market capitalism is its performance compared to other economic systems' and that it is 'the best way to go'. That is, the USA has become the hub of world economy and Americans have to retain that principle. The USA aims at ruling the world through economic practices. The USA has to be conceived as the empire of the world's economy, clearly textured in 'This is a city that has been and will always be the financial capital of the world' (George Bush, 13 November 2008, para. 2).

American attempts of globalizing economy also spread to other global ramifications, particularly cultural. American culture tends to dominate the world culture. And the standpoint is the same as of the global economy; they have to follow us (see Benhabib, 2002). The American Hollywood movies for example have spread around the globe. The Hollywood's interpretations of beauty, fashion or gender roles are portrayed in specific movies or TV programs. The American CNN's ways of broadcasting have also become a broadcasting model of the majority of TV stations in the world (Fairclough, 2006).

However, it needs to be reemphasized that the U.S. paradigm of globalization is more on the principles of competition, opportunities and changes than on the Hollywood's agenda. Competitiveness is the most

conspicuous strategy according to the U.S. trajectory of global economy (Bernanke, 1 May 2007). This perhaps is to do with American way of life, where individuals are guaranteed to freedom of will and want. Competition is taken for granted as a main recipe for participating in globalization and is in juxtaposition with social changes. Global economy cannot fulfill its fundamental agenda to liberalize market if the country rejects central changes. Liberalization for the USA means changes of trade regulation, the mind set of agencies and economic policies. The analysis above is among the features of how the USA constructs the global economy in its own ways that have in some way been parroted by other countries in the world. Having discussed how the U.S. sources discursively construct the global economy in the strategic texts, let us now move to China's view on the similar issue.

3. China on the Global Economy

The study of the discourse of global economy needs to refer to the history and the location of the specified country. China, as a country that has a very old civilization, does not regard the global economy as a new phenomenon. This statement is evidently supported by the excerpts:

Example 2

- (1) We think of globalization as selling Coca-Cola in Calcutta or Starbucks in Shanghai. But researchers claim the process dates back 800 years, to the time when Genghis Khan was building his empire [para.1]. (. . .)

Globalization is leading to the integration of the world's markets, culture, technology, and governance, in a similar way to the spread of communications, trade, transport and technology in Genghis Khan's era, said Hao (para. 5).

Establishing the Mongol Empire, the largest contiguous land empire in history, covering modern Mongolia, China, Korea, Russia, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria in the 13th century,

Genghis Khan has been described as ‘World Conqueror,’ ‘Emperor of All Men’ and ‘Scourge of God’ [para.6].

“Genghis Khan promoted globalization as has no ruler before him,” said the Mongolian academician, who is also director of the International Institute for the Study of Nomadic Civilizations [para. 9]. (*China Daily*, 06 May 2006)

- (2) Globalization is still an emotive word, but the phenomenon has been going on for centuries. What have the Romans ever done for us? Well, they played their part [para. 1]

China’s Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) was a crucial component of the same well-established trade network of 2,000 years ago, and now the country once again stands at the heart of the world economy [para. 2]. (. . .)

Globalization brings more efficient use of scarce resources, a greater and cheaper range of goods and services, reduced poverty, faster economic growth and rising living standards [para. 14]. (*China Daily*, 20 May 2011)

We can derive a proposition from the excerpts that China was among the first world nations to get involved in globalization. The denials ‘But researchers claim the process dates back 800 years’ and ‘but the phenomenon has been going on for centuries’ presume that the authors support globalization and that China is among the first to take part in it. This claim is discursively constructed, for example, with the presence of quotations in (1) to indicate that voices from others are rearticulated to support the argument.

The quotation ‘as has no ruler before him’ assumes as if Genghis Khan had been the first empire to globalize the world. If we want to consider the movements of people, goods, cultural assimilation, and sea exploration of that period as globalization, then perhaps there had been other people who had also explored the planet before Genghis Khan,

for example the Arab merchants (Mazlish, 1993) and the Romans (2). But the national identity vis-à-vis globalization is being reconstructed in the discourse. Therefore, China's role in the trajectory of globalization is defended.

In reality, Genghis Khan's exploration to 'China, Korea, Russia, Iran, Iraq, and Syria in the 13th century' as were other explorers might have been more to do with colonialism rather than globalization, because the main goal was to expand the empire and not to distribute wealth. Theoretically the argument that globalization improves the 'living standards' (2) of people including in the 'Third World' has been put forward by many globalists (see Bhagwati, 2007; Held et al., 1999). The voices are here woven together for the effect that China has long been involved in globalization.

In fact, the view that China has an old history of development for humankind is also presented in China's White Paper, in which China sees itself to have owned a very old civilization. Below is a short excerpt of it:

China has a history of 5,000 years of civilization. Boasting a splendid civilization in the same league as those of ancient Egypt, India and Babylon, China has contributed greatly to the development and progress of mankind. The Chinese people are industrious, courageous and full of wisdom. It is generally acknowledged in the world that the Chinese nation has a long, uninterrupted history and a rich cultural heritage. (The *China's White Paper*, October 2005)

The discursive formation of the 'development' and 'progress' plays a role in Chinese civilization in that the Chinese people are labeled as 'industrious, courageous and full of wisdom.' Accordingly, China's ways to development cannot abandon its long history. China pursues progress by taking history into deep consciousness as in 'It is generally acknowledged in the world that the Chinese nation has a long, uninterrupted history and a rich cultural heritage.' The passive construction 'It is generally

acknowledged' presupposes that it is the general knowledge that China has a long, uninterrupted history and a rich cultural heritage. Concerning the contribution to human development, Ancient China's civilization is ranked similarly to those of Egypt, India and Babylon.

What we see from the discourse is that China cannot leave out people's power of the state, a heritage endowed from communism being 'industrious' and 'full of wisdom'. However it grows, China still prioritizes the Chinese society as the rudder of the economy even though a hidden agenda can lead to the accumulation of wealth by certain groups of the elites. But politically, the Chinese central and local governments together with 1.4 billion people attempt to dominate the stage of the world economy through imports and providing safe haven for foreign investors.

China represents a unique position in emerging economies. China has attracted attention from global investments. Over the last two decades, China has made the developed countries specifically the USA and Britain envious of China's overall economic development in the global economy. However, the claim made here centers only on the analysis of the social policies in which China tackles the issues of globalization from the discursive point of views.

One policy that China constructs in the discourse of global economy and that the developed world is afraid of seems to be the fact that China is increasing its manufacturing and export capacity, discursively constructed under the 'opening-up' policy, as illustrated in the excerpts:

(3) In the past 27 years of the reform and opening-up, China has enjoyed an average annual GDP growth rate of 9.6% and fast development in social undertakings [para. 3]. (. . .)

Third, establishing a by-and-large well-functioning socialist market economy and developing a more open economy [para. 5]. (. . .)

Sixth, China's development is based on reform and opening-up. (. . .) We will adhere to the basic national policy of opening up to the

outside world and raise the level of openness in an all-round way [para. 12]. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006)

- (4) China's economy is an open economy, and China is both a major exporter and a major importer. We do not pursue surplus in foreign trade. China runs a trade surplus with the United States and Europe, yet a trade deficit with Japan and the ROK. We have a surplus in the processing trade, yet a deficit in general trade. Our export growth is rapidly recovering, yet our import has grown even faster. We cannot and will not pursue development with our door closed [para. 8]. (...)

China's development is open development. China's opening-up is long-term, comprehensive and mutually beneficial. We will uphold all policies conducive to opening-up. China is committed to creating an open and fair environment for foreign invested enterprises [para. 13]. (Wen Jiabao, 13 September 2010)

The excerpts above demonstrate that China has discursively stood behind the 'curtain' of neoliberalism as in 'China's economy is an open economy', 'China's development is open development'; the lexical item 'open' rather than 'free' is used, but still suggests the same meaning. Due to the openness, China's products from consumer goods to MA 60 aircraft have reached most parts of the globe. This brings about a new economic dominance. Through its 'openness' policy, China has provided a home for neoliberalism to operate in an authoritarian state where the political elite and the family have amassed their fortunes by exploiting a powerless working class (Harvey, 2010; see also the *New York Times*, 26 October 2012). China is smart not only in producing competitive goods but also in attracting importers and investment as it is admitted in excerpts (including repeated) below:

- (5) We will take the expansion of domestic demand as the basic principle in the next five years, and maintain appropriate growth in fixed-assets investment. At the same time, we will work to

achieve a balance between investment and consumption, so as to enhance the role of consumption in pulling up economic growth. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006, para. 5)

(6) China is now one of the world's largest foreign investment destinations. More than 470 of the top 500 global companies have established their presence in China. By July this year, China had received 1.05 trillion U.S. dollars of foreign investment in cumulative terms, ranking the first among developing countries for 18 years in a row. In the first seven months this year, foreign investment in China increased by 20.7 percent over the same period last year. Foreign invested enterprises on the whole enjoy good operation in China and have reaped good returns. (Wen Jiabao, 13 September 2010, para. 14)

(7) We have pursued the dual strategy of introducing foreign capital and encouraging Chinese companies to invest overseas to achieve greater balance between the use of FDI and overseas Chinese investment [para. 6]. (. . .)

We will continue to improve foreign-related economic laws, regulations and policies so as to make China's investment environment in keeping with international standard, transparent and more business friendly [para. 15]. (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011)

What China contests in theorizing the global economy as in the excerpts above is that China participates in the global economy by allowing the operation of neoliberal globalization of free capital flows as in 'China is now one of the world's largest foreign investment destinations'. This unique position in the global economy allows China to attract FDI and short term-capital flows as in 'foreign investment in China increased by 20.7 percent over the same period last year'. This implies that capital moves to China because for the investors China is a promising location to get higher returns. The nominal group 'China's investment environment

in keeping with international standard, transparent and more business friendly' portrays another China's openness attitude.

The global economic proponent is articulated through the language of political economy 'international standard', 'transparent' and 'more business friendly.' Politically, FDI has been proved to be the powerful force for the economic growth of China. Foreign capital has had two positive effects for China; it has improved the liquidity of the Chinese economy, and thus facilitated other investments, such as more business opportunities for local entrepreneurs as well as support businesses (for example, construction, transportation, legal work, and accountancy). Secondly, it has created employment, incomes and thus taxation revenue for the central and regional governments. Such revenues have been fed back into the economy to enhance the living standards of all Chinese people (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011, para. 11), further boosting the economy, and facilitating prosperity for over two decades. Whether you like it or not, this economic policy is leading China to a global dominance.

One disadvantage that concerns many social analysts is that FDI may serve only to exploit the cheap labor or natural resources of a country if its government does not have the ability to bring in technical know-how for its economic development. However, the Chinese government has played an active role to attract FDI into China, and the country being the largest host country for FDI among the emerging economic countries supports the success of its policies. Nonetheless, further reforms are needed. China needs FDI because its economy cannot grow by itself; it needs strategic partners from other countries. This has been proved by Wen Jiabao's July 2011 foreign visits to European countries, particularly UK and Germany, to enhance the bilateral trade.

In addition, the discourse of global economy from China's point of view reveals that the authors, governmental and non-governmental agencies, and the China society as a whole, share the beliefs and values that China as a populous emerging-economic country needs to ensure that its economic orientation is to control the global market while

sustaining national growth. China's political economy has led China to move since the 1980's from a communist paradigm of economic practices to liberal global market but which to some extent still allows the state's interference in its economic commitments. For China, the national interests, goals, and motives transcend the projected objectives of generic interest of the global economy. Nationalization is retained in China's paradigm of economic globalization. China commits itself to the principle 'think globally, act locally'. It enacts global discourse, but local practice (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004). This is evidenced from the fact that although China's communist economic system in principle has been replaced by capitalism, the communist party still holds power socially, economically, politically and culturally. The China's White Paper again says:

Social stability, economic development and the continuous improvement of people's life are both important goals and necessary conditions for the people to be masters of the country. The political development, economic development and cultural development of a country interact and precondition one another. Without social stability, smooth economic development cannot be expected, while the goal of development is to let the people enjoy the fruits of development together. The CPC and the Chinese government will firmly concentrate on economic construction, and make every effort to solidify the material and cultural foundations for continuously raising the level of socialist political democracy. (The China's White Paper, October 2005)

This quote is in contrast with the claims of certain authors (Pei, 1998; see also the similar argument of the Op-Ed in the *Washington Post*, 27 February 2008) that communism in China was dead. In fact, the communism in China is still striving, but reformed in accordance with the global political and economic development of the modern world by being 'socialist political democracy.' The cultural political economy of China is discursively inculcated in 'The political development, economic

development and cultural development of a country interact and precondition one another.’ The verbal group ‘interact and precondition’ presumes economy and politic cannot be separated. The Chinese government working hand in hand with the Communist Party of China (CPC) and nine other political parties such as Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang (founded in 1948), the China Democratic League (founded in 1941) restructure and recontextualize the Chinese political and economic model toward the so-called social democracy. According to the White Paper:

Socialist democracy means that all power of the state belongs to the people and people enjoy in real terms the civil rights prescribed in the Constitution and law. China’s socialist democracy is a kind of democracy built on the basis that citizens’ rights are guaranteed and constantly developed. (The China’s White Paper, October 2005)

However, the strong involvement of China in the global economy can be observed not in the White Paper alone but most importantly from the discourse of economic globalization it constructs in the press and China’s government presentation of economic issue for example at the World Economic Forum and in occasions of the nation addresses by its leaders, and newspaper Op-Eds.

The excerpts and the quotes above entail that China’s ways of economic globalization evolves into a political consciousness of ‘Social stability, economic development and the continuous improvement of people’s life’ and ‘all power of the state belongs to the people’. On a national scale, economy transcends politic for China. The discursive processes of getting involved in the global economy are among the government leaders and China’s general public agenda. That is, China is discursively constructed as being different from other countries in that its history passed through feudalism, communism and now social democracy. Social democracy is equal to state capitalism in that ‘all power of the state belongs to the people’.

China seems to follow state capitalism of political economy. This holds true because in China it is the state that is heavily involved in the ownership, control, or support of capitalist enterprises (Doug, 2012; Žižek, 2011). For example, the state in China still controls key industries, television station, oil and natural gas, and mass transportation. China is a form of capitalist state but which uses its resources and authority to stabilize its markets for example by prohibiting monopolies, controlling interest rate and tariffs on import but not to protect the capitalist class. As a result, China practices political democracy with its own characteristics, systems that are in conformity with the conditions of China. To this end, China cannot escape from the CPC and the Chinese people who first engaged in a New Democratic Revolution. The socialist political democracy of China is embedded in the vast land of fertile soil on which the Chinese nation has depended for its survival and development over thousands of years. It came out of the experience of the CPC and the Chinese people in their great practice of striving for national independence, liberation of the people and prosperity of the country. It is the appropriate choice suited to China's conditions and fulfilling the requirement of social progress. For China, copying the Western bourgeois political system leads China nowhere (excerpted from *The White Paper*, October 2005). But building its own economic strategy, China is faced with a new ideology, state capitalism that attempts to dominate the world economy. Different from the social material processes used by the USA in taking part in the global economy, which mostly depends on big tycoons such as the Silicon Valley, and General Electric, China's social material processes in economic development tend to concentrate on people-driven economy; the economy contingent on small and medium-sized enterprises and agriculture. Nevertheless, China has become a strong competitor for the USA in the current world economic development.

In the last two decades it has been no longer the USA that was a threat to China's economy but the reverse. This point of view is admitted by the U.S. press, economists, governmental and nongovernmental agencies like the IMF and the World Bank. The excerpts below unfold

the statement that China and other emerging economies will possibly be the U.S. rival in controlling the global economy in the 21st century:

Example 3

- (1) Our relations with old Cold War allies are strained, while relations with new trading partners—China especially—are ambiguous. Could we someday be at war with China over Taiwan? Or will trade defuse conflict? (*Washington Post*, 16 March 2005, para. 1)
- (2) Rather than Germany and Japan, it is China and India that are viewed as the imminent threats to U.S. prosperity and economic hegemony. (*Washington Post*, 27 February 2008, para. 5)
- (3) Now, China and other emerging markets may be moving beyond export-led growth. (*Washington Post*, 16 July 2008, para. 7)
- (4) The more testing challenges for the future will be how China defines its role on global issues. The world awaits its responses with growing anticipation. (*China Daily*, 01 July 2010, para. 9)

We learn from the excerpts above that there are countries that are suspicious of China's role in the world economy. There is a strong fear growing among the developed economies that China (as well as other emerging economies) will finally lead the global economy. The discursive formation behind the language 'Could we someday be at war with China over Taiwan?' and 'it is China and India that are viewed as the imminent threats to U.S. prosperity and economic hegemony' is that the U.S. economic dominance is at stake. The nominal groups 'the imminent threat', 'China and other emerging markets', 'its role on global issues' and prepositional phrases 'at war over Taiwan', 'beyond export-led growth' indicate suspicion that China and other emerging countries will control the global economy. Politically speaking, a nation's citizens including columnists will defend their nation if it is threatened in the international affairs (Rivenburgh, 2000).

Different from the USA that sees economic globalization as a global competition and attempts to sustain the world dominance, China politically sees globalization as a way of securing national image, although it is not overtly stated. In other words, populous China is taking a “middle road” in the manifestation of global economy as it is revealed in the White Paper quotes above and by the text excerpts below:

Example 4

- (1) Fortunately China is prepared by its history to resist the temptation to see the globe in the national image. Always the Middle Kingdom, it has never aspired to rule the world. And the philosophy of the “middle way”, a pragmatism that avoids extremes, can serve it well in treating globalization for what it is: a process of social change like any other to be managed to the advantage of a country’s citizens and for the welfare of humankind. (*China Daily*, 01 July 2010, para. 9)
- (2) In the years to come, China’s economic and social development will be characterized by the following major features [para. 6].

First, the development of China is the kind that is based on our own domestic market [para. 7]. (. . .)

Second, China’s development will be one with an optimized structure. (. . .) Some key national projects will serve as platforms for us to introduce cutting-edge technologies from abroad and, at the same time, make our own innovation upon learning and assimilation [para. 8]. (. . .)

Third, China’s development will be resource-efficient. A large population and relatively scarce resources are the basic national reality of China [para. 9]. (. . .)

Fourth, China’s development will be environment-friendly. We will continue to implement the strategy of sustainable development and the basic national policy of environment protection, speed up

the building of an environment-friendly society and highlight the protection of the environment [para. 10]. (. . .)

Fifth, China's development is aimed at comprehensive and coordinated progress. We will endeavor to transform the countryside into new socialist rural communities, vigorously promote modern agriculture, give priority to infrastructure construction and access to utilities in rural areas, and work hard to raise farmers' income [para. 11]. (. . .)

Sixth, China's development is based on reform and opening-up. We will always stick to the path of building a socialist market economy, and deepen reform and opening-up to provide impetus and guarantee for economic and social development [para. 12]. (. . .)

China cannot achieve development in isolation of the rest of the world, and the world needs China for development. In 2005, the total value of China's trade in goods reached US\$1.42 trillion with import worth US\$660 billion, and China received US\$60.3 billion in FDI, ranking third in the world in both counts. Since reform and opening-up in the late 1970s, China has benefited a lot from the useful assistance by many countries [para. 13]. (. . .)

China follows an opening-up strategy that promotes mutual benefit. We are ready to work with the international community to expand two-way market access, improve the multilateral trade system and advance trade and investment liberalization and facilitation so as to create a better environment for trade and economic cooperation [para. 14]. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006)

- (3) We sincerely welcome enterprises from all countries to actively participate in China's reform and opening-up process, and hope that all types of enterprises will strictly abide by China's laws and regulations, run businesses in China according to law, and share the opportunities and benefits of China's prosperity and progress. (Wen Jiabao, 13 September 2010, para. 14)

- (4) China will continue to develop education as a priority, bring about all-round human development, and promote economic development on the basis of improving the quality of human capital. For a major developing country like China, boosting education and improving quality of human resources will drive economic development and make it more competitive. (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011, para. 10)

The excerpts demonstrate that national particularity is still very inherent in China's ways of seeing the global economy. The national distinctiveness is realized through textual processes such as nominal groups 'China', 'the Middle Kingdom', 'China's economic and social development', 'China's development'; and the use of modalities of 'will' and 'can'. The authors construct China's particularities through image building 'to the advantage of a country's citizens and for the welfare of humankind', 'cannot achieve development in isolation of the rest of the world', 'environment-friendly', 'resource-efficient', 'sincerely welcome enterprises from all countries to actively participate in China's reform and opening-up process.' None of these particularities carries a negative image.

The strategic policy of being engaged in the global economy for China is to provide home, education and respective living standards for its citizens. This is a way China builds an economic social cohesion. That is, China as an overpopulated country, it needs to concentrate on provision of basic education, housing and food security (excerpted from Wen Jiabao's speeches, 28 January 2009 & 13 September 2010).

China's cultural political economy is in operation in the discourse. If foreign countries are eager to invest in China, they need to abide by the China's regulations and law (4). This gives China opportunities to share profits to facilitate its development, hence, 'mutual benefit.' A global change in the system of world economy for China means recontextualizing it to fix the internal demand by taking part in the global economy, for example by export as well as by attracting foreign investment (2).

China construes the global economy in accordance with its own model of globalization. The authors of the strategic texts propose restructuring and rejuvenating the unchanged strategy of development. The competitiveness is not an overt issue in the China's view on the global economy, especially when it is addressed by the China's state leader. China's entrance to the global economy emphasizes on confidence and stability of national demands. This entails that nationalization and protectionism are at work here although some authors from Chinese origins might not explicitly confess it. Nevertheless, when the issue is constructed by the authors who are not nationally inherent to China, the theme is not national bound. It is clearly stated that globalizing countries rely on a set of principles. Among the rules are the globalist countries must have a democratic government; they must be able to draw a distinction between globalization goal and national interest. And as an emerging-economic country, China has to stick to these principles if it is to stay in the world trade project. Having discussed the two different views on the global economy between the USA and China and the ways they are discursively constructed in the strategic texts, let us move to the shared views between these countries.

4. Shared Views between the USA and China

As it is true for the global capitalist USA, it also holds true for the former communist China that both countries are currently struggling for and in defense of disseminating the globalist systems of economy. The two countries share a number of points of view in figuring out, negotiating and tackling challenges and competing for the opportunities, for example in the business of import-export, flows of capital, and inward and offshore investments. This indicates that the material processes of globalization and the discourse of globalization are not two discrete social moments.

The social processes that the two countries share can be identified by examining the textual processes deployed by the text producers. The discursive processes include the ways the authors choose to talk about the global economy. For example, the authors put forward

the arguments to convince the audience on the problem at issue. In addition, they use typical keywords (see Chapter 2 for the keywords) to elaborate their ideas, so that the arguments can be convincing. As a result, the points of view expressed in the discourse are acceptable.

The shared perspectives that can be identified In the two countries' discursive practices on the global economy are set out in Table 6.1 below. I will refer to this table when he deals with the social material processes and textual processes on the discursive construction of global economy between the USA and China.

Table 6.1: Shared views between the USA and China on global economy

No.	Shared points of view
1.	Politically and strategically lionize social structures, social practices and social events;
2.	See the global economy as opportunities and its current financial turmoil as challenges;
3.	See the global economy in terms of job creation—the so called 'labor force';
4.	Dependent on technological advances, communication and innovation;
5.	Already shifted to knowledge-based economy;
6.	See the economic growth from statistical points of view;
7.	Denounce but unable to conceal protectionism.

The discursive practices concerning the global economy are treated considerably important by the USA and China. The two countries promote their economic policies in genres and discourses. The state leaders, economists and policies analysts construct the discourse to enact regulations, set up policies, report the economic progress, and explain challenges. From a social semiotic perspective (Halliday & Hasan,

1989; van Leeuwen, 2008), the authors from the USA and China not only produce but also treat texts and discourse as an important action in constructing and reconstructing the economy.

The texts produced in the USA and in China in principle share a dominant ideology, common understandings of the global economic practice; the genres, discourses and styles are inspired by the same *Westanschauung*, that is, globalism. The texts demonstrate that the opportunities of global economy are always contested through free market, trade liberation, investment, opening-up. But it is always in the way of competition. Both the USA and China are parts of the practice of the cultural political economy. They share the similar social and discursive formation. What makes the practices of global economy between the two countries different are the ways each country contextualizes and sets the operational policies for struggle of the global market (see above). The discourse of global economy embedded in the texts all share a common-sense that the world has been so interconnected that turning back is no longer possible (Fairclough, 2006; Steger, 2005). What each nation needs to do is to participate in this unprecedented unification of the global territory.

The texts from the two countries discursively construct capitalist global economy as opportunities and challenges whether in normal momentum or when the countries are faced with a crisis. The opportunities are worth fighting for and are contingent on the ability to negotiate with governments across the world; the excerpts below which are the repeated ones of the previous Chapters illustrate:

Example 5

- (1) Just as John Jacob Astor defined a distinct stage of capitalism, we may now be at the end of what Chandler perceptively called “managerial capitalism.” Managers, of course, won’t disappear. But the new opportunities and pressures on them and their companies may have altered the way the system operates. (*Washington Post*, 26 October 2006, para. 11)

(2) I will argue that one possible response to the dislocations that may result from trade—a retreat into protectionism and isolationism—would be self-defeating and, in the long run, probably not even feasible. Instead, our continued prosperity depends on our embracing the many opportunities provided by trade, even as we provide a helping hand to individuals and communities that may have suffered adverse consequences [para. 2]. (. . .)

U.S. firms increasingly seek to expand production and profits through new export opportunities [para. 7]. (...)

U.S. firms with a global reach tend to be better diversified and are better able to respond to new market opportunities wherever they may arise [para. 8]. (. . .)

Financial openness allows U.S. investors to find new opportunities abroad and makes it possible for foreigners to invest in the United States. The ability to invest globally also permits greater diversification and sharing of risk [para. 11]. (Ben Bernanke, 1 May 2007)

(3) Like any other system designed by man, capitalism is not perfect. It can be subject to excesses and abuse. But it is by far the most efficient and just way of structuring an economy. At its most basic level, capitalism offers people the freedom to choose where they work and what they do, the opportunity to buy or sell products they want, and the dignity that comes with profiting from their talent and hard work [para. 27]. (. . .)

The record is unmistakable: If you seek economic growth, if you seek opportunity, if you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go [para. 31]. (. . .)

There are clear-cut ways for nations to demonstrate the commitment to open markets. The United States Congress has an immediate opportunity by approving free trade agreements with Colombia, Peru, and South Korea [para. 35]. (George Bush, 13 November 2008)

(4) When a company sells products overseas, it leads to hiring on our shores. The deal in Samalkot means jobs in Schenectady. That's how we accelerate growth. That's how we create opportunities for our people. (Barrack Obama, 21 January 2011, para. 21)

(5) In order to attain all these goals, we should seize future opportunities and make innovative and creative efforts. On theoretical innovation, based on its own experience in nation building and other countries' development experience, China has set the guidelines on a scientific approach to development in all aspects and building a harmonious socialist society [para. 5]. (. . .)

In the next five years, China's development will bring more opportunities to the rest of the world [para. 13]. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006)

(6) It will also help increase China's imports and outbound investment, boost world economic growth and create more development and job opportunities for other countries [para. 6]. (. . .)

Our confidence comes from the fact that the long-term trend of China's economic development remains unchanged. We are in an important period of strategic opportunities and in the process of fast industrialization and urbanization. (. . .)

The readjustment to the international division of labor offers new opportunities. We have the confidence, conditions and ability to maintain steady and fast economic growth and continue to contribute to world economic growth [para. 7]. (Wen Jiabao, 28 January 2009)

(7) This shows that China's economic growth has provided major development opportunities for the multinationals and created huge demand for major economies and neighboring countries. It has become an important engine for the world economic recovery. (Wen Jiabao, 13 September 2010, para. 5)

(8) With its development entering a new historical stage in the second decade of the 21st century, China is in an important period of strategic opportunities. Peace, development and cooperation remain the trend of our times. The international environment is generally conducive to China's pursuit of peaceful development [para. 7]. (. . .)

We will give priority to job creation in promoting economic and social development and create equitable job opportunities for all [para. 13]. (. . .)

We sincerely welcome foreign companies to actively involve themselves in China's reform and opening-up process and share the opportunities and benefits of China's prosperity and progress [para. 18]. (Wen Jiabao, 11 September 2011)

The 'opportunity' is discursively constructed as an entity that is 'new', 'strategic', 'immediate', and 'major'. This indicates that global capitalism is never to surrender to creating economic growth even in the situation of an economic uncertainty. The opportunities thus must be 'seized', 'created', 'sought' and 'shared'. The global crisis is viewed as an 'opportunity' to rebuild the tenets of political economic ideology.

Furthermore, the global economy which has been interrupted by the global financial crisis and other social issues such as environment degradation and terrorism is discursively constructed as challenges by the two countries and the people have to cooperate to tackle the crisis. The discursive construction of 'challenges' can be revealed from the excerpts of the examples used in the preceding chapters:

Example 6

(1) Today, the same sort of visionary internationalism is needed to resolve the crises and challenges of a different age. And the greatest of global challenges demands of us the boldest of global cooperation. (*Washington Post*, 17 October 2008, para. 4)

(2) In the absence of a corresponding monetary system, the world economy is encountering a series of challenges and dilemmas induced by conflicting policies among different countries on economic growth, inflation, employment and interest rates. (*China Daily*, 24 February 2011, para. 11)

(3) We are facing severe challenges, including notably shrinking external demand, overcapacity in some sectors, difficult business conditions for enterprises, rising unemployment in urban areas and greater downward pressure on economic growth. [para. 3].
(. . .)

Fifth, jointly tackle global challenges and build a better home for mankind. Issues such as climate change, environmental degradation, diseases, natural disasters, energy, resources and food security as well as the spread of terrorism bear on the very survival and development of mankind. No country can be insulated from these challenges or meet them on its own. The international community should intensify cooperation and respond to These challenges together [para. 13]. (28 January 2009)

(4) All this shows that world economic recovery will be a long-term, difficult and complicated process. In addressing the Davos forum in early 2009,¹ I said that the crisis is a global challenge. To overcome the crisis, we need to have confidence, strengthen cooperation and live up to our responsibility. The crisis also puts to the test the international community's sincerity for and commitment to cooperation, and it puts to the test our wisdom. I still hold this view today. The international community must have more confidence, enhance cooperation and jointly tackle the challenges. [para. 16].
(. . .)

We will address the pressing challenges in the economy and continue to implement a proactive fiscal policy and a prudent monetary policy. We will maintain continuity and stability in macroeconomic policy and make our policy responses more

targeted, flexible and forward-looking in light of changes in the economy. (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011)

Fighting for opportunities and facing challenges are taken for granted as parts of practicing the global economy; they are in fact the shared belief in the capitalist economy. The two countries see challenges as 'global', 'severe', and 'pressing'. The challenges require 'global cooperation' and joint ventures. The authors are aware that challenges exist but the countries can sometimes be suspicious of each other, seeing challenges as a threat. Nevertheless, rhetorically the two countries and others are demanded to cooperate in resolving the disarray of global economy. Like it or not, the global economy has not grown properly, there emerge unemployment issues, 'inflation', 'monetary systems' and shrinking external demand. And these constitute the shared issues of the global economy.

Although the global economy is being struck by worldwide financial crisis, it seems to indicate that globalists are so determined to promote and defend economic globalization as the best system of the world's economy—even as the only solution to tackling the current financial crisis—as if there was no alternative. But history shows that globalizing countries covertly protect their economy by issuing acts to buy their own products like "buy American", and "buy Chinese" products. At the same time the developed world rejects products from outside through reasons of quality assurance, environmental issues and the like as in 'Globalization's rules should not force Americans or Europeans to consume goods that are produced in ways that most citizens in those countries find unacceptable'(China Daily, 11 January 2011, para. 11). Thus national protectionism exists in economic practices of both the USA and China.

The discourses from the two countries see a competitive free market as a way of opening new businesses and creating jobs for their citizens. Excerpts below entail how global market capitalism is a shared value by the two countries and embedded in both sources of the strategic texts:

Example 7

- (1) For now, however, I will point out that trade also creates jobs—for example, by expanding the potential market overseas for goods and services produced in the United States, as I have already discussed. Trade creates jobs indirectly as well, in support of export activities or as the result of increased economic activity associated with trade. For example, gains in disposable income created by lower consumer prices and higher earnings in export industries raise the demand for domestically produced goods and services [para. 15]. (. . .)

If trade both destroys and creates jobs, what is its overall effect on employment? The answer is, essentially none. In the long run, the workings of a competitive labor market ensure that the number of jobs created will be commensurate with the size of the labor force and with the mix of skills that workers bring. Thus, in the long run, factors such as population growth, labor force participation rates, education and training, and labor market institutions determine the level and composition of aggregate employment. To see the irrelevance of trade to total employment, we need only observe that, between 1965 and 2006, the share of imports in the U.S. economy nearly quadrupled, from 4.4 percent of GDP to 16.8 percent. Yet, reflecting growth in the labor force, employment more than doubled during that time, and the unemployment rate was at about 4-1/2 percent at both the beginning and end of the period [para. 17]. (Ben Bernanke, May 1, 2007)

- (2) So the deals we struck are going to mean more than \$45 billion in new business for American companies—\$45 billion—that translates into 235,000 new jobs for American workers. (Applause.) [para. 17]. (. . .)

When a company sells products overseas, it leads to hiring on our shores. The deal in Samalkot means jobs in Schenectady. That's how we accelerate growth. That's how we create opportunities

for our people. This is how we go from an economy that was powered by what we borrow and what we consume — that’s what happened over the last 10 years [para. 21]. (Barack Obama, 21 January 2011)

- (3) We will make vigorous efforts to create jobs, alleviate poverty through development, improve the social security system, rationalize income distribution, and facilitate the development of social undertakings such as education, culture and public health. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006, para. 11)
- (4) China’s economy is in good shape on the whole. We managed to maintain steady and relatively fast economic growth in 2008 despite two unexpected massive natural disasters. Our GDP grew by 9%. CPI was basically stable. We had a good grain harvest for the fifth consecutive year, with a total output of 528.5 million tons. Eleven million and one hundred and thirty thousand new jobs were created in cities and towns [para. 6]. (Wen Jiabao, 28 January 2009)
- (5) A total of 6.55 million urban jobs have been created. Price rises as a whole are under control, market supply of important goods is ensured and structural adjustment of economic sectors is moving forward. Business profits and government revenues are increasing quite fast. People’s income has steadily increased, and their lives have further improved. Since the second quarter, the economic growth has dropped somewhat, but this is mostly the result of proactive macro regulation and is not beyond our expectation. (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011, para. 17)

The two countries share a similar view that one indicator of economic growth is that the countries must be able to ‘create jobs’ and raise people’s incomes. The clauses ‘trade also creates jobs’, ‘Trade creates jobs indirectly as well’, ‘thirty thousand new jobs were created in cities and towns’ and ‘A total of 6.55 million urban jobs have been created’ are used to exemplify the indicators of success by joining the global economy

that is attributed to trade and opening-up (see Chapter 2). The nominal groups '235,000 new jobs for American workers', 'thirty thousand new jobs' 'A total of 6.55 million urban jobs' functioning as Goal in the clauses are used to specify the success of the prevailing global economy. The creation of jobs is manifested in accordance with productions both in the industrial and in agricultural sectors. Employment issues are a measuring scale for 'economic growth' of the two countries.

The creation of jobs and economic growth are textually embodied by the fact that a country generates productions and is involved in trade liberalization. But the discourse that trade creates jobs is easily accepted by the general public. Therefore, applied mathematics in terms of statistical method is used as in (1) and (2).

When dealing with growth of GDP, prosperity, standards of living, and other progresses, references are made to the two countries, the USA and China, despite the fact that the texts are talking about the global economy. The discourse of global economy is used only as a symbol of rhetoric. It is not more than a language game. Each country is responsible of its own national development. For example, the U.S. globalists rarely speak for other nations' benefits. At most, the global economy is to cover relationships between two continents—the USA and European countries. Thus the world economy is far from being global (Hirst & Thompson, 1996). What the texts share in this matter is that they deal with banal internationalism. The internationalization is a shared rhetoric among the developed countries represented by the USA and certain emerging economies represented by China.

In addition to the opportunities and challenges, the USA and China also refer to the control of technologies as a more significant role in the global economy. Experiences within practices—manifested in advances in technology, communication and innovation—indicate that competition, success and societal transformation have a solid relation to knowledge-based economy (KBE) as it is embedded in the following (repeated) text excerpts:

Example 8

(1) One of the big questions of our time is whether the global economy is stable. The gains from “globalization”—more cross-border trade, investment and technology transfers—are indisputable. Countless millions have escaped poverty in Asia and Europe. (*Washington Post*, 16 March 2005, para.1)

(2) The good that globalization has done is hard to dispute. Trade-driven economic growth and technology transfer have alleviated much human misery. (*Washington Post*, 16 July 2008, para. 4)

(3) Over the centuries, with stops and starts, the volume of trade has expanded exponentially, driven in large part by advances in transportation and communication technologies [para. 1]. (. . .)

Trade also promotes the transfer of technologies, as when multinational firms or transplanted firms bring advanced production methods to new markets [para. 10]. (. . .)

With our strong institutions, deep capital markets, flexible labor markets, technological leadership, and penchant for entrepreneurship and innovation, no country is better placed than the United States to benefit from increased participation in the global economy [para. 30]. (Ben Bernanke, 1 May 2007)

(4) We’ve seen technologies transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another [para. 5]. (. . .)

All of you represent people who each and every day are pioneering the technologies and discoveries that not only improve our lives, but they drive our economy [para.6]. (. . .)

That means spurring innovation in growing industries like clean energy manufacturing, the kind of stuff that’s being done right here at this plant; ensuring our economy isn’t held back by crumbling roads and broken-down infrastructure [para. 31]. (. . .)

So ultimately winning this global competition comes down to living up to the promise of places like this. Here in Schenectady, you're heirs to a great tradition of innovation and enterprise: the pioneering work of Edison that made the entire modern age possible — the tungsten filaments that still light our homes; the x-rays that diagnose disease; now the advanced batteries and renewable energy sources that hold so much promise for the future [para. 34].

This is America. We still have that spirit of invention, and that sense of optimism, that belief that if we work hard and we give it our all, that anything is possible in this country [para. 35]. (Barack Obama, 21 January 2011)

- (5) Globalization is leading to the integration of the world's markets, culture, technology, and governance, in a similar way to the spread of communications, trade, transport and technology in Genghis Khan's era, said Hao. (*China Daily*, 06 May 2006, para. 5)
- (6) The theme of this year's annual meeting—"the Creative Imperative"—demonstrates extensive interest in the global development prospects and hope for a better future based on reform and innovation. [para. 1]. (. . .)

In order to attain all these goals, we should seize future opportunities and make innovative and creative efforts. On theoretical innovation, based on its own experience in nation building and other countries' development experience, China has set the guidelines on a scientific approach to development in all aspects and building a harmonious socialist society. On scientific and technological innovation, China has formulated medium-and long-term programs for scientific and technological development and set the strategic goals and policies of building an innovation-driven country. On institutional innovation, China has identified priorities for institutional reforms in all sectors as required by building a well-established market economy. With

the support of innovation, China will keep a sound momentum of growth, improve the quality of development and press ahead with the people-oriented economic and social development in a comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable manner [para. 5]. (. . .)

In the next five years, we will upgrade industrial technological standards through independent innovation, continue to improve agriculture, expedite growth of the service sector and press ahead with optimizing and upgrading the industrial structure. (. . .) Efforts will be mad to spur the growth of the hi-tech industries like IT, bio-technology, new materials, new energy sources, (. . .) and primary sectors such as energy, mining, water conservancy, transportation and communications [para. 8]. (. . .)

The inflows of overseas capital, technology and human resources have provided strong support for China's modernization drive. (. . .) We should promote technology trade and put in place mechanisms for technology dissemination and transfer to extend the sharing of technology innovation among countries, especially developing [para. 13]. (. . .) (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006)

- (7) Fourth, actively encourage innovation and upgrading in science and technology. We are speeding up the implementation of the National Program for Medium- and Long-Term Scientific and Technological Development with a special focus on 16 key projects in order to make breakthroughs in core technologies and key generic technologies. This will provide scientific and technological support for China's sustainable economic development at a higher level. (Wen Jiabao, 28 January 2009, para. 5)
- (8) China will continue to build an innovation-driven society, speed up the development of an innovation system, and enhance the role of science and technology in driving economic and social development. (...) We will increase input in science and technology and raise the share of budget for R&D in GDP from 1.75% to 2.2%.

We will follow closely the latest progress in overseas frontier technologies, strengthen basic research and the research of high technologies of strategic importance, and pool resources to make breakthroughs in developing core technologies. (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011, para. 11)

Concerning technology and communications, the shared point of view is that technology and communication cannot be separated from each other as in 'We've seen technologies transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another' (4) and from the manifestation of the economy as in 'enhance the role of science and technology in driving economic and social development' (8).

The two countries see advances in 'technology' and 'communication' as preconditions for the proactive, successful involvement in the global economy. Like the notion of opportunity, technologies are shared, at least discursively, as 'technology transfer' and 'technology dissemination and transfer' that are claimed to have 'alleviated much human misery.' Communication drives 'the volume of trade' and eases 'the way people communicate with one another' due to the mastery of science and technology. This is an exemplification which has led the USA and China to the KBE (more textual evidences below).

The sources from the two countries persuade people to sustain development and invent new things as in 'encourage innovation and upgrading in science and technology' (7) in order to build an 'innovation-driven society' (8). The U.S. authors exemplify the same that the past 'innovation' and 'invention' need to be imitated to retain the reputation at the world's stage as in 'Here in Schenectady, you're heirs to a great tradition of innovation and enterprise' (4).

What we see in the excerpts above is that the USA and China have moved to KBE (more textual evidences below). Technological advances, communication, and innovation are essential conditions for knowledge-driven economy. Critically, the control of technology, communication and innovation, according to Amin (1997), is one way of monopolizing the

global economy. This knowledge-driven economy is shared between the two countries. From a genre perspective, this shared value is discursively constructed in the strategic texts (for instance, the *Washington Post*, 26 October 2006; Barrack Obama's Speech, 21 January 2011 and Wen Jiabao's speeches, 28 January 2009; 14 September 2011) that the people of the USA and China cannot get involved holistically in the global economy without the control of technology, communication as well as the participation of skilled engineers, professional managers, and skilled labor force who have the capacity to invent, manage, produce goods and services in the age of globalization. The excerpts below further add textual evidences:

- (9) New technologies (the railroad, telegraph and steam power) favored the creation of massive businesses that needed —and in turn gave rise to superstructures of professional managers: engineers, accountants and supervisors. (*Washington Post*, 26 October 2006, para. 4)
- (10) Across the country, there are entrepreneurs opening businesses. There are researchers testing new medical treatments. There are engineers pushing the limits of design and the programmers poring over lines of code. (Barrack Obama, 21 January 2011, para. 7)
- (11) Numerous factors – continuous industrialization, urbanization and agricultural modernization, huge market potential, a relatively high savings rate, better R&D capacity, better education, a more skilled labor force, deepening reform and overall stability – have created enabling conditions and vast space for continued economic and social development in China. (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011, para. 7)

The excerpts demonstrate that the lexical items 'researchers', 'engineers', 'programmer' and 'skilled labor force' colligate with 'technologies', 'research and development' and 'economic development'.

This in terms of political economy signifies the countries' involvement in KBE. In fact, the importance of knowledge-driven economy in the discourse of global economy within new capitalism has not only been observed by the competitive and populous nations like China and the USA but it has also taken into consideration by small countries that lack raw natural resources like Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan as it is confessed by George Bush. Virtually, these small countries are among the most dominant players in the global economy (Koh, 2005).

The texts from the USA and China sources also see the global economy in terms of the pressure on the specific role of education and training in economic development. As set out in Table 6.1, this practice socially gives rise to KBE; another feature that the USA and China discursively share in the global economic texts.

The global economic texts are multifaceted. They contain complex themes and discourses. In several parts of the texts, for instance, in Obama's speech *Competing in the global economy* and the *China Daily's* Op-Ed, 24 February 2011, *Rebalancing global economy*, education and training are viewed as very promising investments for the availability of employment that drives the economy. The following excerpts reveal the role of education in the age of globalization from both the U.S. and China's sources:

Example 9

- (1) To his credit, John McCain has been more consistent in his support of open borders of all sorts but offers little to those who are the losers from trade other than platitudes about education and unshakeable confidence in the ability of Americans to adapt to change [para. 10]. (. . .)

It would mean putting serious money into an expanded unemployment insurance program that would cover all workers and include education and training grants, and wage insurance [para. 12]. (*Washington Post*, 27 February 2008)

- (2) Hudson Valley Community College created a program so students could earn a paycheck and have their tuition covered while training for jobs at this plant. (Barrack Obama, 21 January 2011, para. 33)
- (3) More generally, investing in education and training would help young people entering the labor force as well as those already in mid-career to better manage the ever-changing demands of the workforce. (. . .) Importantly, workforce skills can be improved not only through K-12 education, college, and graduate work but also through a variety of expeditious, market-based channels such as on-the-job training, coursework at community colleges and vocational schools, extension courses, and online training [para. 26]. (Ben Bernanke, May 1, 2007)
- (4) We will rely on domestic talent, give priority to science, technology and education, and lose no time in training professionals at various levels and in various fields. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006, para. 7)
- (5) We give priority to education and are now working on the Guidelines of the National Program for Medium- and Long-Term Educational Reform and Development. This year, we will increase public funds for free compulsory education in rural areas, offer more financial support to students from poor families and improve the well-being of middle and primary school teachers so as to promote equity in education and optimize the educational structure. (Wen Jiabao, 28 January 2009, para. 5)
- (6) The cherished goal of the Chinese that everyone should have access to education, employment and pay, medical and old-age care and housing is becoming a reality [para. 5]. (. . .)

Numerous factors – continuous industrialization, urbanization and agricultural modernization, huge market potential, a relatively high savings rate, better R&D capacity, better education, a more skilled labor force, deepening reform and overall stability

– have created enabling conditions and vast space for continued economic and social development in China [para. 7]. (. . .)

China will continue to develop education as a priority, bring about all-round human development, and promote economic development on the basis of improving the quality of human capital. For a major developing country like China, boosting education and improving quality of human resources will drive economic development and make it more competitive. We will act quickly to achieve economic growth by increasing the quality of human capital rather than by just using more workers. This will enable us to catch up with the progress in technology and change the model of growth, and it holds the key for us to adapt to demographic changes and achieve sustainable development. We will fully implement the outline of the national medium- and long-term plan for education and promote balanced development of education at different levels and of various types. We will ensure equitable education for all, promote well-rounded development of people, train innovation-oriented talents, and advance education in a scientific manner. And we will move faster to make China not only a big country but also a strong country in both education and human resources. This will provide strong intellectual impetus for sustaining China's economic development [para. 10]. (Wen Jiabao, 14 September 2011)

The excerpts demonstrate that the American government together with certain industrial institutions provides potential students with “resources” such as paychecks and tuition for their education. Similar things can be said for China. The Chinese government allocates an amount of financial assistance for the education of the young people. It is believed that these young people are to contribute their potentiality to KBE for the triumphant competition in the era of globalization. Their contribution is measured in the form of ‘a more skilled labor force’, ‘professionals’, ‘human capital’ and other ‘human resources’ in general. Meanwhile, the USA education and training contribute to adapting

'change' in the 'workforce'. The education programs are emphasized in the domain of science and technology, leaving out the spiritual needs of humanity (Solo, 1981; Easterlin, 1995).

The excerpt entails that education and training become a priority in fostering economic progress. To this end, the governments provide support for students, desperate families and teachers. The education that is financially supported by the governments centers on life skills and mostly at the secondary level, aiming to create the labor forces. This is a potential investment for such countries as China. The educational support is rarely targeted for advanced development of labor.

As a result, the labor force—the productive subject (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983), does not have the capacity for being involved in decision making; they are often linked to reducing wages, but increase in production as in 'We have a large well-trained and relatively low-cost labor force' (Wen Jiabao's speech, 28 January 2009, para. 7). Labor force is associated with low cost, being compared to commodity, the cheaper the better as in 'We know that labor is cheap in poor countries, and so we might think that capital would be especially productive there' (Frederic Mishkin, 26 April 2007, para. 13). In other words, there is a class division existing in the discourse of global economy—the ruling elites versus the working class, and the middle class.

Economic globalization is often to do with expansion of middle class citizens (*Washington Post*, 16 July 2008, para. 4). However, when it relates to education, the discourse of global economy is commonly concerned with creating jobs (see above) or employment through 'human capital' or a 'more skilled labor force' who generally work to bring food to the table, and not to improve their social stratification. It is the operational principle of the capitalist system of economy that is prioritized; the issue is rarely related to moral education and social welfares. Its main purpose is to produce goods and create eager customers as in 'For America to compete around the world, we need to export more goods around the world. That's where the customers are. It's that simple' (Barrack Obama, 21 January 2011, para. 13) and 'They (policy measures)

are designed to stimulate consumption through increased investment, overcome the current difficulties with long-term development in mind, and promote economic growth in the interest of people's livelihood' (Wen Jiabao, 28 January, para. 5). The impact of too much consumption can lead to a financial crisis, such as the accumulation of debt which Greece is currently undergoing. Meanwhile, in the USA and Iceland this phenomenon on economic instability initially passed unnoticeably. The crisis is realized only when it is too late.

This is because the simple rule of the global game is to produce and consume without taking into consideration the savings. This way of actualizing the global economy even leads the USA and China to discursively construct the global economy by translating the imagined into the real, for example, using statistical balance sheets to calculate the annual growth of the nation's GDP. The material relations are translated into discourse via statistical method (Harvey, 1996; Fairclough and Thomas, 2004). Neither the discourse from the USA nor from China negatively represents the national growth. The excerpts below provide a general picture:

Example 10

- (1) A recent study by the Institute for International Economics concluded that American living standards are roughly 10 percent higher as a result of globalization's benefits (cheap imports, greater competition, new technologies). Globalization's winners vastly outnumber its losers. (*Washington Post*, 16 March 2005, para. 1)
- (2) This shows that the increase in US income sparked by more intense trade equates to 13.2 percent of GDP. In the second method, we calculate how lower tariffs stimulate US productivity through competitive forces and bring greater product choices to US producers and consumers. The estimate for these benefits comes to 8.6 percent of GDP. (*Washington Post*, 07 June 2005, para. 5)

- (3) China cannot achieve development in isolation of the rest of the world, and the world needs China for development. In 2005, the total value of China's trade in goods reached US\$1.42 trillion with import worth US\$660 billion, and China received US\$60.3 billion in FDI, ranking third in the world in both counts. Since reform and opening-up in the late 1970s, China has benefited a lot from the useful assistance by many countries. The inflows of overseas capital, technology and human resources have provided strong support for China's modernization drive. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006, para. 13)
- (4) China's economy is in good shape on the whole. We managed to maintain relatively fast economic growth in 2008 despite two unexpected massive natural disasters. Our GDP grew by 9%. CPI was basically stable. (Wen Jiabao, 28 January 2009, para. 6)

The excerpts above imply that neither the USA nor China is willing to be seen as lagging behind the economic growth. The two countries discursively present themselves in a very positive position, for example China's economy is reportedly increasing 'China's economy is in good shape on the whole', constructed through textual process, the finite clause 'We managed to maintain relatively fast economic growth' (4). The texts from the USA present the economic growth attributed to free trade and technology (1 & 2); similarly, the texts from China also see the economic growth accredited to technology and opening-up (3); see also excerpts in Example 8 above. The growth is translated into statistical figures; the facts that are usually constructed in the balance sheets.

As set out in Table 6.1, the USA and China discursively fulminate protectionism, but unable to conceal it. Protectionism is part of each nation's hidden economic policies. However it is organized in text, national particularity (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004) can be assumed in the discursive construction of global economy. National particularity as a sort of protectionism is evident in the concrete texts although the core countries' markets operate around the globe:

Example 11

- (1) It is important, too, that in the international leaders' meeting that has been proposed we seek a world trade agreement and reject the beggar-thy-neighbor protectionism that has been a feature of past crises. (*Washington Post*, 17 October 2008, para. 10)
- (2) If we resist protectionism and isolationism while working to increase the skills and adaptability of our labor force, the forces of globalization and trade will continue to make our economy stronger and our citizens more prosperous. (Ben Bernanke, 1 May 2007, para. 3)
- (3) Stories like these show why it is so important to keep markets open to trade and investment. This openness is especially urgent during times of economic strain. Shortly after the stock market crash in 1929, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley tariff—a protectionist measure designed to wall off America's economy from global competition. The result was not economic security. It was economic ruin. And leaders around the world must keep this example in mind, and reject the temptation of protectionism. (Applause.). (George Bush, 13 November 2008, para. 34)
- (4) Protectionism has swept across the world in the face of the financial crisis. (*China Daily*, 02 April 2009, para. 3)
- (5) At the same time however, the world economy is facing an increasing number of destabilizing and uncertain factors, fiercer international competition, rising trade protectionism, an unfair global economic order and a widening South-North gap. Under these new circumstances, we need to find ways to maximize benefits and minimize harms and be more creative in development. (Zeng Peiyan, 25 January 2006, para. 2)
- (6) Trade protectionism serves no purpose as it will only worsen and prolong the crisis. It is therefore necessary to move forward trade and investment liberalization and facilitation. (Wen Jiabao, 28 January 2009, para. 9)

The discourse in the excerpts above imply that although global economy is basically aimed at creating economic growth and prosperity for the world's population and humankind as in 'a process of social change like any other to be managed to the advantage of a country's citizens and for the welfare of humankind' (*China Daily*, 01 July 2010, para. 9), the interest of an individual state is without doubt prioritized. As a result, protectionism is inevitable in the actual practices of global economy.

The excerpts in Example 11 suggest that the USA and China are similar in protecting their own interest since they are suspicious of each other. Put it differently, too free global economy leads to the protection of an individual state's interests, motives and goals. The strong protectionism can even lead to 'currency war' (see below). This could be the case, because the discourse of economic globalization does not just unite peoples into a 'global village', but there is also a possibility of excerpting them. The excerpts are part of the resistant discourse that pretends to oppose the protectionism discourse. For example, Wen Jiabao says 'Trade protectionism serves no purpose as it will only worsen and prolong the crisis.' Meanwhile, George Bush says 'And leaders around the world must keep this example in mind, and reject the temptation of protectionism.' The leaders from the two countries assume the emergence of protectionism within the global economic practices. The leaders thus attempt to show their national stance on the issue. But the verbal groups 'reject', 'resists', 'has swept', and 'worsen and prolong' all presume that protectionism has taken part in the practices the global economy. Therefore, national identity is inevitably maintained in the discursive representation of economic globalization.

Globalization discourse contributes to maintaining and reproducing national identity for the purpose of controlling or transforming society (see Chapter 6). Given the role of foreign exchanges and exports in developing the national economy, globalization supporters in a particular nation certainly promote, sustain or even defend their national sovereignty of being economically colonized by other nations

or being not open enough to trade that avoids the ‘transformative power’ (George Bush, 13 November 2008, para. 33) of the economic development. Consequently, as for national identity, protectionism is also at stake in the era of globalization. This protectionist attitude has even triggered the war on currency to which we now turn.

5. Currency War between Nations

In the inquiry which follows, we shall look at an impact of the ‘free market’ system on the global economic practices *vis-à-vis* national protectionism. Some scholars (for example, Steger, 2005; Li & Schaub, 2004; Fairclough, 2006) argue that globalization has triggered war on terror. It was revealed that lately globalization has also brought about what the so called currency war. The term was coined by Brazil’s finance minister Guido Mantega (*Financial Time*, September 27, 2010). War on currencies is an obvious impact of the global free market on the global economy. The inequitable practices of the global economy have caused conflict of interests between the emerging globalized countries (for example, Brazil and China) and the countries by now with dominant currencies; the stability of an earlier-globalized nation’s currency is at risk. The excerpts below generate evidences that even the developed countries that are based on unregulated market can precipitate social instability such as a dispute in currencies:

Example 12

- (1) Since mid-2001 the dollar has dropped against many currencies, especially the euro. Asian central banks have bought lots of dollars. And we have muddled through. (*Washington Post*, 16 March 2005, para. 9)
- (2) The old global economy had few power centers (the United States, Europe, Japan), was defined mainly by trade and was committed to the dollar as the central currency. Its major countries shared democratic values and alliances. Today’s global economy has many power centers (including China, Saudi Arabia and Russia), is

also defined by finance and is exploring currency alternatives to the dollar. (*Washington Post*, 16 July 2008, para. 8)

- (3) Rather than spending a decade begging China to stop manipulating its currency for mercantilist advantage, we should slap a 30 percent tariff on all Chinese imports and let them spend a few months negotiating with us on when and how we're going to reduce it. (*Washington Post*, 27 February 2008, para. 15)
- (4) Continuous dilution of US dollar debts calls for replacing its dominance with multi-currency monetary order [para. 1]

The US-led Western countries' advocacy of revising the way that current accounts are measured fully exposes their attempts to shift the responsibilities for the global economic imbalances to countries with a trade surplus [para. 2]. (. . .)

The volume of US national debts held by foreign countries and regions has kept rising over the past decade and it has issued 32 percent of the world's total bonds. However, Washington has skillfully utilized the dollar as the world's leading reserve currency for overseas financing of its national debts and promoted their international circulation to the US' advantage [para. 7]. (. . .)

The current dollar-led international monetary order already fails to reflect the latest developments in the global economic structure [para. 11]. (. . .)

Considering the widespread international criticism of the current dollar-led global monetary system, a diversified global reserve currency system remains a good option for promoting a balanced and healthy development of the global economy [para. 13].

The end of the dollar's decades-long hegemony and the formation of a multi-currency monetary system, which also involves the euro, the Japanese yen and the Chinese renminbi, would help the global economy develop in a more balanced direction [para.14]. (*China Daily*, 24 February 2011)

We should encourage regional monetary and financial cooperation, make good use of regional liquidity assistance mechanisms, and steadily move the international monetary system toward greater diversification. (Wen Jiabao, 28 January 2009, para. 10)

The excerpts above show that there are changes of attitudes and beliefs of the global society on the dominance of the world's currency from the developed economies. The verbal groups 'is exploring', 'calls for replacing', 'move', 'fails to reflect' and the nominal groups 'currency alternatives to the dollar', 'Continuous dilution of US dollar debts', 'its dominance with multi-currency monetary order', 'The end of the dollar's decades-long hegemony and the formation of a multi-currency monetary system', and 'the international monetary system toward greater diversification' all suggest that the currency war between countries is emerging in the prevailing global economy. An alternative currency to dollar is being contested. There are parties that are not satisfied with the dollar-led monetary system. This tendency indicates that the global economy is not always balanced. The world economy cannot rely on a single capital market, let alone one currency.

The USA that represents the 'First World' is struggling for the stability of its Dollar against the emerging China's Yuan and even the currencies of other developed economies like Japanese Yen and the European Euro. The excerpts (3)–(5) demonstrate that the 'war on currencies' prompts the countries involved in the global economy accuse one another of manipulating the currency and the exchange rate. The U.S. globalists for example fear the dollar will lose its rate against others. There is a tendency from the developing economies to refrain from using the U.S. Dollar in business transactions, for example by the leaders of ASEAN countries in May of 2011 summit and the excerpts above (1), (2) & (4).

In the last decades, emerging countries such as China and Brazil have protected their currencies for national sovereignty and national pride. As the financial markets are more closely integrated into a financial system, a national government and national currency have been transformed

and have become substitutable. As a result, governments compete to promote their currencies for uses in transactions in different places. For that cost, the currency war is inevitably worsening.

To curb the intensification of currency war, governments particularly from the developed economies enact regulations for capital controls and monetary unions such as the Euro to prevent their economies from suffering a deeper impact of global financial crisis. So far this solution has not been effective. Major economic countries are still fighting for the stability of their currencies. The European Union is bewildered by the debts suffered by some of its members, such as Greece, Iceland; the Europeans are confused by the austerity measures imposed by their governments. Their EU currency is devaluating. In sum, even the unregulated market is at stake financially and politically. The global economy is now fragmented.

6. Summary

The discursive formation of global economy between two populous countries, the USA and China deserved attention from political economy, sociology of economy as well as CDA. The transdisciplinary approach to global economy can assist each of these disciplines in developing critical social analysis. CDA can provide resources for sociology of economy and reversing the sociology of economy can become an object of study for critical linguistics. Thus, the transdisciplinary approach to a social problem is a breakthrough in the social sciences and humanities.

The analysis in this chapter seems to suggest that the two countries construct the notion of global economy in different ways due to historical differences, but the same goal, that is, being able to control the global market through increase of exports while maintaining sustained economic growth at home. There are features that the two countries share, but there are also ways in which they are different. These features are constructed in the genres and discourses, involving linguistic devices: vocabulary, nominal groups, and statistical figures.

From a CDA perspective, the U.S. economic system has moved from capitalism to new capitalism. On the other hand, China's political economy is still controlled by CPC although China has long adapted capitalism and taken part in the global economy. Put in another way, the U.S. economic system remains engrossed in capitalism while China does not join capitalism but the global economy. The two countries prioritize the creation of employments, educational improvement, and KBE. Both the USA and China pretend to denounce protectionism. The two countries regard economic globalization even when it is stalled by a crisis as opportunities and challenges. The statistical methods, usually in magnificent figures, are used by the USA and the China texts to present the economic growth.

The idea of knowledge economy is allocated in the educational system of both countries. In fact other developed countries and emerging-economy countries alike transform skills, knowledge to young people via education. Providing quality education for young people is taken for granted as the most effective way of a smooth entrance to the global economy. Unfortunately, those young people who live in less developed parts of the planet hardly have access to quality education. The main goal of education is concentrated on providing labor forces with life skills. Consequently, these young generations are marginalized in education in the first place and in the global economy in the second. The marginalization and inequality occur due to low education and low wages. As a result, there are workers in Chinese companies who committed suicide due to unreasonably low wages, poor working environment and accommodation. Perhaps this happens because the processes of globalization are not started from below, that is, by empowering the labor forces. And if these unequal processes persist, resistance is always inevitable. For example, labor unions will keep taking the street during the WTO's summit and other similar global events.

From a social perspective, what makes the two countries different is that while the USA spends its energies on coping with recession, budget cuts and debts, China today seems to be increasingly integrated with

the global economy, not only with its huge exports and FDI inflows, but also in terms of short-term capital flows. China has become the top destination in FDI. This is likely happening because China has been opened-up for FDI in the last decades and it also provides intensive low cost labor forces. This tendency of economic development is explicitly constructed genres and discourses by linguistic devices.

The chapter later deals with the unexpected impact of the free market system on the global monetary system. The impact was not only the financial crash that destroyed the financial growth model but also the 'loaded' war on the currencies. The text analysis provides evidences that the unfair practices of global economy have precipitate the currency war. The developed economy countries are unwilling to accept the presence of any other currency that can substitute the leading US dollar. Fortunately, the pedal to accelerate the war was not pushed intensely.

CHAPTER 7

Media Discourse and Anti-Pornography Bill

In this chapter, I will further refer to the application of a number of approaches to discourse analysis, particularly the critical study of discourse from two perspectives: discourse as social practice and discourse as sociocognitive analysis. The study focuses mainly on written discourse. The chapter highlights on how knowledge and ideology are embedded in discourse from empirical perspectives. The texts analyzed for the chapter are derived from a selection of the newspaper articles from a number of printed media, particularly media discourse on the anti-pornography bill. In the introduction below, I shall shed light on the notion discourse analysis in relation to the social issue, particularly newspaper discourse before turning to newspaper as media discourse and the concepts of opinion, ideology, and knowledge.

1. Introduction

Several academic fields have been interested in discourse analysis, and scholars have employed the term in various ways. For instance, Stubbs (1983:1), for example, defines discourse analysis as (1) concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence/utterance, (2) concerned with the interrelationships between language and society and (3) concerned with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication. Similarly, Brown & Yule (1983) define discourse as language in use and discourse analysis, therefore, studies purposes and social functions of language in human life. In other words, discourse analysis refers to attempts to study larger linguistic units, such as newspaper editorials or conversational exchanges in their social contexts. From a much social science-oriented boundary, discourse is defined as a particular way of representation of the social world (Fairclough, 2003). In this chapter, discourse is synthesized as communicative events, such as newsreports, editorials, and features found in media such as newspapers and tabloids.

Newspapers and tabloids are public, mass communicated types of discourse. These media discourse contains a variety of genres, for example, editorials and features. They are types of genres that may be characterized both as a special type of media discourse, as well as belonging to the large class of opinion discourses. They are also probably the widest circulated discourses of society, whether or not all readers of the newspaper read them daily. Their influence may not so much be based on massive popular influence, as rather on their influence on the elites. We may assume, for instance, that members of parliament, cabinet ministers, corporate managers, and other leaders follow the opinions of the most respected newspapers.

A media discourse is often impersonal and institutional in nature. Editorials are rarely signed, even when authored by a single editor, as they represent the newspaper's viewpoint. This indicates that they will often be distributed among many editors, between editors and

management, or between editors and other social groups to which they are affiliated. It is important to realize that whatever specific opinions about specific events are being formulated, they will tend to be derived from social representations or ideologies rather than from the personal experiences or opinions of an editor. An editorial often shows in its structures that first personal pronouns and stories about personal experiences are quite rare.

Genres in media discourse are impersonal in the sense that they focus on public news and events, and support general social, economic, cultural or political opinions, usually shared by other learned people. Also other elements of style mark in this institutional discourse public, more or less formal properties of the context, for instance, in the selection of lexical items (freedom fighters instead of terrorists or vice versa), syntactic structures and modes of argumentation. Because of these contextual constraints, there will be vast stylistic differences between an editorial in the *Jakarta Post* and an editorial in the *Academic Journal of Physics*, which commonly does not aim to shape a particular political ideology.

In newspaper, and popular magazine discourses, we find such diverse genres editorials, OP-Ed, political party propaganda, and elites' speeches. The functional typicality of such genres is both contextually defined in terms of the intentions and purposes of the speaker or writer, as well as in the expectations of the recipients. Thus, typically, readers of media discourse, such as newspapers, expect editorials, Op-Eds, and features to formulate opinions about recent news events.

As has been alluded to in earlier chapters, discourse is conceived of as social practices as essentially involving three main dimensions, namely language use, cognition and society in their sociocultural contexts. Critical analysts of discourse distinguish various levels, units or constructs within each of these dimensions, and formulate the rules and strategies of their normative or actual uses. They functionally relate such units or levels among each other, and thereby also explain why they are being used. In the same way, they functionally connect

discourse structures with social and cultural context structures, and social cognition.

Few classical studies (Bell, 1998; Bolivar, 1994; van Dijk, 1995, 1998a) have attempted to investigate the social practice of newspaper editorial discourse. Bolivar (1994) shows how British editorials can be analyzed in terms of triads, a minimal unit of interaction composed of three fundamental turns; the "lead", the "follow" and the "evaluate". Of these studies it is only van Dijk's (1995; 1998a), which is interdisciplinary, looking at the nature of opinions and how they are expressed in the editorials in the press. To do so, he makes use of the framework of a larger project on discourse and ideology, and employs a multidisciplinary theory of ideology. He shows that the editorials contain explicit, and implicit opinions that lead the reader to agree with the recommendation formulated by the newspaper in the conclusion.

Marques & Mont'Alverne (2019) has currently offered a conceptual framework for considering the factors that affect the way news organizations formulate their editorial stances. To list the qualities influencing editorial decisions and newspaper production processes, as well as to comprehend the distinctions between professional norms and cultural influences forming opinionated practices in modern journalism, it is imperative to study the concept of editorial-worthiness. They suggest a conception of editorial-worthiness criteria made up of (1) editorial elements and (2) editorial values, which are further subdivided into 25 items, by using a methodology based on a survey of the literature. By grouping the factors affecting editorial production processes, the approach enables journalism studies to recognize the ways in which the gatekeeping role manifests itself on editorials.

The news media's portrayal of reality is reality generated by a sign-system in connection to social structure, not reality per se. The idea behind the news is that it is a highly particular instance of "language-in-use"—meaning that is socially produced. It contributes to the continuous process of the creation of ideology through which the audience is compelled to view reality since it both forms and is molded

by the prevailing sense of what is meaningful (Fowler, 1991). News is a social product that is deeply ingrained in the social relationships it aims to report on, rather than existing as a distinct force.

3. Newspaper as Media Discourse

Newspapers are a type of media discourse, which have their own features. A definitive feature of the news reporting is the use of the headline and the lead to express the essence of the news event and to orient the reader to process the text in a pre-determined direction. There are two well-known multidisciplinary analytical approaches in the field of newspaper discourse.

The first prominent theory in the field of newspaper discourse is Teun van Dijk's interdisciplinary approach. He bases his framework on the integration between the production and interpretation of discourse in social context as well as textual analysis. His two pioneering works (van Dijk, 1988a; 1988b) have been the most comprehensive on media discourse. His approach to media discourse falls under the sociocognitive side of the CDA field. He defines discourse as a communicative event, including written text, typography layout and other semiotics. His central triad is construed between discourse, cognition and society. According to van Dijk (1988a; 1988b), news in the daily press is organized by the relevance or importance with respect to its macrostructure. Normally, news stories can be described in terms of a sequence of structural slots, starting with a summary in the headline, and a lead, moving to the main story. This structural organization of the newspaper discourse is made up of one or more episodes, each consisting of the report of events, followed by sequences and reactions and ending with evaluative or predictive comments. This macrostructure reflects and realizes writers' and readers' cognitive "schema" for such articles, a set of pre-formed expectation about structure and content that help simplification of information- processing.

The other well-known theory in the field is Allan Bell's variation analysis. He basically draws his approach to newspaper discourse from

narrative analysis and news analysis. According to Bell (1991; 1998), a news report usually consists of the attribution, the abstract and the story proper. Whether stated explicitly or implicitly, the attribution tells where the news comes from. It is outside the body copy of the story, and indicates the place at the top and the source at the bottom. The abstract consists of the headline, which expresses the summary of the news events in a concise form, and the lead sentence, which includes the main event and possibly a second event. The lead must give some information on the actors and setting involved in the event. The story consists of one or more episodes, which in turn consists of one or more events. Episodes are clusters of events, that is, semantic units that consist of a sequence of propositions that develop a single semantic “macroproposition” which is internally coherent. Events must contain actors and action, usually include setting of time and place and may have an explicit attribution.

In addition to the above categories, Bell (1991, 1998) also observes that there are three additional categories of material in a news story: the background, the commentary and the follow up. The category of background covers any events prior to the current event, classed as “the previous episode” and “history”. The commentary provides the journalists or news actors’ observations on the action and may be represented by the context, assessing and commenting on the events as they happen. The follow-up covers story future time- any subsequent action that results from the main event, which can be either a verbal reaction or non-verbal consequences. In other words, although Bell never uses the term, there is an “intertextuality” connection between one news event and another news event. Intertextuality is the ways in which texts and ways of talking refer to and build on other texts and discourse.

According to Bell (1991, 1998) a clear understanding of the nature of news content can be expected only by close analysis of the news text. A close, linguistically concentrated analysis of the text can unearth the ideologies underlying the text. This close analysis makes us aware of the

complexity and ambiguity of news. It enables us to scrutinize whether a headline really represents the story it accompanies. It shows where the news comes from or who the sources of the information in the news are. To unpack all these elements containing in the news, Bell prefers a narrative approach, which is based on the discourse structure of news story.

The newspaper discourse besides the news articles, as we can see almost everyday, is accompanied by one separate editorial, the article containing opinion pieces published on the newspaper by the editors. The editorials differ from features and other regular items and generally express opinions in relation to the news story. Editorials may vary in their ideological presuppositions, depending on the type and the position of the newspaper, which claims to present its own point of view. The editorials are diverse in their textual strategies, raising the question of the possibility of value-free news. They have a political axe to grind. This does not mean that other texts such as chemistry textbooks are free of discursive construction of some social representation. But what makes the editorials distinctive from chemistry and other science texts is that they offer values and beliefs by employing textual strategies. This presupposes that the ideologies, beliefs, and other social representations of the editors may influence the opinions put forward on raised issues, which in turn influence the discourse structure of the editorial. These representations are of course not stated explicitly; only through critical reading and examining the various levels and dimensions of discourse, the opaque relationship between the discourse and the ideology can be unmasked.

Media discourse is studied in communication as well as in other areas, such as discourse analysis and cultural analysis, involving a wide range of frameworks and approaches such as CDA as the analysis of discourse as social practice and sociocognitive analysis of discourse mediating between discourse and society. Some studies in media discourse have concentrated on large discourse patterns, such as the structure of the news story (van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b; Bell, 1991, 1998),

while other studies, particularly critical linguistics, have focused on even broader concern such as ideology, and various sociocognitive dimensions of news and editorial production and interpretation (van Dijk, 1995; 1998b). Linguistic studies of media discourse have also profited from the influence of the social sciences such as sociology and psychology. The present study derives its theoretical frameworks from these eclectic approaches; particularly the ideological frameworks articulated by van Dijk (1995, 1998a); Fowler (1991) and Fairclough's version of CDA (1995). Recent development of the similar approach was applied by Richardson (2017).

2. Knowledge, Ideology, and Discourse

3.1 Knowledge

Knowledge is an essential component of any community. It's a component of what links people as individuals and as groups within broader social groups. Another factor that unites and separates individuals in groups is knowledge. Knowledge is shaped by history, the mind, and society. According to van Dijk (1998b), contemporary directions in pragmatics and discourse studies show that knowledge is not only mental, but also social, with an important cultural dimension, and, hence, needs an anthropological or ethnographic account. He posits that similar remarks may be made of the notion of discourse, which also has philosophical, linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural dimensions - and of course historical ones. He maintains that in order to study power relations, for instance, it is crucial to understand how exactly powerful groups and institutions manage and express their knowledge in public discourse.

Questions such as which institutions or groups have preferential access to particular types of knowledge, which organizations or groups define the parameters for the definition or justification of knowledge, and which organizations or groups are specifically involved in the distribution of knowledge—or more accurately, in the limitation of knowledge in society—are indicative of a critical approach to knowledge.

Van Dijk (1998b) proposes that a sociocognitive interface, rather than an individual approach, is needed for studying knowledge and ideology. This is so because the mode in which knowledge and ideology operates is discourse.

In our everyday life and even in a philosophical context knowledge is often defined as justified true beliefs. We thus in everyday language can say that we know that p if we believe that p if we have good reasons, evidence that p is true. Put in another way, knowledge is based on the statements that generate common beliefs (We all know that . . . or Everyone knows that . . .). We can justify that something is conceived as knowledge because we can assign truth criteria to it, such as scientific observations, encyclopedias, and inferences. This argument suggests that knowledge is created by people in groups; it must have shared truth criteria in the society. It is the sociological features of the group that determines the contents of knowledge and probably its forms. Knowledge is produced as the people who form society work out their life together. What is generated as knowledge and what is taken as knowledge reflect values and the other sociological features of the society.

This way of categorizing knowledge leads to the distinction between personal knowledge and social knowledge. Personal knowledge by definition is based on the person, private, not accessible to others unless the person communicates it to the others. In other words, knowledge is personal until it is expressed in discourse. Social group knowledge, on the other hand, is typically presupposed in discourse. Personal knowledge can become social group knowledge through repeated instances of interpersonal communication. Both of these kinds of knowledge are represented in the mental models; the term was introduced in Part 3.B. It is hypothesized that most “news” in the editorials is based on such mental models stored in episodic memory. The news is about a specific event. When the writer constructs the event, he needs previous knowledge of the world; he knows what to include and what to exclude. The same procedure applies to the readers; interpreting news means constructing mental models for it.

Now if we want to take the definition of knowledge as presented above for granted, especially for the analysis of discourse, we shall probably ask such questions as 'what is the difference between knowledge and ideology? I will answer these questions below.

3.2 Ideology

There have currently been some scholars who relate discourse studies to the study of ideology. One of the critical linguists who openly proclaim to be interested in the interface between ideology and discourse is van Dijk. He bases his interest in discourse studies on sociocognitive approach, which is commonly related to the study of ideology in which it is defined as basic systems of social cognition, that is, as socially shared mental representations that control other mental representations, such as social group attitudes, beliefs, prejudices, and mental models. He postulates that ideologies also have a fixed internal representation, that is, the same schema as that of the self-representation of groups. Such ideologies also control discourse and other social practices (van Dijk, 1995, 1998a, 1998b). At the same time, text and talk is often used to persuasively convey ideologies.

Ideologies are social, cognitive and not true or false. In order to make it applicable to my analysis of newspaper editorial the theoretical framework of ideology is defined as follows:

Ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of social values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents self-definition of a group. Besides the social function of sustaining interests of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organizing social representations (attitude, knowledge) of the group, and thus indirectly monitor the group-related social practices, and hence also the text and talk of its members. (van Dijk, 1995, p. 248)

The definition above informs us that ideologies are cognitive, in the sense that they involve mental objects such as ideas, beliefs, judgments, values, norms and models. Ideologies are social in that they relate to groups, group positions and interests, touching on topics such as gender, inequality, social power and dominance. They are also shared beliefs, held by members of a group. Ideologies are neither true nor false; they are evaluative, in that they provide a basis for judgment of what is good or bad, right or wrong- as the basic guidelines for social perception and interaction. Van Dijk also suggests that ideological categories consist of norms or values, attitudes, more specifically, social representation shared by members of a group, and lastly models, in terms of stored episodic memory or mental representations of personal experiences of specific actions, events or situations.

To make the discussion less complex, let me illustrate these three technical terms by way of examples. The utterance 'Jakarta is the capital of Indonesia' is factual. We can check it on the map or in encyclopedias. Thus it constitutes knowledge. But the utterance 'Jakarta is a beautiful city' is an opinion, the adjective beautiful is subjective. And 'Jakarta must stop genocide in Aceh' uttered by a member of the U.S. congress in Washington is ideological (human right ideology). To the Indonesian government, the structured conflict in Aceh is not a genocide, but cracking down the separatists.

3.3 Knowledge, ideology, and discourse

Knowledge, ideology, and discourse constitute three important aspects in both classical and contemporary studies, such as social philosophy, political science and critical linguistics. Although it seems that the relationships of these three complicated domains fall within the territory of the theory of knowledge, epistemology, some critical discourse analysts also have currently paid their attention to these aspects. They agree that knowledge and ideology cannot entirely be separated from discourse, because discourse has a special function in the knowledge production, the expression, the implementation and

especially in the reproduction of ideologies. It is only through language use, discourse or other semiotic practices that knowledge and ideology can be formulated (Fairclough, 2014a; van Dijk, 1995, 1998b). For instance, an editorial as a token of discourse may produce knowledge or shape a particular group ideology.

Knowledge and ideology are closely related to power, because knowledge and ideology are contingent on power relations which are embedded in particular convention. In addition, knowledge and ideology are closely linked to language, since language is the commonest form of social behavior. Nevertheless, despite the close relationship between these aspects, linguists have paid less attention to them, the fact which has limited the area of linguistics.

To conclude this section, the interface between knowledge and ideology has drawn attention from discourse analysts. Although it is still very hard to distinguish these three aspects, we have to convince ourselves that they are interrelated. Knowledge and ideology shape discourse and vice versa. The difference of the two is that knowledge passes the truth criteria, on other hand, ideology is neither true nor false. The same holds true that although there is a difficulty in distinguishing between opinion and knowledge, we have to agree that opinions are evaluative beliefs and knowledge are factual beliefs. Although both opinion and knowledge involve a judgment, we need two different standards, namely, values in opinions and truth criteria in knowledge.

4. Critical Approach to Media Discourse

The approach that I attempt to use in this chapter as the framework for analysis is CDA from different perspectives. Since CDA is a broad field of inquiry, I shall refer mainly to the two perspectives of analysis of discourse, that is, discourse as social practice and sociocognitive analysis of discourse. The main reason for choosing these models of CDA is that they are more appropriate as they are concerned with uncovering ideology and knowledge in the newspaper articles and editorials. These two models are also concerned with textual, cognitive,

and social analysis of text production and comprehension.

Historically, CDA was arguably found in Karl Marx, whose social theory has impacted modern scholars like Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, Luis Althusser, and Jurgen Habermas. These scholars have emphasized how important ideology is to the maintenance and sustenance of contemporary cultures' social structures and relationships. The social theories of Foucault, Habermas, and others have in turn influenced the works of critical linguists, such as Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak who have together coined the term CDA. According to these linguists CDA provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and the social world in different domains. CDA pays attention to power relations and ideology, which are manifested in discourse. CDA scholars want to know how discourse enacts, expresses and contributes to the reproduction of inequality. CDA is characterized by the combination of two commitments: an interdisciplinary commitment and a critical commitment. The interdisciplinary commitment concerns with the radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life. It thus contributes to the development of language-based social sciences. The critical commitment is to make us aware of discursive and linguistic perspectives of how people's lives are determined by discourse formation, which constitutes a system of linguistic relation within which actual discourse processes are generated. Each discourse formation is embedded in ideological formation (Fairclough , 2013).

According to CDA as social practice, discourse takes into account three conspicuous parts. First, it is conceived as a part of the social activity within a practice. For example, writing a newspaper editorial, a job that involves use of language in a certain way for a certain effect. Second, discourse takes into consideration social representations. For example, when an editor writes an editorial, he/she does not tell a story, but present attitudes, beliefs, and ideology. This means that the editor as well as other social actors involved in a social practice produces representation of other practices. They provide the formation of other

practices, that is, they incorporate them into their own practice, and different social actors will represent them differently, depending on how they are positioned within the practice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Representation is a process of social construction of reality, including reflexive self-construction, which shapes social processes and practices. Third, discourse figures in ways of being, in the constitution of identities – for instance the identity of head of a country such as President George Bush in the United States is partly a semiotically constituted way of being.

Analysis of discourse as social practice focuses on the relationship between the discursive processes and social processes. Social practice does not only reflect reality, but it also can change reality. Social practice which is created in a particular way constitutes a social order, such as an educational curriculum in a particular society at a particular time. The discourse aspect of a social order is what is frequently called an order of discourse, a term used by Michel Foucault. An order of discourse is a social order considered from discursive perspective- a particular social ordering of relationships among different ways of making meaning, that is, different discourse and genres and styles (Fairclough, 2003). How the order of discourse and social order are structured depends on the power relationship between the language users, for instance, the president of a country and the state ideological apparatus, such as the media, which can either provide warning or give advice on certain issues to the president, determined by the position taken by the media.

Analysis of discourse from the social perspective has also been interested in the ways in which texts and prior texts are connected. The analysts often refer to this connection as intertextuality. Similar to the notion of context, the term intertextuality has multiple meanings. The most acceptable meaning proposed by linguists such as Fairclough (1992) is that intertextuality is a set of relationships of quotations between texts or a relationship between different genres or forms of discourse or form of discourse and representation. Taken quotations as an example of intertextuality, the analyst can pay attention to how multiple voices-

multiple ways of talking, multiple points of view, and multiple things to say- are transformed and reused each time something new is written. Intertextual analysis of quotations is not complete unless it makes an explicit account of such quotations. Fairclough (1992, p. 194) points out that 'intertextual analysis shows how texts selectively draw upon *order of discourse*- the particular configurations of conventionalized practices (genre, discourse, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular circumstances. This is due to the fact that orders of discourse are like records of history in which the historian may reuse the records when producing something new.

From the intertextual analysis perspective, the most important idea that discourse analysts need to rely on is the notion of appropriation. That is, whether someone is a language learner or a newspaper editor, he must start by borrowing. He can borrow words or phrases or discourse strategies. A discourse analyst hence needs to take into account the ways the language users make use of these borrowings in the social context. This is because, as Fairclough (1992: 195) argues, intertextual analysis 'crucially mediates the connection between language and social context'. Intertextual analysis can add to the analysis of context by allowing the analyst to consider how it is worked up in other texts.

Textual analysis, discourse practice, and social practice are the three analytical facets of discourse as social practice. Textual analysis examines a text's underlying structure, including its vocabulary and syntax. The relationship between text production, circulation, and reproduction is examined by discourse practice. The understanding of the connection between discursive and social processes is the focus of social practice. Discourse practice mediates the relationship between social practice and text, which is a unique aspect of this critical discourse analysis. A text's production and interpretation are contingent upon the social practice of which the discourse is a part.

Central to the analysis of discourse as social practice is the intertextuality analysis, which shows how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize with other texts. Discourse as social practice also has

a special preference for grammar. It takes into consideration only systemic functional linguistics, which is profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life. Its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts.

Almost similar to Fairclough's critical approach to analysis of discourse is van Dijk's sociocognitive framework, which is also essentially involving three main dimensions, namely *language use, cognition, and interaction* in their sociocultural contexts. The difference between Fairclough and van Dijk's frameworks is in the nature of the central mediated dimension. That is where Fairclough sees sociocognition-cognitive structure and mental models- as the central role occupied by discourse practices through which texts are produced, received and circulated; van Dijk sees sociocognition as mediating between discourse and society.

In van Dijk's view, discourse analytical studies are multifaceted. They distinguish various levels, units or constructs within each of these dimensions, and formulate the rules and strategies of their normative or actual uses. They functionally relate such units or levels among each other, and thereby also explain why they are being used. In the same way, they functionally connect discourse structures with social and cultural context structures, and both again to the structures and strategies of cognition (van Dijk, 2008, 2009). Discourse thus moves from macro to micro level of *discourse, context or society*, and vice versa, which constitutes the theoretical discourse-cognition-society triangle. To avoid being a reductionist, van Dijk views discourse as a general communicative event, including conversation interaction, news story, gestures, images and other semiosis. Similarly, he defines cognition as both personal and social cognition, including beliefs, values, norms and other mental representations. Finally, he refers to society to include both at the micro level such as face-to-face interactions and the general, political structures in terms of groups and group-relations, such as the dominance and dominated, institutions, political movements and other social structures.

CDA as sociocognitive analysis aims to investigate discourse structure and macrostructure and how these elements become manifest in text and talk (van Dijk, 1995; 1998b). The macrostructure is conceived of as propositions that define the most important or relevant information in the text. For example, when we give a summary of a text, we need to express its semantic macrostructure. This macrostructure defines the unity of the text and ensures that the meanings of words and the sentences have the interconnection and coherence. Finally, the combined discourse-cognition dimension will be embedded in a socio-political framework, which explains part of the justification, the functions, and the forms of ideologies and discourses in their social context, in relation to the interests of social groups. Van Dijk also offers a schema of relations between ideology, cognition, society and discourse.

The schema is conceived as a chunk of unconscious knowledge, which is shared within a group of people and which is drawn upon in the process of making sense of the world. This concept is derived from the assumption that social interaction takes place within social structures. This social interaction is presented in the form of text/discourse, which is then cogitated according to an episodic memory- personal memory. This memory consists of short-term memory and long-term memory. Short-term memory plays a role in which message decoding and interpretation takes place.

Long-term memory, on the other hand, serves as a holder of socio-cultural knowledge, which consists of knowledge of language, discourse, communication, persons, groups and events existing in the form of models- the personal and subjective theoretical construct. For instance, when an editor produces an editorial, the mental models of the editor about the event have a role to play. At the same time, when the reader consumes the editorial, he has to activate both the short-term and the long-term memory, which helps and directs the point of view the reader is going to rely on. Whether the point of view is pro or con depends on the social group of the reader. Social group attitudes also reside within long-term memory and provide further decoding guides (van Dijk,

1995, 1998b). Each of these social attitudes can represent an array of ideologies, which combine to create one's own personal ideology, which conforms to one's identity, goals, social position, values and resources.

Ideology also plays a central role in sociocognitive analytical discourse studies. Ideology is defined as basic systems of social cognition, that is, as socially shared mental representations that control other mental representations, such as social group attitudes and mental models (van Dijk, 1998b). It is postulated that ideologies also have a fixed internal schema, that is, the same schema as that of the self-representation of groups. Such ideologies also control discourse and other social practices and vice versa. It is claimed that discourse is often used to express ideologies. Ideologies grow from a functional consequence of the conflicts of interests that emerge from goals, preferences that are seen as mutually incompatible. Groups may claim, defend or legitimate their interests against other groups. The possible discrepancy between group ideology and group interests implies that power relations in society can also be reproduced and legitimated at the ideological level, meaning to control other people, it is most effective to try to control their group attitudes and especially their fundamental, attitude-producing ideologies. In such circumstances, people will behave out of their own "free" will in accordance with the interests of the powerful. Van Dijk's thesis implies that the exercise of power in modern, democratic societies is no longer primarily coercive, but persuasive, that is, ideological.

Sociocognitive discourse analysis treats context as one of the most important aspects in the analysis of a communicative event. As for many other approaches, language does not occur in isolation but in a context. Nevertheless, the notion of context has become the subject of a lively discussion and debate among not only theorists of pragmatics and sociolinguistics but also theorists of discourse analysis. The issues are so complicated that I cannot do them justice in this thesis. Rather I focus only on some suggestions that are relevant to the analysis of newspaper editorial discourse. In what follow I will deal briefly with the notion made available from discourse as language use in relation to cognition and

interaction. As a result, I will have incorporated the concept into several perspectives.

Discourse should be studied as a constitutive part of its local and global, social and cultural context. This suggests that context is supposed to be all that comes with text, that is, the properties that exist in the environment of the discourse. The context includes: settings, participants and their communicative and social relationships, goals, topic of the interaction, norms, values, relevant social knowledge, and institutional or organizational structures. In other words, context is a set of all properties of a social interaction that are relevant to the structure, the production, and interpretation of text. Given this linguistic definition as the starting point, I need to relate it to the analysis of the newspaper editorial and consider it in terms of models.

According to van Dijk (1998b, 2003), mental models are personal and subjective. They represent the ways people make sense of the environment and how they interpret event and discourse. Mental models constitute personal experiences and personal opinions. They are context-bound. Therefore, when writing an editorial, the editor activates his mental models. The same holds true when readers read the editorials, they also need to “model” their personal experiences; they need to remember their episodic models. The readers can understand the editorial only if they are able to construct a model for the text. The text is meaningful and coherent only if it has a mental model. Both the mental model of the reader and the editor assist the text to be a coherent and meaningful whole.

The second concept important to the analysis of the editorial is the assumption that that readers not only construct models of events they talk about, but also need to be able to create communicative events in which they participate. This communicative event in which the discourse is produced and received is called context models. Context models represent knowledge and opinions the editor and readers have about themselves, intentions, goals, purposes and other properties of the

contexts. This model is also subjective and possibly biased and hence results in personal interpretation of the communicative event.

The difference between the mental models and the context models is that the former is semantic and the latter is pragmatic. The mental models provide the subjective knowledge about the events people write or talk about, whereas the context models provide all necessary information that influences the interaction strategies such as styles, self representation, and the surface structure of the text. The editors may identify themselves as journalists, learned people. It is self-category that defines the subjectivity of discourse, organizes the subjective feature of the text and controls the perspective and point of view.

4.1 Texts for Analysis

The texts for the present study are selected articles including editorials published in the daily *Common Ground News Service*, November 25, 2008; *Reuters*, July 30, 2008; *The Jakarta Post*, February 6, 2006; *The Jakarta Post*, September 15, 2008; *The Jakarta Post*, September 22, 2008; *The Jakarta Post*, October 13, 2008; *The Jakarta Post*, December 09, 2008; *The Jakarta Post*, February 24, 2009. I mainly refer to these media, because they seriously took part in the debate of the anti-porno bill. By using a set of analytical tools, the analysis of the sample text excerpts reveals that the newspaper articles not only tell news but also express consent. The main objective that the writers tries to accomplish through discourse practice in the news articles is to shape the ideologies of pluralism and multiculturalism at the same time produce new knowledge by questioning the reliability of anti-pornography toward the prevention of women against rape, for instance. The most apparent uses of discursive strategies to shape these aspects are argumentation techniques such as referring to the authorities and selection of lexical items. The overall analysis shows that there are particular discursive strategies that are more pertinent than others.

4.2 The Focus of Analysis

What follows constitutes part of CDA analytical techniques for the analysis of the texts on anti-pornography bill.

1. Topic choice, that is, discourse topic or what the discourse is about; Topic choice is essential to be taken into account, because a discourse must have a topic to talk about.
2. Strategic manoeuvring which is manifested in three ways: topical potential, audience demand and presentational device. The analysis of these argumentative strategies can assist a discourse analyst to uncover the speaker/writer's point of view.
3. Lexicalization, uses of words expressing norms, beliefs and values; it is conceived as the most direct way of producing an ideological effect.
4. Speech acts: In traditional linguistics, utterances were analyzed only through two main dimensions, expressions (signifier) and meanings (signified). In the modern philosophy of language and social sciences the third dimension has to be taken into consideration. That is, uttering utterances does not just mean saying something meaningful, but also mean accomplishing a number of social actions, especially when performed by people who have authority to make felicitous speech act. Analysis of speech acts can reveal the intentionality of what the speaker/writer is saying or implies.
5. Modality. There are two types of modality to be considered: relational modality and expressive modality. The former is concerned with the authority of one participant in relation to others. The latter refers to a matter of the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of representation of reality.
6. Intertextuality, which refers to two main categories: a) a text is always related to some preceding or simultaneous discourse; b)

texts are always linked and grouped in particular text varieties or genre (for example, an email and a letter) by formal criteria, such as the salutation.

7. Presupposition, particularly semantic and pragmatic implication as an inherent property of human language use.
8. Polarization. Newspapers do not only produce news, but they also put people into groups. They are able to differentiate between Us and Them. Analyzing ways of polarization will indicate what ideology they believe.

Despite there are other recommended tools available in discourse analysis, this chapter will refer to the analytical tools above.

5. Pornography Bill in Media Discourse

To explore the discourse of pornography bill, I use the analytical tools set out above, which among others include the analysis of the standpoint in the argument, pronouns, strategic maneuvering, and intertextuality.

5.1 The Standpoint

Given the theoretical frameworks for discourse as social practice, there are linguistic elements that should be taken into account when analyzing text, particularly the discourses that may have an ideological dimension. The following are the suggestions of discursive elements that I will concentrate upon. Some discourse analysts (see van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2003) contend that there are no standard ways of doing (critical) discourse analysis. They, nevertheless, recommend a set of practical tools for analysis: context, vocabulary, grammar, speech acts, presuppositions, implicitness, argumentation and textual structure.

With the criteria of variability and applicability, the following are the elements, which I have adjusted, from their proposals, and take into consideration only the ones that are more relevant to the argumentative,

knowledge and ideological analysis of media discourse. Other aspects, such as intonation and tone are not useful in this analysis. The editor of newspaper as a learned agent makes use a number of discursive strategies when manufacturing his consent, opinion and disagreement. Thus, a close analysis of these strategies can unravel the knowledge and ideological aspects of the media discourse.

The analysis of the excerpts shows that writers oppose the anti-porno bill, because Indonesia is a pluralistic country consisting of diverse tribes of people. Thus the enactment of the bill means threatening the diversity. The bill is also claimed to violate the freedom of expression and human rights. This is evident in the titles of the articles:

- (1) Anti-Porno' fight tests Muslim tolerance in Indonesia (*Reuters*, July 30, 2008)
- (2) Porno law 'endangers country's pluralism (*the Jakarta Post*, February 24, 2009)
- (3) "Anti-porno" bill could threaten Indonesian Women (*CGNews*, November 24, 2008).

All the standpoints of the articles above oppose the anti-porno bill. They speak in the name of tolerance, pluralism, and of threat for women.

5.2 Interpretation and Explanations

The interpretation and explanation of the text excerpts, as found in CDA, rely on selected analytical tool kits. The same holds true for this chapter, which is guided by the tools as follows:

a. Context

Communicative events do not exist in isolation. Therefore, to understand the ideological position or opinion of the speaker or writer in media discourse, we need to take the communicative context into consideration. We need to describe the aims of communicative events,

the intended audiences, the setting (time, location), the social relation etc. By analyzing the context of the discourse, the ideological functions can be unmasked. For instance, an editorial may function as a critique of a regime or an institution, thus involving the power relations between the media and the institution.

The media draw the discourse participants' to both situational context and context model. The situational context allows the discourse participants to get involved in the topic raised from the anti-porno bill. The context model reminds the discourse participants to collect knowledge available from their episodic memory.

b. Topic choice

Topic generally refers to what the discourse is about. A topic may be formally described as semantic macro-structure, the global meaning of a discourse and may be expressed by its title or headline or by summarizing sentences. The macrostructure propositions can be derived by macro-rules in three ways: by eliminating the propositions which are not relevant for the interpretations of other propositions (deletion), by converting a series of specific propositions into a more general proposition (generalization) and by constructing a proposition from a number of propositions in the text (construction) and from activated world knowledge.

The analysis of the excerpts reveals that the media chose the topic, which was 'hot' at the time. They focus on the discourse topic that can attract attention from the public, particularly human right activists, secular political parties, feminists and artists. As can be seen from the titles, the topics regard the anti-porno bill as hidden agenda by the majority group of the people, that is, Muslims. However they argue on the bill, the writers strongly oppose it.

c. Lexicalization

Language users may choose words that generally express norms or values. The well-known example is the choice that implies opinion when

calling someone a 'terrorist', or 'freedom fighter', 'dictator' or 'ruler'. In addition, language users can also use a bureaucratic means of exercising control, possibly by using euphemisms. Thus the US Pentagon might call their nuclear ballistic missiles 'the community distributional device' or 'the peacemaker'. Lexicalization is conceived as the major dimension of discourse meaning through which ideology is produced, controlled and reproduced.

Lexicalization is the most straightforward way of reproducing ideology. Words expressing norms and values are often used to produce and circulate ideology. The close reading of the text shows that the media relate pornography to *freedom of expression, human rights, diversity, multiculturalism* and *pluralism*.

d. Intertextuality

The intertextuality of a text is the presence within it of elements of other texts, namely, there is a set of other texts and other voices, which are potentially relevant, incorporated into, dialoged with, or assumed in various ways. The most common and pervasive form of intertextuality is reported speech including reported writing and thought.

It appears that the writers commonly refer to people who have authority and who are committed to fighting injustices in relation to women rights. They refer to movie directors, social critics, and women right practitioners. Newspapers articles and/or Opinion Editorials make use of quotes, voices of authorities involved to support their claims, ideas and then justify them. In most part of the discourse pornography is compared to corruption.

Intertextuality is also manifested through use of quotes, as revealed in the followings:

- (1) "We will write to the House, asking *them* to delay the deliberation as the passage of the bill at the moment will only spark unrest within society," Komnas Perempuan chairperson Kemala Candrakirana said. (*Jakarta Post*, September 15, 2008).

- (2) "We question why they only picked three cities. *They* are really in a rush to pass the bill. Tomorrow (Monday), we will assess the results from the cities," he (Agung Sasonko, A PDI-P legislator in the House) said. (*Jakarta Post*, September 15, 2008).
- (3) "This law will only empower vigilante groups like the Defenders' Front," said Eva Sundari, a member of the Democratic Party of Struggle, one of the bill's most active opponents.
- (4) "We will continue opposing the porno law because this has been our stance from the beginning." Pastika told reporters. (*Jakarta Post*, October 31, 2008).

The fragments indicate that reported speech may be attributed to the specific voices, and speech (writing, thought) can be reported in various forms, such as direct reproduction of actual words or quotes. Language users, such as writers of newspaper editorials may make use of this discourse strategy to support his argument.

e. Argumentation and Strategic maneuvering

An argument is social, verbal activity, which can be performed orally as well as in writing. Opinions in argumentative discourse such as newspaper editorials need support by sequences of preceding or following assertions or premises. Although it is a monologue, an editorial as an argumentative discourse that attempts to convince the readers of a claim that the editor is defending. The editor can put forward his arguments through 'topoi', which constitute parts of argumentation expressed explicitly or implicitly in the premises. Topoi or loci are the content-related warrants, which connect the arguments with the conclusion, the claim. Different forms of ideologies, such as conservatives and militarists can be unmasked by analysis of the topoi either for or against a particular worldview.

Argumentatively, the writers of newspaper articles rely on *topical potential* to activate the discourse participants' knowledge, so that a difference of opinion can be easily resolved. That is, the writers relate

the anti-porno bill to violation of *human rights, freedom of expression*, and the role of art in human life. The second used rhetorical strategy is *audience demand*, in which the writers resolved the difference of opinion in the way that the audience feels *dominated, unjust, and emphatic*. The ways the writers argue is based on the mental model of the writers projected in their mind and try to share the ideas with the discourse participants.

f. Presuppositions

Languages provide a number of ways for carrying implicit meanings, tools for linking explicit content to relevant aspect of background information. Presupposition is such a tool. It is a well-known case of semantic implication. The concept, like proposition, is derived from philosophy. In a formal term a proposition q is presupposed by p , if it is implied by p as well as by non- p . In other words, any proposition whose truth the language user accepts in order to able to make an utterance, but which is not asserted by the utterance, is the presupposition of the utterance. In the utterance 'Democracy must (not) be restored in Indonesia', the verb *restored* presupposes that Indonesia was once a democracy. In the utterance 'It was (not) Sukarno who led the coup in 1965', the cleft construction *It was (not) ...* presupposes that someone led the coup in 1965. In the utterance 'The UN managed to bring out peace in Bosnia' the implicative verb *managed* presupposes that the UN tried to bring about peace, which was not easy to do so. Presuppositions can be signaled by structural phrases or other units (like definite articles, relative and *that*-clauses). Presuppositions may have prominent ideological function in newspaper editorial discourse.

Presupposition refers to implication as the inherent nature of human language. The analysis of the excerpts shows that the writers assert personal knowledge, but presuppose social knowledge. The application of presupposition in such a way is intended to sharp the axe of an ideology.

- (1) Critics have *slammed* the bill as a *threat* to national and pluralism (*The Jakarta Post*, September 15, 2008).
- (2) According to its critics, the law eliminates “cultural” differences and undermines “national unity”.

The lexical *slammed* and *threat* presupposes that the bill is not welcomed by the nationalists and pluralists and *eliminates* implies that the bill is too repressive.

The social knowledge is usually presupposed through expression of definiteness:

- (1) *the* bill
- (2) *the* House (referring to the House of People’s Assembly)
- (3) *the* modified bill
- (4) *the* law

Other way of expression knowledge and belief:

- (1) *It is true* that Indonesia has seen horrific scenes of sexual violence. (*The Jakarta Post*, September 22, 2008)
- (2) *Clearly*, this is a violent masculine backlash against feminism and liberal political correctness. (*The Jakarta Post*, October 13, 2008).

But when expression of knowledge is not shared with discourse participants, it is expressed in general:

- (1) Civil society groups (*The Jakarta Post*, September 15, 2008).
- (2) Supporters say tough measures are necessary (*Reuters*, July 30, 2008).

The noun phrases used in the above fragments are not specified.

g. Speech acts

Speech acts are often referred to as doing something with words. That is, uttering utterances does not just mean saying something meaningful, but also mean accomplishing a number of social actions.

When the speech acts such as threats and commands are made, they have to be defined in terms social conditions of the participants, namely, their beliefs, wants, intentions and goals that have social implication. Speech acts, such as commands or advice presuppose power. For example, when the media in its editorial advise the political elites to make a decision on a typical issue, it implies that the media through its power can control the beliefs and attitudes of the elites and possibly the common people too. This also suggests that the social relations are ideologically grounded, that is, the media are more powerful. As a result, there are political elites who publish their own media as their ideological apparatus or at least attempt to have good a relationship with the existing media.

Since the topic discussed is controversial, the writers, when seems less competent on the issue, perform speech acts by relating them to the other authorities. Most of speech acts made are in the form of claims, and statements.

h. Polarization

Newspaper editorials are social practice (i.e., they represent the views and actions of certain social groups); they are subject to the social constraints, and institutional relations within which the editor operates. The comments and evaluations in media discourse involve beliefs, opinions, norms and values of a social group. For each group, tasks and goals are subjected to a group-specific selection of ideological criteria for judgment representing self- image of each group, featuring membership devices, aims and norms. Thus, the polarization, membership category, We-group and They-group emerge. Ideologies are at the basis of the knowledge and attitudes of groups such as feminists, anti-feminists and socialist, capitalist. The ideology polarizes people.

Table 7.1: Polarization of 'Us' vs 'Them' in the Anti-pornography bill

Us	Them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ Minority: people living in Bali, Papua, South Kalimantan and NTT □ Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Prosperous Peace Party (PDS), the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Ham) □ Human Right Activists □ Liberal thinkers, feminists □ Film directors, Secular nationalists, artists □ Christians and other minority believers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), The United Development Party (PPP), The Crescent Star Party (PPB) □ Conservative Muslims □ Muslim Organizations, such as Council of Ulama (MUI)

The discourse participants who oppose the anti-pornography bill may prefer pornography to be banned, but who believe that there should be freedom of expression. This freedom creates two factions of the social groups, the liberal and the conservative.

j. Modality

One way of expressing modality is through auxiliaries (can, must, should); these modal auxiliaries are linguistic features that are important for expressing knowledge and relation in grammar. Modal auxiliaries are ambiguous about whether they are claims to knowledge or power. For example, the modal *can* in 'She can talk' means either that 'she is able to talk' (claim to knowledge) or 'she is allowed to talk' (claim of authority in giving opinion). There is also the potential for ambiguity about the temporality that depends on context. 'She can talk' refers to either to future event if it is giving permission meaning or present states if it

claims knowledge. In addition to being expressed by modal auxiliaries, modality is also expressed by modal adverbs (possibly, certainly, probably), which are used by language users to represent possibility, certainty or probability, such as 'your library books are probably/are possibly/may possibly be overdue.'

Some examples of modality expression are as follows:

- (1) We *will* write to the House.
- (2) The bill *will* bring more harm than good.
- (3) it (the bill) *will* simultaneously offend minority religious groups, as well as women, splitting its support base and potentially threatening the unity of the nation. (The modal *will* indicates that event is a future act with high certainty)
- (4) For the women to be able to feel safe alongside men even in such clothes, they *must* first presuppose that the men already follow a very strict code of conduct that regulates even the movement of their eyes so as not to offend the women.
- (5) To achieve common ground between different groups, the law *must* be completely revised. The term "pornography" *must* be made more specific and implicitly or explicitly encourage respect for women's bodies. (The modal *must* indicates obligatory)

When 'knowledge' is has not passed the truth criteria, it is often expressed with low certainty:

- (1) The voting mechanism at the plenary session means the bill is *likely* to be passed.
- (2) Considering that this provision will legalize anti-porn vigilantism, it beggars belief that PKS, which enjoys an image of being an "intellectual" party, *should* support it at all.
- (3) The bill's opponents say its approval smacks of political machinations ahead of the 2009 elections, most *likely* to boost

support among the predominantly Muslim voter base for the parties backing the bill.

The analysis above was performed using only the tools, which have been developed. The analysis might have been described, interpreted and explained in a different way if there were other tools used for analysis.

6. Summary

The analysis of the excerpts shows that the printed media opposing the anti-pornography bill aims at formatting social knowledge shared among competent members of epistemic community. The media also attempt to defend the ideology of pluralism and multiculturalism. This is clearly evident when we analyze their way of reasoning. That is, they put forward their premise that the anti-pornography bill violates the commonsense belief in freedom and diversity. This belief is stored in Long-term memory of the writers' mental models and linguistically represented in discourse.

The writers of newspaper articles not only shape the ideologies of pluralism, multiculturalism through argumentation, using discursive strategies such as Intertextuality, topical potential and audience demand, but they also construct social knowledge. That is, the anti-porno bill violates the rights of women. This knowledge is normally presupposed in discourse through expression of definiteness and vocabulary. The words 'threat' and 'harm' for example suggests that the anti- porno bill is at risk.

CHAPTER 8

Discursive Construction of Anti-Corruption

In this chapter, my approach to discourse is slightly different from that of the previous chapters. The focus is not based on textually-oriented discourse analysis, but on the analysis of discourse as concepts, ideas, and representations of a critical issue, particularly the discourse of anti-corruption education. Correspondingly, the notion discourse in this chapter is theoretically compatible with the Foucauldian term of discourse as introduced in Chapter 1. Discourse is conceived as the abstract way of the meaning making process concerning social issues, especially how values and norms are instilled discursively to oppose corrupt attitudes in a formal educational setting—Islamic higher educational institutions.

1. Introduction

Corruption has been a rampant social crime in Indonesia. Corruption in Indonesia should have been disappeared as the result of 1998 reformation so that the people of Indonesia could have enjoyed the wealth and instilled justice as it was stipulated in the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the five basic principles of the state ideology of Pancasila. Nevertheless, the social reality is that corruption is still widespread in the country (Prabowo, 2014; Soseco, 2012).

Corruption in Indonesia grows and prevails as if no law enforcement extremely punishes the perpetrators. The practices are pervasive in society and spread in any aspect of community life (Asyafiq, 2017). It occurs in almost every governmental sector involving the political elites, government officials, and even civil servants without moral and ethical consideration. For instance, the Romahurmuziy case that involves the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2019 and the latest case of the corruption of Covid-19 aid that involves the Minister of Social Affairs in 2020 was beyond humanist thinking (Arismaya & Utami, 2019).

Corruption is detrimental to Indonesia and its people, causing crippling poverty around the country. It has contributed to the socio-economic disaster for the subaltern group of people (Kadir, 2018; Manurung, 2012; Vikhryan & Fedorov, 2020). Furthermore, corruption crime has severely weakened the national economic development, state sovereignty, and people's social life. It has also affected both economic growth and government spending and the appropriation of the state budget for the educational sector (Patra, 2018).

The Indonesian government has attempted to eradicate corruption by the provision of authority to the Corruption Eradication Commission (*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* – KPK) as it was stipulated in Article 43, Act Number 31 of the 1999 Law amended in Act Number 20 of the 2001 Law concerning the eradication of corruption. Furthermore, the government of Indonesia also enacted Act Number 20 of the 2002 Law concerning

the Corruption Eradication Commission (Putri & Nurwijayanti, 2020; Rannie, 2021). It holds true that 'KPK was formed because the main law enforcement agencies (Police and Prosecutors) were unable to carry out the function of eradicating corruption' (Syahuri, Saleh & Abrilianti, 2022, p. 4). The main commission's task is to prevent corruption.

The government of Indonesia has also endeavored to prevent corruption through legal education, higher education, and religious awareness, especially through State Islamic Higher Educational Institutions (*Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri* –PTKIN (Assegaf, 2017). This means that the government has seriously tried to prevent corruption through the education of the general public and of students as the national human assets and future leaders.

The commitment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the implementation of anti-corruption education (*Pendidikan Antikorupsi* – PAK) was enacted in the Decree of the Director-General of PTKIN No. 3417 of 2014 concerning the Stipulation of PTKIN as the Target of the Role Model for the implementation of PAK in Indonesia. Nevertheless, breakthroughs that PTKINs have contributed to the enforcement of the decree require a scientific inquiry.

Referring to that policy, PTKINs in the province of Aceh might have implemented the PAK and included it in the curriculum. These initial assumptions might be true with respect to UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, IAIN Lhokseumawe, and STAIN Teungku Dirundeng Meulaboh. This chapter is premised on the conjecture that the three Islamic higher education institutions have yet seriously either socialized or implemented the PAK. This condition deserves special attention from further academic inquiry as the corrupt misbehaviors are getting worse either in formal organization networks or in non-formal organizations (Ganie-Rochman & Achwan, 2016).

Inspired by that presumption, the enquiry attempts to identify whether the PAK in PTKIN in Indonesia in general and in the province of Aceh in particular has discursively been constituted and structurally

been implemented through formal teaching as an obligatory subject or in other models. The study also aims to explain the strategies the PTKINs employ in the process. Ideally, all PTKINs in Aceh should have both discursively constructed and materially implemented the PAK, considering that it plays an essential role in instilling morality, personality, and ethical behavior of students who are supposed to oppose corruption in the social life.

Hence, applying discursive analysis as conceptualized by critical social theorists, such as Foucault (1979), Howarth (2000), and Mills (2004), this chapter seeks to identify, describe, and explain three aspects concerning the PAK in the PTKIN, especially in the province of Aceh. They are: (1) Constructed strategies used in the implementation of PAK in the PTKINs in Aceh, (2) Integration of the PAK's values in the curriculum in PTKINs in Aceh, and (3) Barriers and challenges of implementation of PAK in PTKINs in Aceh as they are revealed from the interviews of PTKINs leaders, observation, document analysis, and focus group discussion.

2. The Notion of Corruption

Corruption is unethical conduct that is detrimental to the general public. Ka'bah (2017) explained that corruption is derived from the word *corruptus*, which means the change of behavior (*to change from good to bad in morals, manners, or actions*): rotten, spoiled and the like. Legally corruption is misconduct that is committed to providing benefits that are inappropriate based on the law and at the cost of others.

Corruption is also defined as the abuse of public power for personal benefits (Klitgaard, 1988). Corruption also means collecting money from the services that are supposed to be free of charge or abuse of authority to obtain personal gain which is illegal. Furthermore, corruption has certain characteristics, namely: (a) the betrayal of trust, (b) deception of governmental institutions, private institutions or the general public, (c) intentionally disobeying public interests over vested interests, (d) secretly operated, (e) with the involvement of more than one person or

group, (f) distribution of responsibility and mutual benefits, (g) centrality of corruption for those who demand real verdicts and those who can change them, (g) there are efforts to cover the corruption practice by means of passing law, (i) there is an indication of the double-function from the individuals who commit corruption (Siregar, 2017; Umam, 2021).

Meanwhile, the term corruption with respect to the juridical definition based on the stipulation of Article 2, Verse (1), Number 21 of the 1999 Act concerning the eradication of corruption declares that a person can be convicted of corruption, as stipulated in “each individual who intentionally violates the law by self-enriching or enriching other people or any corporation which affects the loss of state budget or state economy”. Simply put, corruption is the abuse of public authority for self-enrichment practice or other people involved in the practice that leads to the financial loss of the state (Klitgaard, 1988; Prabowo, 2016).

Corruption emerges in different practices. According to the corruption criminal acts, corruption can be classified into the followings:

- (1) Violating the law to enrich oneself that is detrimental to state finance.
- (2) Abuse of power for self-interest which is potential to cost in the state budget.
- (3) Bribing civil servants.
- (4) Giving gratifications or presents to a civil servant because of his/her position, and
- (5) Civil servants who receive bribes, among others.

There are several causal factors of corruption, which include: (1) factor of individual behaviors (2) organizational factor, and (3) social factor where a person lives or the organization for which the person works. The aspect of individual behavior in committing corruption can be contributed by intrinsic motivation, deriving from desire, want, or consciousness to do. In addition, causal factors can also be attributable,

among others, to: (a) human greed, (b) moral decadence, being vulnerable to temptation, (c) consumptive lifestyle, (d) unwillingness to work hard or laziness (Puspito et al., 2018).

Efforts of corruption prevention have been made by the government of Indonesia involving higher educational institutions, especially PTKINs, appealing to the implementation strategies for the curriculum of PTKINs (*Universitas Islam Negeri - UIN, Institut Agama Islam Negeri - IAIN, and Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri - STAIN*) as the separated or integrated subject (Busiri, 2020; Komalasari & Saripudin, 2015). This technique is selected to produce graduates who oppose corruption and have the integrity of the Indonesian future generation (Kamil et al., 2018). To sum up, the government of Indonesia has now resorted to PTKINs as the higher educational institutions for raising awareness of corruption prevention in Indonesia. However, studies that involve PTKINs in raising this awareness seem to have received scant attention.

3. Approach to Corruption Analysis

The approach used in this chapter is also qualitative in nature, involving a triangulation procedure, namely; semi-structured interview, observation, and documentation. These techniques are also supported by four stages of analysis: reduction, summarizing the themes, and display (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Krippendorff, 2004) and Foucauldian interpretative discursive analysis (Foucault, 1979) and its adherents (Ball, 1993; Howarth, 2000; Mills, 2004). These scholars recognize discourse as systematically-organized sets of statements that give expression to the meanings and values of an institution, which functions as knowledge, concepts, or ideas concerning a crucial social issue. Furthermore, the social agents for the analysis are rectors and heads of STAIN, deans, and heads of departments at three PTKINs in Aceh. In addition, a number of permanent lecturers were also involved in this investigation. This representation of the stakeholders is supposed to be practical, efficient, and manageable for analysis in the form of thematic structures in the main of the chapter. All the higher educational institutions referred to are located in the province of Aceh, but in different districts or

municipalities, namely; UIN Ar-Raniry in Banda Aceh, IAIN Lhokseumawe in North Aceh, and STAIN Teungku Dirundeng in West Aceh.

The aforementioned techniques that include document analysis (Bowen, 2009; Atkinson & Coffrey, 2004) and discursive analysis (Foucault, 1979; Howarth, 2000) were used for the description and explanation of the discursive representation. The academic reason for choosing Foucauldian discursive analysis as the method of analysis is that this chapter focuses on the dispositive analysis of knowledge constitution in the field of social science (Jäger & Maier, 2009). Finally, the topics are classified into several themes, such as the subject of PAK discussed below.

4. Discourse of Corruption

The constitutive role of the discourse of strategies for implementing anti-corruption education at the PTKINs in Aceh are set out as follows.

4.1 Discourse of Anti-corruption

The State Islamic Higher Educational Institutions (PTKINs) constitute part of the national educational system that plays an important role in producing future generations who are supposed to oppose corruption with integrity. The active participation of PTKINs in preventing corruption in Indonesia is undertaken by the implementation of anti-corruption education through teaching and learning programs in Islamic colleges and universities.

The application of anti-corruption education at the PTKINs in Aceh is based on the development of curriculum through hidden curriculum, separated subject curriculum, or integrated curriculum. This discovery was revealed from UIN Ar-Raniry; IAIN Lhokseumawe tends to resort to hidden curriculum and integrated curriculum. Meanwhile, STAIN Teungku Dirundeng Meulaboh applies the separated subject curriculum in the department of Syariah (Islamic law) but uses an integrated curriculum in the department of Islamic education.

The integration is usually incorporated into the general Islamic subject such as fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) in the topic about *rasyi wa murtasyi* (bribing). The PAK is also integrated into civic education and other general related subjects. Nevertheless, it was found that the department of Islamic law at STAIN Teungku Dirundeng offers the specific subject for PAK which is obligatory for all students.

It was discovered that a new model of PAK is implemented at UIN Ar-Raniry, IAIN Lhokseumawe, and STAIN Teungku Dirundeng Meulaboh. This new model is applied through the student activities unit (UKM), Special Activity Unit (UKK), student council (DEMA) and Student Senate (SEMA). The main objectives of these student activities are to train and instill the integrated leadership mentality for students.

The next discursively constructed strategy is the integration of the values of anti-corruption into the curriculum. The inclusion of values of anti-corruption into the curriculum at the PTKINS in Aceh refers to the nine values of anti-corruption developed by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). These values are classified into three main values, namely (1) principal values, such as discipline and responsibility, (2) attitude, such as justice, brave, and care, and (3) work ethic, including; hardworking, decent, and self-reliant.

The implementation of PAK at the PTKINS in Aceh is still faced with barriers, either the internal factors on each campus or the external factors from the community. The internal factors include overloaded curriculums in the departments and indifference of the academia themselves to anti-corruption. Efforts to overcome the internal factors are undertaken through socialization that aims to manifest a campus with strong integrity. Externally, collaboration with religious clergies and community leaders help the PTKINS build students' aspiration to be the future generation with strong integrity.

4.2 Strategies for Implementing Anti-corruption Education

a. Employed Strategies

Prevention of corruption has become an essential scheme of both national and provincial governments. Various efforts have been made including the prevention of corruption itself and punishing the perpetrators of corruption. One of the strategies the government of Indonesia uses to prevent corruption is collaborating with higher education institutions to implement the PAK at higher educational institutions, including PTKINs.

There are six national strategies of prevention and eradication of corruption, which aims at the manifestation of clean governance purported by the capacity to prevent corruption, punish the perpetrators, and instill integrated cultural values. These strategies are constructed as follows:

- (1) Prevention.
- (2) Law enforcement.
- (3) Harmonization of regulating laws.
- (4) Collaboration with international agencies and redemption of assets of corruption from abroad.
- (5) Promotion of anti-corruption education.
- (6) Mechanism of corruption prevention report.

Furthermore, the present study also reveals that there are five discursively constructed strategies used in implementing PAK at PTKINs in Aceh as in the following subsection.

b. Development of Curriculum for PAK

The implementation of anti-corruption education, *Implementasi Pendidikan Antikorupsi (PAK)* at Islamic Higher Education Institutions, *Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam (PTKINs)* in Aceh is manifested in curriculum development (Baharuddin & Samad, 2019; Suyadi, Nuryana, & Sutrisno, 2021). According to the interviews with the leaders from

PTKINs in Aceh, it was found that one of the crucial roles the PTKINs plays in the character building of the students is to teach them the PAK as developed by each PTKIN.

The implementation of PAK at UIN Ar-Raniry, IAIN Lhokseumawe and STAIN Teungku Dirundeng was discursively practiced in three models of the curriculum; *hidden curriculum*, *separated subject curriculum*, and *integrated curriculum*. These three models of the curriculum can be set out schematically in Figure 8.1.

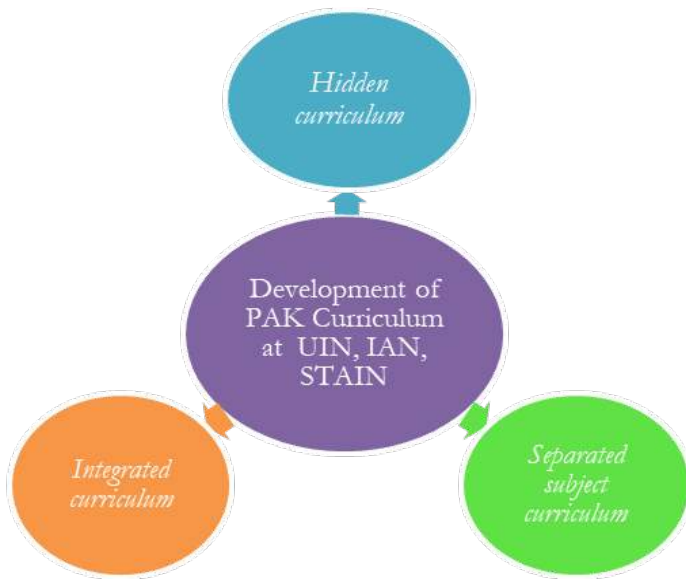


Figure 8.1: Discursively Constructed Model for the development of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh

Figure 8.1 above concerning the three models of the curriculum can be explained in detail as follows:

- (1) The curriculum development of PAK was manifested by *hidden curriculum*. According to this model, the PAK was not specifically designed as a written document at the PTKINs in Aceh. Nevertheless, the PAK was offered by the role model of the lecturers and educational administrators, including their

behavior, moral, and religious piety. The hidden curriculum model was seen to be suitable for building the anti-corruption attitudes of students at PTKINs in Aceh.

- (2) Curriculum development on PAK was designed as separate subject curriculum or the PAK was taught as the independent subject as were the other subjects. Nevertheless, the present study found that not all PTKINs in Aceh offer a special subject on PAK.
- (3) The implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh was based on the integrated curriculum. The PAK was implemented in the form of an integrated curriculum. The PAK was incorporated in several subjects taught at PTKINs in Aceh.

Curriculum development which was based on the PAK is one of the strategies that can be undertaken at every PTKIN in Aceh with respect to supporting the government programs in eradicating corruption in Indonesia. PTKINs in Aceh are expected to be proactive in raising students who oppose corruption by utilizing rational curriculum at the PTKINs in the province of Aceh.

c. The Subject of PAK

The strategy of teaching PAK can also be materialized by the development of courses at PTKINs, that is, the separated subject of PAK at PTKINs curriculum needs to be introduced. This subject is expected to transfer knowledge on the PAK to the students in Indonesia effectively.

The study found that PTKINs in the province of Aceh (UIN Ar-Raniry, IAIN Lhokseumawe, and STAIN Teungku Dirundeng) generally indicate the PAK subject was the process of discussion at each PTKIN in Aceh. Nevertheless, particularly at the Syariah Department at STAIN Teungku Dirundeng PAK was implemented as the department subject, not the one for the whole STAIN that should have been prescribed for all departments. This assertion was made by the head of STAIN and the discursive analysis of the curriculum of Syariah Department.

Ideally, PAK should have been included in the curriculum of the PTKINs in Aceh that was offered in semester two and that was prescribed as a general obligatory subject for all students so that the anti-corruption mentality could be instilled at the beginning of their college education.

d. Integration of PAK into Lecturing Processes

The implementation of PAK at PTKINS in Aceh in the form of the special subject as an independent course like other subjects does not seem to exist in all three institutions, but it is taught as an integrated course in all subjects or any teaching process as was identified in an earlier study (Suyadi, Sumaryati, Hastuti, & Saputro, 2020).

The analysis revealed that the implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh was discursively constructed in a planned framework of four models, as can be seen in Figure 8.2 below.

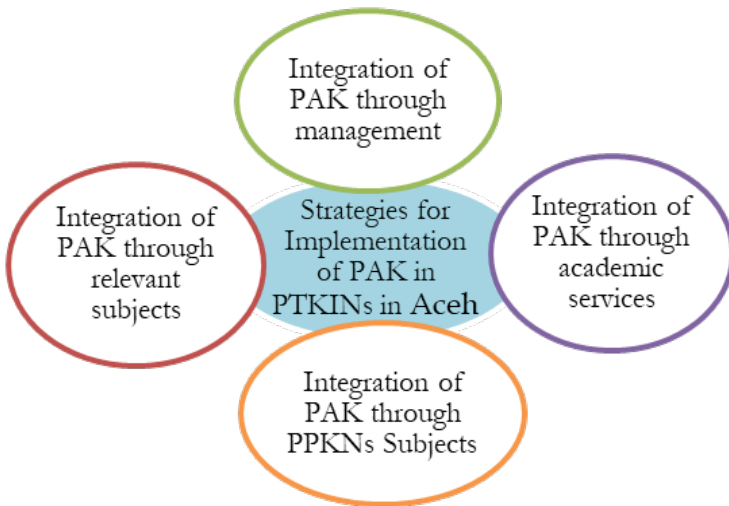


Figure 8.2: Discursive Construction of Strategies for PAK at PTKINs in Aceh

Further explanation concerning the four integrated strategies above is as follows:

- (1) Integration of PAK into management at PTKINs in Aceh. Management which is accountable for education plays one of the important aspects in providing support to the implementation of PAK. Currently PTKINs in Aceh continuously develops and creates a management system that is reliable for the manifestation of the implementation of PAK in campus management at PTKINs in Aceh.
- (2) Integration of academic services at PTKIN in Aceh. Academic services which create a humanist academic atmosphere and support the implementation of PAK are required. Humanist academic services provided at PTKINs in Aceh can best be seen in the form of prompt and accurate services for students.
- (3) Integration of PAK into Five State Principle (Pancasila) and civic education subjects.
- (4) Integration of PAK into other relevant subjects. In addition to its integration into PPKN (Pancasila and civic education), PAK can also be integrated into other subjects taught by lecturers on each subject they teach.

Summing up, the implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh province has been practiced, but generally the subject was integrated into other subjects and not all PTKINs in Aceh offer PAK at their institutions.

e. PAK in Student Activity Unit

Student activity unit (UKM) is a form of students' union where students who have similar talents, hobbies, creativities, and orientations gather to practice and perform their extra curriculum activities on campus. UKM is a student organization that have tasks to plan, undertake, and develop their extra curriculum activities which include reasoning, critical thinking, talent development, leadership, and special interest in accordance with their responsibility. The status of this union is controlled by educational institutions that actively develop self-organized students' extra activities on campus (*Organisasi Mahasiswa Dan UKM*, 2013).

Today UKM is not only a student organization but it also functions as a platform for the implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh. PAK implementation at UKM aims to train students in organizational skills that are accountable for and responsive to the manifestation of PAK through UKM.

f. Academic Culture on Anti-corruption

Nurturing is a holistic process that involves all components in higher educational institutions. Instilling the values of anti-corruption in all academic activities and the academic atmosphere itself is required. Nurturing will lead to habit. To enforce an academic culture of anti-corruption in tertiary education requires a good planning concerning specific orientation and activities that result in an attitude of anti-corruption. This model is supposed to be implemented not only during the lecturing period in classes, but it should also be manifested outside lecturing periods in all activities on campus. In addition, transparency in financial administration, accountable and professional campus management, and good conduct of academia on campus (lecturers, students, and all stakeholders), must be based on high discipline and full responsibility (Arifin, 2015; Saifulloh, 2017).

Academic culture on anti-corruption at PTKINs in Aceh is discursively constructed as the involvement of all academia and manifested in seven practices:

- (1) Lecturers sign lecture contracts. This is important to be done to create an academic culture on anti-corruption in which lecturers at PTKINs commit to their job.
- (2) Imposing punishment to students if they cheat on the exam.
- (3) Imposing punishment to students who copy and paste sources for their assignments without acknowledgement.
- (4) Both lecturers and students must be punctual in attending lectures.

- (5) Lecturers must act as role models. This action will become modeling for students, especially in the development of good conduct on anti-corruption from students at PTKINs in Aceh.
- (6) Turnitin check should be applied for every student's paper. This academic practice helps create an academic culture that opposes dishonesty.
- (7) Students are prohibited from giving gifts to lecturers. This is because giving a present to lecturers is considered part of gratifications.

Academic culture on anti-corruption which is practiced at PTKINs in Aceh is one of the strategies of PAK implementation to raise students as the young generation of Aceh to hold critical stance and be audacious in preventing corruption. PTKINs in Aceh as the Islamic higher education institutions are expected to help the government to eradicate corruption in Indonesia by building the youths of Aceh, who are Islamic, have good moral conducts, and disapprove of corrupt behaviors.

g. Integrated Values of Anti-corruption in Curriculum

The process of anti-corruption is not simply discursive practices, but PAK must be realized and manifested in three domains; knowledge (cognition), value (affection), and skill/action (psychomotor) as was conceptualized by Supandi & Vernia (2015). All these three aspects must be taught simultaneously.

The integrated values on anti-corruption in the curriculum of PTKINs in Aceh province refer to nine values of anti-corruption as was developed by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK). These values are discursively constructed as (1) core values, namely honesty, discipline, responsibility, (2) affective, such as justice, brave, and care, and (3) work ethos, including hardworking, obedience, and self-reliance.

The values of PAK which are integrated into the curriculum of PTKIN in Aceh province are discursively constructed in three keywords; honest, disciplined, and responsible. These concepts are elaborated in Table 1 below.

Tabel 8.1: Integration of Core Values in Curriculum of PTKIN in Aceh

No	Values	Description
1	Honesty	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Integration of honesty value in the curriculum is an effort to raise students who are trustworthy in many aspects, either in talking or in action. 2) Students' words and actions are trustworthy. 3) Self-respect is manifested by students themselves, showing trustworthiness, positive attitudes, and no lie.
2	Discipline	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Integration of discipline value was also discursively constructed in the curriculum which aims at a certain target, that is, to raise students at the PTKINs in Aceh to be law-abiding. 2) Discipline was also manifested in students' high commitment, for example, their commitment to submitting assignments on time. 3) Students are to observe punctuality in attending a lecture and an appointment with lecturers. 4) Abiding regulations on campus and in the lecturing process was seen as part of being disciplined by each student. 5) Finishing assignments and graduating on time, and focusing on study programs were seen as part of instilling and undertaking discipline. 6) Being diligent in attending lectures was discursively constructed as an indication of students' discipline. 7) Consistency in all aspects, especially doing assignments, for example submitting group assignments on time constitutes being disciplined.

- 3 Responsible
- 1) Integrating the value of responsibility in the curriculum has special targets, that is, to develop individual students' responsibility for their tasks and obligations.
 - 2) Responsibility can be seen in trustworthy students, including responsibility in doing their assignments.
 - 3) Being brave in coping with social wrongs including preventing corruption from happening is strongly encouraged.
 - 4) The value of responsibility could also be observed from the students' responses when they are given assignments to do.
 - 5) The value of responsibility of the students could also be monitored from the personality showing brevity in facing consequences.
 - 6) The value of responsibility could also be identified from students' work. A student should prove that she has done her best.
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Integration of anti-corruption insights at PTKINs is discursively constructed in in three key concepts—justice, brave, and care. These three concepts are explained in Table 2 below.

Tabel 8.2: Integration of Anti-corruption Insights in the Curriculum of PTKINs in Aceh

No	Value	Description
1	Justice	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Justice perspective is integrated into the curriculum that has targets to instill fairness so that students can act fairly when they are given trust. 2) Values of justice lead to being objective for students. 3) Values of justice are observable from not taking a side when coping with problems.

- 2 Brave
 - 1) The value of courageousness from students is critical of corruption eradication.
 - 2) The value of daring is characterized by not being fearless in making positive changes, including fearless in preventing corruption.
 - 3) Perseverance in eradicating criminal acts. For instance, when students know that there will be bribery, they are fearless to prevent it. Being remindful when lecturers are often late to a class is another example of brevity.
 - 3 Care
 - 1) Integration of care value in the curriculum is targeted at developing students who are aware of and care for the environment. For example, students will help each other if help is needed among them.
 - 2) The care value will instill the attitude of brotherhood so that togetherness occurs.
 - 3) The high empathy of students grows and they help each other in coping with difficulties.
 - 4) The care value can also be observed from the students' tolerance either between each other or among society members. Overall, the integration of values of justice, courage, and care embodied in the curriculum of PTKINs in Aceh has to some extent contributed to the development of values on anti-corruption for students.
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The values of work ethos on anti-corruption as embedded in the curriculum of PTKINs in Aceh are elaborated in Table 8.3.

Tabel 8.3: Integration of Work Ethos in the Curriculum of PTKINs in Aceh

No	Values	Description
1	Hardworking	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Hardworking is integrated into the curriculum of PTKINs in Aceh aiming to develop work ethos for students. 2) Values of hardworking can be seen from students' seriousness in doing their college assignments. 3) Being diligent in following lectures and doing their assignments to obtain remarkable results. 4) Students have dreams of what they want to achieve after their tertiary education. 5) Hardworking is also characterized by persistence and perseverance. For instance, students are willing to do their best in assignments and follow the process of minor thesis supervision to obtain an optimal result.
2	Modesty	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Values of modesty are integrated into the curriculum that has a target to develop students who are humble and not prodigious. 2) Being unpretentious constitutes one of the values indicating humbleness. Being unpretentious of what one has is the most important attitude to be developed from students to avoid prodigious life. 3) The development of modesty attitude was undertaken by encouraging students to use campus facilities efficiently. For example, use lightning for study purposes in the lecture rooms, and switch it off when it is no longer in use. 4) Values of modesty include humbleness.

- 3 Self-reliant
- 1) Integration of self-reliance values was constructed in the curriculum aiming that students are not necessarily dependent on other people.
 - 2) Values of self-reliance from students are realized in completing their assignments independently.
 - 3) The students can show their self-esteem in presenting their work and trust the results of the assignments they do.
 - 4) It was also discursively constructed that being brave was part of the self-reliance expected from students. Overall, the integration of values of self-reliance was embedded in the curriculum of PTKINs in Aceh. The PTKINs leaders expected that self-reliance and other values could positively contribute to creating students who oppose corruption.
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Taken together, all values discussed above are to some extent discursively articulated in the curriculum of PTKINs, which aims at transferring knowledge on anti-corruption to students. Integration of values of anti-corruption also emphasizes on the aspects that result in social changes through actions.

h. Discourse of Challenges in Implementation of PAK

The implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh still faces many challenges; internal factors and external factors. These challenges can be explained as follows:

- (1) It was found that the socialization of the implementation of PAK at PTKINs was undertaken less seriously. This was uncovered in studying the relevant documents and interviews of the leaders at three PTKINs: UIN Ar-Raniry, IAIN Lhokseumawe and STAIN Teungku Dirundeng.

- (2) The curriculum of PAK at PTKINs has yet intensively included PAK as an independent subject.
- (3) The academic services for students are provided in a variety of uncertain ways. This was caused by the lack of professional human resources. Although some lecturers and administrative staff have high discipline, are responsible for work, honest, and self-reliant, others including the PAK lecturers are still in need of nurturing and training.

The external factors are attributed to the environment outside campus. The attention of the community outside campus has yet supported the development of characters and the values of anti-corruption for students. The external problems of the implementation of PAK in PTKINs at Aceh can be seen in Figure 8.3 below.

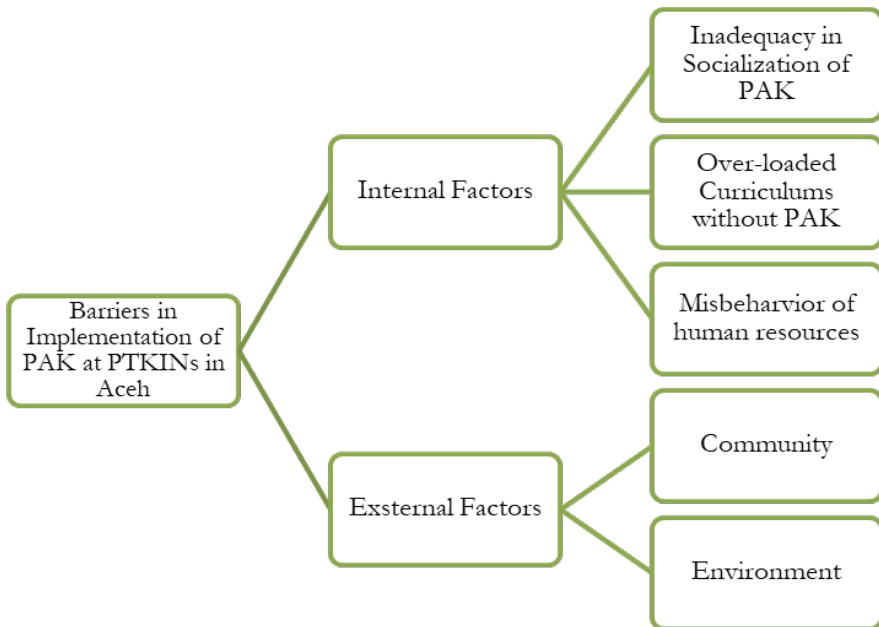


Figure 8.3: Identified Barriers in Implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh

The implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh generally seems to have been undertaken with some success as it was integrated in lecturing and management, but some barriers need to be managed. The challenges are presented in Figure 4 above.

Reflecting on these challenges, the leaders of each institution are urged to socialize the scheme of PAK intensively, particularly to lecturers. The full development of the PAK curriculum is extremely required. Furthermore, the administrative staff also needs full self-awareness about anti-corruption education. As a further reflection, leaders of PTKINs in Aceh need to work together with the local community and all academic circles on campus to get involved in giving support for the agenda on corruption eradication. The reason is that community support plays a great role in the implementation of PAK in the PTKINs in Aceh. Over-loaded curriculum with department subjects also contributes to the barriers of implementing PAK at PTKINs. The PAK curriculum is thus in need of reevaluation either at the institutional or national level.

5. Summary

Using the Foucauldian paradigm of discourse analysis, this chapter has argued that the discursive construction of strategies for the implementation of PAK at PTKINs in Aceh is undertaken in several ways, including the development of an anti-corruption curriculum, integration of PAK in relevant subjects, and the implementation of PAK based on students' activity units. The integration of anti-corruption values is discursively formatted to contain ethical awareness that includes; honesty, discipline, responsibility, justice, care, and hardworking. It appears that although the integration of PAK through academic services and lecturing processes has yet efficaciously been implemented, the knowledge of these values comply with the anti-corruption values developed by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).

Two main factors hinder the implementation of PAK at three PTKINs in Aceh; internal factors and external factors. The internal factors include insufficient socialization, only very few curriculums that contain PAK and

there exist indifference among lecturers and administrative personnel. Over-loaded curriculum with department subjects was also attributed to internal factors. The external factors include lack of optimal support from the community. The study urges that for efficacious results the curriculum of PAK at PTKINs should be nationally stipulated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and is supported by well-trained role models and scholars to teach the subject.

CHAPTER 9

Discourse of Feminism: The Western and Islamic Perspectives

In this chapter, I present the discourses of multiculturalism, Western feminism, the turban movement, and the possibility of Islamic feminism. The method used in this chapter is non-textually-oriented discourse analysis. The chapter builds upon the grounds that Islam has much earlier liberated the rights of women. The Qur'an itself is egalitarian. However, it is the West that has generally misunderstood Islam due to their lack of knowledge, ignorance, and misperception between actual Islam and the Arab culture. Having reviewed the argumentative discourses on those themes from a number of voices: philosophers, critical theorists, and feminists from both the Western and Islamic perspectives, the chapter concludes with general remarks that feminism and Islam can be reconciled as long as these issues are

treated according to the positive Islamic ethics, mutual respect, and fair practices of freedom.

1. Introduction

Discourse is often seen as a particular way of talking about the world—social, material, or even mental world. It is a type of social practice that is constitutive in social reality and constituted by social agents in meaning making that ‘contributes to reproducing *knowledge and society* (social identity, social relationships, systems of knowledge and belief) and also contributes to transforming society’ (Fairclough, 1992, p. 65, *italic mine*). Particular aspects of the world may be represented differently, so we are generally in the position of having to consider the relationship between different discourses. Discourses not only represent the world as it is, they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions. The relationships between different discourses are one element of the relationships between different people—they may complement one another, compete with one another, one can dominate others, and so forth. Discourses constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another—keeping separate from one another, cooperating, competing, dominating – and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another (Fairclough, 2003). While mainstream scholars have generally concentrated on the Western approaches to discourse in different fields, such as gender equality and sexuality, discourse analysis from a non-Anglican approach is regrettably still scant. For example, Sirri (2022) claims that discourse on Islamic feminism has been marginalized in the contemporary studies of gender equality across public and private life. Rooted in discourse of Islam, Sirri’s approach to discourse is originated in religious texts, that is, the Qur’an and Hadith. This paper sees the discourse of feminism in relation to Islam and modernity from this perspective of the term.

In the inquiry which follows, I revisit the discourse of feminism as it has been construed by some philosophers, academics, and feminist

thinkers. I will discuss the critique of strong multiculturalism and deliberative democracy in relation to the concept of cross-cultural dialogue and ethical universalism. I will then refer to the critique of Western feminism as it is represented by the later Foucault's concept in relation to the issue of western perspectives on women. I will then provide the discussion about the Turkish turban movement. Finally, before I recap the main points of the paper, I will put forward arguments about the possibility of Islamic feminism by providing several cases from classical Islam.

2. Critique of Multiculturalism

Islam, which is frequently criticized for its mistreatment of women, has emerged as a major topic in Western academics' writing and media. Both Muslims and non-Muslims have authored dozens of books and hundreds of scholarly papers on the subject. Since the Qur'an is the original source of knowledge and moral guidelines for Muslims, many Muslim writers—especially Islamic feminists—have argued that the way women are treated in Islam needs to be reviewed and reinterpreted. This is because the Qur'an is intrinsically egalitarian.

Some feminist thinkers argue that in classical Islam there was freedom of practices such as Sufism, which had played a major role in shaping the behavior of each gender without being dominated. Others argue that Muslims should not look at the classical history of Islam in relation to the gender system for modern life because it no longer fixes the order of current social, political and economic situations. Today there are Muslim women who have good education and have proven that they can do what men can.

There are also both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars who argue that the treatment of women in Islam should be solved according to the concept of modern, secular liberation of women as it has been cultivated in the West, in which the power relations are negotiated through reason. They suggest that the moral system should consist of moral codes and ethos, although not all scholars have the same opinion about the

demarcation between the divine law and ethics. While some scholars place more space on the moral code, others tend to argue that ethics should be taken into account as a better choice of guide in modern life. In what follows, I will deal with Benhabib's critique of multiculturalism and her proposal of the interface between multiculturalism and ethical universalism with the expected outcome called deliberative democracy.

Seyla Benhabib in *The Claims of Culture* (2002, see below) criticizes the theory of multiculturalism such as of Will Kimlicka. She argues that strong multiculturalism is impossible because cultures should not be reified but negotiated through cross-cultural dialogue, mutual learning and deliberative democracy. Cultures and societies are not holistic but polyvocal, multilayered and decentered. At the same time she also challenges the concept of linguistic relativism such as of Jean-Francois Lyotard.

Benhabib's argument is based the principle that although human beings are all the same everywhere (they need clothes to wear, food to eat and shelter to live in), there are certain principles that we cannot make judgments. Strong multiculturalism is, thus, at stake. For example, the right of women, children and minorities within minorities are disobeyed. This is because people's lives are embedded in their cultures, which cannot clearly be defined as holistic, as many cultural theorists have assumed. Much debate about multiculturalism, in which cultures are conceived as different phenomena, Benhabib argues, is false. The view that strong multiculturalism is possible does not allow us to take into account 'the complexity of global civilization dialogues and encounters, which are increasingly our lot, and it has encouraged the binaries of "we" and "the other(s)'" (Benhabib, 2002, p. 25).

According to Benhabib, universalism is a form of ethnocentrism, namely, "They" have to follow "Us." But many rationalists do not take into account that agreement on truth, values and norms is not always universal. Thus universalism should not only cover the relative cognitive inquiry, but it also must have moral meaning. Searching for a new paradigm, Benhabib presents an alternative approach, developing

an understanding of cultures as continually creating, recreating and negotiating the undesired boundaries between “Us” and “Them.” She points out that ‘all human beings, regardless of race, gender, sexual preference, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious background, are to be considered *moral equals* and are therefore to be created as equally entitled to *moral respect*’ (Benhabib, 2002, p. 27, my italic).

Benhabib opposes universalism and linguistic relativism, because universalism benefits a majority group, but hurts others such as the minorities, women and children. She also criticizes the relative philosophical thought of being limited and embedded in language. She instead proposes the integration between multiculturalism and ethical universalism, which can have philosophical and social dimensions.

Using the contemporary cultural politics from Western Europe and the United States as an example, Benhabib puts forward a model of deliberative democracy, a discussion-based democracy, which is not based on representative of multiple voices, but which allows the cultural contestation within the public sphere and through social movements and the institutions of civil society. Benhabib’s double-track model of deliberative democracy seems to be too optimistic, rather armed-chair theory of cultural diversity, unlikely feasible in the current modern society. Rationality is conceived a procedure, not based on rational subjects in general. Thus, the model she proposes does not seem to be cross-cultural enough. Consider, for example, the War between Hamas and Israel, which has led to the genocide of Palestinians, killing mostly women and children, does reason decide? There is no rationality, situated-self, or cross-cultural dialogue. This model of democracy is nearly in line with Habermas’ concept of rationality, namely, when there is a multicultural conflict, it is reason that decides- a procedural ethics. She concludes that institutional power sharing, legal pluralism and flexible citizenship are quite compatible with deliberative democracy. For instance, immigrants do not need to change their names when they arrive in a new country. To live together in deliberative democracy, there are normative principles that need to be obeyed: egalitarian reciprocity, voluntary self-ascription

and freedom of exit and association (Benhabib, 2002, pp. 148-149). Cross-cultural dialogue, intercultural political association and regional assemblies need to be included in policy making of the nation state. Institutions for intercultural negotiation can be established from a deliberative democratic perspective. As the fundamental definition of the private domain, the right to self-determination must be understood as the freedom to engage with society at large. Therefore, the ways of living in the modern world should be mutual learning and tolerance.

3. Critique of Western Feminism

According to Mohanty (1991), Western feminist rhetoric has generalized the sexual difference in the West, making it comparable to women in less developed countries. As a result, Western feminists vehemently accuse male supremacy of oppression of women in the Third World, including the right to veil and reproduction. Furthermore, Mohanty critiques Western feminists for seeing women as a cohesive group across circumstances, arguing that women in the Third World are portrayed as helpless and reliant without regard for history or location. Therefore, everything is judged according to the Western standard; women should be liberated, secular and having control over their own lives except the injustice of economy such as redistribution. Many Western feminists have never fought for the rights of the social economy, education of the Third World women as they do for those of the West. What they usually do is attacking the attitude of Islam toward women such as polygamy, female circumcision and forced marriage. The Western feminists represent the third world women as dependent, uneducated and oppressed. Briefly, it is through this Western humanist discourse that they misrepresent the third world women, yielding significant results, while having a political and colonial axe to grind and through which the Western power over the less developed world is exercised.

Mohanty (1991) also argues that the Western feminism has uncritically constituted the women of the less industrialized world as the monolithic subjects without taking into consideration the context in which these women are living. Writing from the classical Western

postmodernism, Mohanty argues that the historical specific approach is better than the Western model of feminism, which takes ahistorical study. Western liberation produces a homogenous model of feminism and it cannot totally be applied to Islam without bearing in mind the constitution of strategic coalitions across races, classes and national boundaries. The majority of Western writings on third world women, according to Mohanty, belong to parts of global colonial discourse, because they have moved beyond the goal of *apolitical* feminism, which can be applied to women in the whole world, not just in the West.

In comparison with Mohanty's critique of Western feminism for victimizing the third world women, Mahmood (2001, 2005) argument departs slightly different from Mohanty's in that Mahmood's standpoint is that a free Western liberalism is a Western product. She suggests that being autonomous should not be limited to the Western humanist political judgment, instead it should be placed in the analytical framework in which agency is *not* linked to Western liberation, but in the context of positive freedom emerging from 'the capacity for self-mastery and self-government' (Mahmood, 2005, p. 11). That is, in order for a woman to be a free individual, she has to determine her own behaviors, which '*must* be the consequence of her "own will" rather than of custom, tradition, or social coercion' (Mahmood, 2005, p. 11, italic in original). It seems to me that Mahmood does not totally avoid the concept of Western humanism; instead she proposes a new way of approaching the similar problem, that is, there should be a practice of willingness to evaluate one's views in the light of others through a mutual learning.

Both Mahanty and Mahmood's concepts of unraveling the cultural injustice in some Muslim countries such as Egypt are in line with Benhabib's proposal of cultural dialogue and deliberative democracy, in which everything including culture and even feeling is not reified but negotiated. This is due to the fact that culture is not fixed but intermingled. Thus the philosophical thought of dealing with equality and diversity in this modern era should be derived from mutual learning and cultural dialogue, not from a mere consensus of Western universalism, but from the point of departure of *pluralistic* enlightened ethical universalism,

which places the cross-cultural dialogues as a crucial means of managing peaceful life in the modern world.

In her study of the Egyptian women’s mosque movement, Mahmood (2001, 2005) refers to Foucault’s theory of ethics. According to Foucault’s analytical framework, there are four components of ethics, which can be applied for conceptualizing agency beyond the confines of the binary of enacting and subverting norms: substance of ethics, mode of subjectivation, techniques of the self and telos. In analyzing the ethics of women’s mosque movement, Mahmood implemented the second and third aspects of Foucault’s ethics, which recognize the moral obligations through divine law such as the existence of divine arrangements for human life represented in the Qur’an and which deal with the operations one performs on oneself in order to produce an ethical subject, which is philosophically often called “techniques of the self.” Figure 1 schematically represents Foucault’s concept of moral codes and ethics.

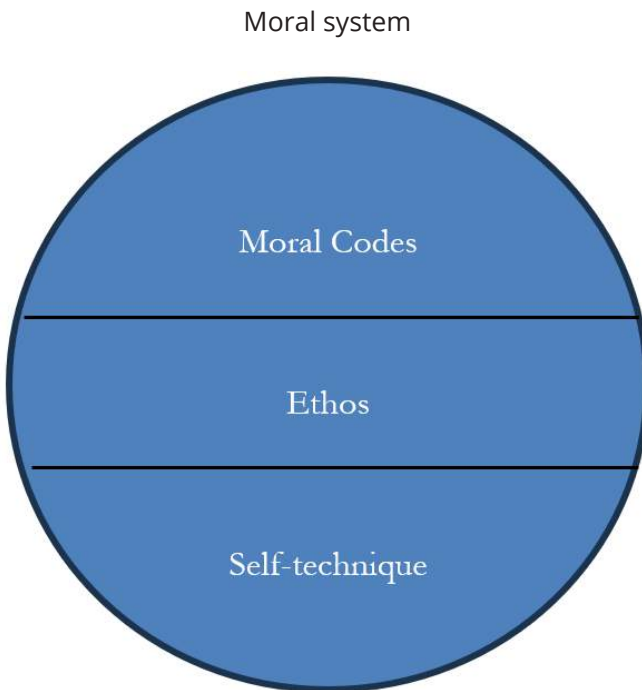


Figure 9.1: Foucault’s concept of moral codes and ethics

Women's mosques movement is a non-liberal movement in which self-realization is aimed at 'honing one's rational and emotional capacities so as to approximate the exemplary model of the pious self' (Mahmood, 2005: 31). To manifest this technique of self-realization, the participants were ordered to perform their obligations through studying the divine text, interpreting the moral codes according to the traditional guideline and emphasizing the roles of religiosity-ritual practices including the way of dressing and speaking. Through practicing the ascetic practice, the mosque participants learn how to analyze the movements of the body and soul, which can balance the coordination between inner states and outer conducts.

Vintges (2004) criticizes some Western thinkers such as Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida of their postmodernist theories of the treatment of women, the abnormal, the senseless and the "strangers" as discredit subjects instead of their common identity as human beings. She argues that the later Foucault's concept of human subjects is more capacious and inclusive, treating the subject without binary boundaries. Her interpretation of the later Foucault's concept of ethics in dealing with multiculturalism and feminism is built upon the concept of practices of freedom as means of establishing "the care of the self" through self-managing without conceiving the "original subject" or "deep self" as being autonomous according to the Western standard of rationality.

Taking freedom of practices as a situated entity and freedom of practices for all, Vintges (2004) refers to Islamic Sufism as example of how practices of freedom via "technology of the self" can be manifested in human life without separating the system of gender; each has the freedom of conscience. She cites one case in Islamic Sufism of the 8th century female mystic Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah, who lived a free life under no one's authority except submission to God alone. Vintges also refers to Foucault's concept practices of freedom in non-Western context as performed in other beliefs such as Zen Buddhism and Christian mysticism, which all provide us with insights that a new universal normative perspective across national, gender, and belief system is

possible as long as endorsing the practices of freedom is taken into consideration. Vintges interprets Foucault's ethics as a new way of living because 'it is focused on the ethical-spiritual way of life, which is relatively autonomous in relation to moral codes and metaphysics; and it is new since it is democratic, contrary to the elitism of Greek ethics' (Vintges, 2004: 293). She adapts the Foucault's concept of ethics but revisits the demarcation between moral code and ethos.

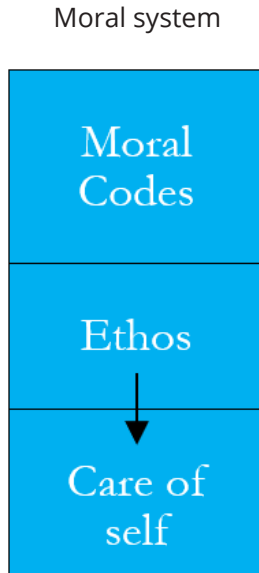


Figure 9.2: Vintges' proposal of ethics

According to Vintges (2004), the ethos should have more space and the limit of moral code can be crossed, taking into consideration ethics as the art of living. Figure 2 schematically represents Vintges' reinterpretation of Foucault's concept of ethics as art of living. Through manifestation of practices of freedom for women in all cultures, including the Western one, she argues that a cross-cultural feminism can be cultivated through a shared ethos or commitment without Truth. This is due to the new ethical concept of life as aiming at the shaping of one's whole life (Vintges, 2004), in which the political, economic and social dominations are forced to stay in their lowest limits. Vintges concludes

that a new cross-cultural feminism does not impose the standards of Western secular liberalism, but seeks a truly universal norm through orienting itself to practices of freedom for all.

There are certain situations where Foucault's analysis of ethics is helpful for understanding key aspects of life in Muslim society, for example, the concept of leadership and the system of marriage in which both women and men have the same rights. In Islam the role of human beings is the same for both sexes: *Kullukum raa'in wa kullukum arraa'iyatin* (Each of you is a leader and I will ask for your responsibility of your leadership). This statement indicates to us that in Islam there is the concept of "the care of the self" and the concept of "the care of the others" as long as the "the care of self" is not intended to bring about the domination, which can lead to an egoistic behavior when implemented in the society. It should be born in mind that in Islam "the care of the self" is for every one- both women and men- and "the care of the others" is also for all, meaning that it is not only "care of the self" that is prioritized but also "the care of the others." This concept good of behavior is in line with the concept of ethics proposed by Foucault, when he responds to the questions in the interview 'The care of the self is ethical in itself; but it implies complex relationships with others insofar as this *ethos* of freedom is also a way of caring for others' (Foucault, 1997, p. 287, italic in original). This suggests that one can occupy the position that she/he deserves in the community: a state leader, an army general, a university professor or what have you, at the same time she/he is an individual.

Another situation where the Foucault's concept of the care of the self and the practice of freedom can be implemented in the Muslim Society is in the system of marriage, which has actually been in practice since the birth of Islam in 7th century. This concept of practice of freedom has been illustrated by the Iranian anthropologist Ziba Mir-Hosseini in her documentary *Divorce Iranian Style*. The film shows us how Iranian wives can plead for a divorce in an Islamic court, informing the Western audience the real agency of Muslim wives who can make an appeal for a separation of an unhappy marriage, which in Islamic law is called

fasah (divorce made by an appeal of the wife), not *talaq* (divorce made by an appeal of the husband). This example, as one of thousands of divorce cases in Muslim community around the world, demonstrates how the actual practice of freedom is implemented in Islam. The actual practices of freedom in Islamic society are totally different from those propagandized by the Christian missionaries and by their half-baked experts in some Western media, such as in Islam a husband can divorce his wife by saying "I divorce you three times." The practice of freedom had been implemented *much* earlier in Islam than in the West.

4. Turkish Turban Movement

The Turban movement of Turkish politics in 1990s marked the debate between the practice of veiling and the concept of modernity. This section is primarily based on Nilüfer Göle's (1996) *The Forbidden Modern* who claimed that the movement was more a matter of identity construction than on being modern or anti-modern (see also Ozcetin, 2009). The section discusses how the issue can be reconciled.

Göle's (1996) approach to the issues of veiling and modernity is theoretical, originating from the question of meaning rather than from a relationship of causality, derived from the hermeneutic tradition in social sciences. According to Göle, the Islamic veiling movement can embrace two distinct modes of action; one associates with political Islam and the other with cultural Islam. The political Islam aims at defending Islamic identity and independence against Western imperialism. It is a top-to-bottom system. On the other hand, the cultural Islam aims to protect Islam from the loss of its sacredness. In this case it is the individuals, community, not the state, who play a major role. It does not seize the political power. The Turkish veiling movement belongs to the cultural movement, because it is nonpolitical in the broader sense.

Göle (1996), in her study of the attitudes of female university students toward veiling in the 1990s, demonstrates that, so long as modernity is not understood to be an attitude toward secularization, placing the human body under the artistic and volitional control of the individual,

and impoverishing sexuality through the increasing subjugation of the human body to the domains of science and secularization, then veiling is not a reactionary phenomenon against modernity. For contemporary Turkish women, wearing veils in unconventional ways is a thing of big cities (Göle, 2004). They decide to protect themselves on their own will, not because of the influence of religious instruction, rural traditionalism, or male family members' enforcement of their choices. They have separated themselves from their parents and conventional Muslims in this instance. Meanwhile, Ozcetin (2009) claims that the prevalent perception of the Muslim women as "backward," "anti-modern," and ignorant leads to the marginalization and "othering" of these initiatives within the larger movement. Due to a lack of communication among women, Islamic Muslim women's agency and battle against discrimination against women have been disregarded, despite the fact that they have created new subjectivities with modern traits.

The differences among the various styles of veiling represent the distinction between traditional people and modern Islamic young women. These young women are active, self-asserting and modernist. Therefore, it is less compatible with the social practice of these women to say that 'Although women assume that they are not objects thanks to their veils, in fact the very act of veiling per se expresses the visual privilege of men' (Göle, 1996: 136), presupposing that veiling shapes the intersection of political ideology and the power relations between the sexes. She thus approaches the concept of veiling and modernity through macro and micro levels, namely, the conceptual level in which there is a combination between Islam and modernity and the concept of individualism, which emerges from personality of women's own choice. Consequently, the two issues to some extent can be reconciled as she writes 'when the system of meaning embedded within the Islamic movements is taken as the main theme of inquiry, it becomes possible to move from a macro-level analysis of historical modernism to a micro-level explication of the everyday experiences of individuals' (Göle, 1996, p. 131). Veiling is a modernity phenomenon, not a fundamentalist movement. It contributes to positioning women in the modern world

and at the same time serves them with the right identity. It is a type of practices of freedom. The (colorful) veil protects them against Western abstract hegemony. The veil is for sacredness not for aesthetic or rights. Ozcetin (2009) argues that headscarf-wearing women identify as pious Muslim women in order to set themselves apart from Islamist groups and from more secular Muslims in Turkey, even if they are labelled as "Islamist feminists," "veiled women," or "Islamist women." This is due to the fact that although the veil conceals the departure of the Muslim women to the outside world, they can be outside by reminding themselves that they belong to Muslim sphere. This approach to modernity is different from the Western modernity:

. . . which was bred according to the premises of the Enlightenment and industrial civilization, transformed communitarian relations which have been molded by the religious and traditional beliefs and, eventually produced a heterogeneous, differentiated, and pluralistic social structure that contributed to the formation of rational and positivist values, *in which the roles of women either can be neglected or are at stake*. The Turkish modernity, on the other hand, refused to recognize autonomous spheres in the market and civil society and was based on the state authoritarianism (Göle, 1996, p. 132, italic mine).

The Turkish modernity is not built upon the innovative forces of civil society, but it is a project of civilization by which the local patterns and *traditional* values are rejected in order to seek new code of behavior. For example, within the radical movement, a new, urban, educated Muslim has emerged. The Muslim social actors enter through the Islamist gate, resulting in an interaction between veiling and modernity, which legitimizes Muslim identity and empowers Muslims as political agents of historical and cultural change. The veiled body of Muslim women attempts to resist against Westernization. But this does not imply that Islam stands against modernity; instead, 'it acts as a compass of life and as a means of management with modern society' (Göle, 1996, p. 138).

5. Islamic Feminism

Essentially, the Qur'an treats men and women equally. The Qur'an itself is in general egalitarian as it says:

For devout men and women, For true men and women, For men and women who are Patient and constant, for men And women who humble themselves, For men and women who give In charity, for men and women Who fast (and deny themselves), For men and women who Guard their chastity, and For men and women who Engage much in God's praise, For them has God prepared Forgiveness and great reward. (Al-Ahzaab: 35)

If every Muslim man and woman accepted their roles as stipulated in the verse above, there would be no feminism, a term which is difficult to define. Feminism is 'a world-wide movement but it can be manifested in different ways in different countries. Even though women's subordination is a world-wide phenomenon, its forms may vary even though there may be many similarities among the countries' (Nurmila, 2011, p. 33). Due to the lack of a precise, accepted definition of feminism makes it difficult to define the phrase "Islamic feminism." The most that can be said about this issue is that Islamic movement researchers have not given it the attention it deserves; the phrase is derived from the root word "female" and has certain duties or goals associated with it. It is a method for examining society and the past and for addressing contemporary injustices committed against women. It is also a reformist tactic meant to alter the social structures that are currently in place. According to Grami (2013, p. 105), Islamic feminism still raises a number of theoretical problems which include:

- a. If Western feminism underwent several historical phases, then which feminism are we talking about, each with its own traits and theories, and then split off into more specialized movements like Liberal Feminism, Socialist Feminism, Radical Feminism, and Environmental Feminism? Is Islamic feminism a subset of

feminism in the West? If Muslim women are the focus of Islamic feminism, does this suggest that the direction of both Arab and Western feminism has changed with its inception?

- b. If feminism was fundamentally a political movement with social goals before evolving into a social movement that aimed to prove women's independence, highlight their role in life, and defend their rights, is the portrayal of "Islamic" in "feminism" a way to restrict the movement's actions and try to fit its theoretical framework into Muslim societies? Every Western and Islamic society has a certain kind of feminism that fits their own historical context—one in which fundamentalism has been the norm—and unique features.
- c. Islamic Feminism highlights the problems of misinterpretation and comprehension; on the one hand, accepting and absorbing Western language; on the other, removing it from its native setting; and acknowledging the modifications it experienced in the many contexts that adopted it. So, should the idea be modified to fit inside an Arab cultural habitat.
- d. If variations in terms have caused ambiguity and misunderstanding, especially in the Arab world, does this imply that variations in terminology also reflect differences in goals and perspectives based on the current inequalities between society and women activists?

In the last 10 years of the development of Islamic feminism, the subject of women in Islam has widely been reinterpreted but it is still difficult to set up the boundary of the term. Sirri (2022: 1), for example, confirms that:

Islamic feminism is a wide and diverse intellectual and activist movement relevant to the realities of many Muslims around the world. It offers tools for religious interpretation and adds value to their spiritual lives. Despite the diversity within the movement, the different strands of Islamic feminism, or Islamic feminisms, are

unified by their opposition to the predominant conservative vision within the Islamic tradition that naturalises and essentialises the constructed differences between women and men.

Islamic feminism is still seen as a movement although the subject has been debated in academia either in the West or in the Muslim world since 1990s. Its orientation still centers around gender equality and sexuality. Some Muslim feminist writers still see the movement as a new emerging idea, an oxymoron, and a feminist exegesis (Sirri, 2022). It is claimed that despite the diversity, the movement is united in challenging the dominant traditional belief and search for changes in equal power relations either in private or in public spheres.

Other body of much earlier literature on the discourse of Islamic feminism includes Leila Ahmed's *Women and Gender in Islam* (1992); *Feminism and Cross-cultural Inquiry: the Terms of Discourse in Islam* (2013) and Amina Wadud's *Qur'an and Woman* (1999). Ahmed's approach to feminism is based on the concept of mutual learning in which there are aspects of Islamic culture, particularly the traditional Arab culture that needs to be adjusted to modernity like other cultures in most parts of the world. One example of the cultural injustices that still have embodied the Arab traditional culture is the treatment of women in terms of marriage, share of household responsibilities, and education.

Ahmed (2013) argues that Islam needs a redefinition and reform in treating women in accordance with the development and civilization, because some practices of the traditional Islam are no longer relevant to the social contexts of the present. We need a reinterpretation of the Qur'an, because it is flexible, and contextual; this is due to the fact that the Qur'an itself 'consists mainly of broad, general propositions chiefly of an ethical nature, rather than specific legalistic formulations' (Ahmed, 1992, p. 88). An example of this new interpretation is the reference made to the polygamy, which in the past was practiced by Muhammad, who "was the judge for his community and the interpreter of divine revelation" (Ahmed, 1992, p. 88) at the time in the context of

war, namely, the battle of Uhud (625 Hijriah), which made many Muslim women become widows. Some Muslim men have misused this history for the present context. In fact, the basic principle of marriage in Islam is monogamy, as it is explicitly stated in the Qur'an:

Marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four, but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), the only one, or (a captive) that your right hands possess. That will be more suitable, to prevent you from doing injustice (Qur'an 4: 3).

The other social practices should also be approached from a modern perspective, not a historically based paradigm. For example, women also have equality in terms education, which now have made them able to enter 'all the professions, from teaching and nursing to medicine, law and engineering' (Ahmed, 1992, p. 241). In fact, Ahmed also argues that the fact that there is self-determination among the Muslim society has been practiced by the 8th century Sufi saint Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah. Although Ahmed does not expect feminism as defined by the Western liberalism, she proposes that there has to be practices of freedom by Muslim women as it has been practiced and embedded in cultures and religions, since self is formulated according to these two domains. This is compatible with the Islamic concept of life, because the Qur'an itself is egalitarian.

Closely in line with Ahmed's approach to issue of feminism is Wadud's exploration of the egalitarian nature of the Qur'an. Using hermeneutic and holistic approaches, Wadud (1999) proposes a reinterpretation of the Qur'an, making it more transparent and relevant to the new contexts. She does not oppose the contents of the Qur'an but *reinterprets* it and at the same time keeps its *spirit*, which can be applied to the collective level. Through the hermeneutic technique, Wadud attempts to identify the universals and the particulars in the Qur'an. Wadud argues that despite the fact that there are Qur'anic verses, which speak using the female referents, they do not necessarily mean that men are excluded

and vice versa, since the Qur'an itself is for both sexes- it is gendered-bias free.

Wadud's approach to feminism, although she does not like the label, focuses on the practices of freedom, working on the limits of the traditions and using all kinds of possible techniques including writing as she has proven it herself. She challenges the misinterpretations and misreading of the Qur'an, some of which have led to the oppression of women. Instead she prefers an updated interpretation of the Qur'an that leads to social justice in which 'women would have full access to economic, intellectual, and political participation, and men would value and therefore participate fully in home and child care for a more balanced and fair society' (Wadud, 1999: 103). As a result, feminism and Islam *can* go together.

The question has been asked whether or not Islamic feminism is possible. My argument is derived from the standpoint that Islam does not regard women as second-class human beings. In Qur'an no mention about misogyny is made. There might have been some inequalities due to cultures in which Islam has been embedded in them so that it is not always easy to differentiate between the True Islam and the aspects of social life produced by culture, such as Saudi Arabia, where women are asked to wear *abbayyas* (floor length veils). Such excessive forms of these kinds of dress are not mentioned in Islam. Islam requires women to wear a veil, not *abbayyas*, for their own safety, but if a woman chooses not to wear it, it is her choice and it is between her and God. What misunderstood is the practice of *abbayyas*; it is usually interpreted negatively by some halve-baked experts in the Western academia and the media because of their hatred and confusion between Islam and the Arab culture. One cannot equate Islam with the Arabs, who make up only about 20 percents of more or less 1.7 billion world's Muslim population.

Some Western media and academics often say that Islam discriminates against women, and that women have no power or authority. The media and these "experts" do not acknowledge that the

Prophet Mohammad himself was one of the greatest reformers for women. In fact, in Islam liberation of women has been practiced since 6th century. It is just the West, who has not managed to understand it. It's likely the case that Islam is the only faith that both explicitly affirms and works to defend women's rights. Islam grants women the freedom to pursue an education and the ability to engage in social, political, and economic life within their society. This attitude of Islam toward women has been reflected by some modern Islamic feminists (see Wadud, 1999).

Islam recognizes gender equality. For example, Muslim women received the ability to vote considerably earlier than women in the West, such as the United States, which did not award women the right to vote until 1919. However, Western academics and media outlets occasionally fail to inform their viewers of this truth. They overlook the fact that several Islamic countries (Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Indonesia) have had female leaders of state, despite their strong concern about stereotypes and prejudice against Islamic women. On the other hand, very few Western countries, which denounce Islamic nations for their mistreatment of women, have hardly had a non-white male president, much less a female one. Indonesia—the largest Muslim country—always has women ministers in the cabinet; on the other hand, in the West including the United States even the women professors do not receive the equal pay. But some Western feminists keep campaigning that Islam is oppressed to women. They can see a very small “fly” far away, but they cannot see a very big “elephant” in front of their eyes. No Western academics including the feminists have written a single article in protest against the exploitation of women at the “red light districts” in the Netherlands and other countries, because they see them as social workers who have made their own choice.

Islam totally eradicates any perspective that distinguishes men and women, particularly in relation to humankind as the Qur'an itself revealed to oppose the practice of *jahiliyah*:

When news is brought to one of them, of (the birth of) a female (child), his face darkens, and he is filled with inward grief! With shame does

he hide himself from his people, because of the bad news he has had! Shall he retain it on (sufferance and) contempt, or bury it in the ground? Ah! What an evil (choice) they decide on. (Qur'an 16: 58-59).

In the Qur'an and prophet traditions there are verses that both women and men are obligatory to study, to go school for their education, for example, in the first verse: Read in the name of thy Lord and cherisher Who created (Qur'an 96: 1). In Islam both women and men are encouraged to search for knowledge as far as and as much as they want to have it. The tradition points out "search for knowledge even to China." God rewards all intellectuals, not only men but also women, who remember Him and think of how He creates the earth and the sky, leading them to unravel the secrets of the universe:

Never will I suffer to be lost the work of any of you, be he male or female, ye are members, one of another. (Qur'an 3:195).

This verse presupposes that women can also learn whatever interests them and apply their knowledge for the benefit of humankind. There have been several ideal examples of women who have become the references for men, such as the prophet wife, Aisyah, who was well known as a great critic, and the prophet himself acknowledged her competence as confirmed by some *ulamas* (Muslim clerics) that the Prophet once said:

Take a half of your religious knowledge from al-Humaira (Aisyah).

From social practice perspectives, there are examples that show us that Islamic feminism has always been possible. Even in the classical Islam period feminism existed. For example, Sayyidah Sakinah, the daughter of Al-Husain bin Ali bin Abi Thalib, and Al-Syaikhah Syuhrah, who have been called *Fakhr Al-Nisa* (the pride of women) represented early Islamic feminists. Al-Syaikhah Syuhrah was one of the teachers of Imam Syafi'i, the greatest scholar of Islamic jurisprudence, today practiced by the majority of Muslims around the world. In addition, Imam

Abu Hayyan noted three women who were the teachers of that school, namely, Mu'nisat Al-Ayyubiyah, Syamiyat Al-Taimiyah, and Zainab. In Islamic history, there were many other women who were recognized as great scholars such as Al-Khansa' and Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah; the latter has been referred to by several modern feminists (see also Ahmed, 1992; Vintges, 2004).

Cooke (2001) included a number of contemporary Islamic feminists, including Assia Djebar and Fatimah Mernissi, in her approach to feminism as a multiple belonging. These feminists make use of the opportunities Islam provides them to develop numerous self-positioning identities. They may or may not be Islamic feminists, but I would still contend that they are feminists because they all struggle for freedom and equality—two things that have been overlooked in some Muslim countries. Since these ladies are not scientifically engaged in the pursuit of equality, their views as Islamic feminists cannot be compared to those of the Egyptian women's mosque movement. They are often involved in restricted spaces, like mosques, and arguably many of them generate scientific works in which their voices are acknowledged and used by others. If we do not acknowledge the contributions of Muslim women intellectuals like Zaynab al-Ghazali and Fatimah Mernissi, who have been battling for equality via their work, then feminism cannot be said to exist in a worldwide context. Alternatively, maybe feminism should reexamine its epistemology.

There are, of course, other examples to cite to lend support to the possibility of Islamic feminism, but it is sufficient to state that women are *Syaqa'iq Al-Rijal* (women are the siblings of men); therefore, their positions in the community are equal. If there are some particulars that result in a distinction between the two sexes, it is merely the function of their main tasks (such as women must not pray or fast during their menstruation) which are obliged by God to each of the gender and which need to be admitted, but it does not necessarily mean that men have more freedoms than women. God rewards some people more than others and that *is* God's right, not to be debated.

6. Summary

This paper has critically reviewed the discourses of feminism in the context of strong multiculturalism, the critiques of Western feminism, the turban movement, and the possibility of Islamic feminism. I have argued that Islam has much earlier liberated the rights of women. The Qur'an itself is egalitarian. It is only the West who has often misjudged Islam because of their lack of knowledge, unawareness, and confusion between actual Islam and the Arab culture. Having reviewed the arguments about feminism from a number of perspectives: philosophers, critical theorists and feminists from both the Islamic and Western premises, the paper concludes that Islam and feminism can be reconciled as long as these aspects are treated according to the positive Islamic ethics, mutual learning, and fair practices of appropriate freedom.

The Western-influenced Islamic feminism focuses on transforming gender power relations and critically recognizing the structural marginalization of women in society. The ultimate goal is to create a society that upholds the values of human equality, gender justice, and freedom from oppressive structures, thereby facilitating the full potential of every individual both in private sphere and public sphere. To put it in practice, the question arises whether there is or no possibility of Islamic feminism; the answer depends on how people treats and judges it. If Islamic feminism is steered according to the Western liberation, such as exploiting women by calling them "social workers" as it has long been legalized in some Western countries, the answer is *not* possible. Islam will never accept such an incorrect practice of freedom. But if feminism is manifested in accordance with acceptable ethics, norms, morals, and fair practices of freedom the answer is *absolutely* affirmative. There is always a possibility of moderate Islamic feminism. However, unless certain constraints are set to make the distinctions between the secular and Islamist approaches to the issue, Islamic feminism will remain solely a neoliberal curriculum in the universities around the world for another century.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion and Reflection

In this chapter, I have two objectives to accomplish. The first is to draw together and summarize the various aspects of the theories of discourse analysis which I have introduced in this book and the application of the theories to the analysis of real texts. My second objective is to provide some reflections, describe the limitations of this book, and set out the topics that can be investigated for deeper inquiries in future studies.

1. Conclusion

Discourse is language in use. Discourse analysis is the scientific study of language in use either in speech or writing. As an expanding discipline, discourse analysis has become a promising area of study among the

scholars in both humanities and social sciences. The discipline has always attracted the attentions of linguists, argumentation theorists, and media scholars, among others. Some scholars have focused their attention on media discourse, such as the structure of the media news report and the role of the media play in the societies. Others have looked at the discourse as a social practice in bringing about the social changes. Still others have been concerned with the sociocognitive and argumentative aspects of discourse.

There are several approaches to discourse analysis in the academic studies. The book have concerntrated on two perspectives of CDA. One CDA views discourse as social practice; the other views it as sociocognitive analysis. CDA as social practice developed by Norman Fairclough views language as a form of social events, which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices. According to CDA as social practice every instance of language use is a communicative event consisting of three dimensions: *text* (speech, writing, visual image), discursive practice (the production and consumption of text), and *social practice* (social events constituting what is actual between order of discourse). All dimensions should be covered in a specific discourse analysis of a communicative event. The analysis should focus on (1) the linguistics features of the text (text), (2) processing relating to the production and consumption of text (discursive practice); and (3) the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice).

The model of CDA as sociocognitive discourse was developed by van Dijk in his long project on the relation between discourse, ideology, and knowledge. The sociocognitive model is based on a triangle analysis: discourse, cognition and society. Discourse is viewed as communicative event in a context involving the topic of the discourse, the participants and the social relationship between the language users. Cognition refers to beliefs, goals, evaluation and representations. Society includes social and political structure, and group relations. Van Dijk's approach to critical analysis of discourse treats cognitive structure as mediating social and discourse practice.

The similarity between the two paradigms of CDA is that both are not value free. As a critical approach to social issues, the two perspectives are politically committed to social changes. As for critical linguistics in general, CDA has an overtly political agenda. It is different from orthodox language studies, such as conversational analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, which consider talk or text as sole social interaction enterprise. Both types of CDA also aim to unravel the production, internal structure, and overall organization of texts. In other words, CDA aims to present a critical dimension in its theoretical and descriptive accounts of texts. They look at how social structures embedded in discourse that gives rise the constitution of inequal power relation, dominance, and ideology in such discourses as capitalism and racism.

This books has attempted to combine all these aspects into a new effort of looking the same token—discourse, using the newspaper editorials, political economic speeches, news stories, and whitepapers as concrete examples. This attempt is derived from the belief that there is no single theory, which is perfect. I argue that a piece of text ot talk can be analyzed by a combination of theoretical frameworks and analytical tools whether for the analysis of cognitive or social domains in discourse. Therefore, in this book I have defined discourse analysis as essentially an integrated study of communicative event, involving linguistics, media studies, social cognition, and cultural political economy, among others. My stance emerges from my inquiry paradigm that in the modern approach of the scientific inquiry it is no longer the discipline that orients analysis, but the problem of the investigation.

In this book, I have even considered argumentation as an analytical tool in discourse analysis. Argumentation theory, particularly the pragma-dialectical model of critical discussion, treats discourse as a rational, and social, verbal activity, which aims at resolving a difference of opinion. As a rational activity, argumentation provides a set of rules of conduct for the language users who want to act reasonably by following a number of dialectical stages. As a social, verbal interaction, argumentation also constitutes a medium, in which the language users can convince the

listener or reader of the acceptability of the standpoints through a set of strategies: topical potential, adaptation to the audience demand and presentational devices. In the analysis of texts all these aspects need to be taken into account through a number of transformational processes in the hope that the reasonableness of the argumentation as well as its persuasiveness can be determined. Consequently, treating argumentation in this way, the analysis provided by argumentation theory can also be descriptive and critical like the CDA approach to discourse studies.

Central to the analysis of discourse as social, cognitive and argumentative activities is the dimension that a language user is trying to represent when he is involved in the communicative event. Thus, the role of discourse as a way of representing particular world in the forms of opinion, knowledge or ideology through language use deserves critical examination. This consideration has been derived from the position that discourse not only represents and signifies discursive practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as use of common sense, opinion, and ideology. Language users make use of discourse as a means of exchanging of meanings in producing knowledge, opinion or shaping a particular ideology.

This book has shown that there are particular discursive strategies that are more helpful than others, which can be applied both when viewing discourse as process and when treating it as product. The discursive strategies such as argumentation strategies, vocabulary, modality, and intertextuality are more frequently applied than, for example, the sentence structure, active vs. passive constructions, which even if they had been thoroughly analyzed, they would not have revealed that the language users used such constructions to shape a particular ideology or produce knowledge. This might be due to the fact that the main objective of such genres as a newspaper editorial is to express opinions, ideology, and knowledge on a particular stock issue through a number of language resources, such as the use of modalities, adverbs, and adjectives. The role of discursive practice as a way of representing a

particular world toward a social change can be unmasked only after the analysis of some textual and discursive dimensions has been completed. This is due to the fact that the language users, such as newspaper editors implemented particular discursive strategies for a particular effect. To be fair to the non-textually discourse analysis, in the last two chapters, the focus of analysis moved from the textually-oriented discourse analysis—from Chapter 2 to Chapter 7—to non-textually-oriented discourse analysis in which the topics of anti-corruption and Islamic discourse of feminism and modernity were discussed.

2. Reflections

From a scientific perspective, this book has not been comprehensive in both its analysis of the texts and the theoretical frameworks used. From the analysis perspective, the main reason was that the analysis had to stick to the selected critical topics. Also, the limitation of the book is due to the fact that I have been able to analyze texts, which should have been supported by other types of data sources, such as deep interviews and ethnographic sources.

The shortcoming of this book might also be due to the theoretical framework, particularly critical discourse analysis in relation to the analysis of the relationship between language use and social practice. The main problem with the approach is that it is difficult to distinguish the theoretical distinction between the discursive and non-discursive. It is difficult to demonstrate empirically how something is in a dialectical relationship with something else and how the discursive moments influence and change the non-discursive aspects and vice versa. For example, it is not easy to determine whether there is a dialectical relationship between the editorial text and the social change. Thus in this book I have treated the theoretical problem of the distinction as an analytical distinction rather an empirical one.

The most fundamental feature of critical social science particularly CDA is its emancipatory actions or provision of alternatives to the problem being tackled, such as the global economy that has been raised

in the hitherto of the analysis. One of the notorious manifestations in the discourse of global economy is the mainstream capitalist system of political economy that triggers the Nietzsche's philosophy of 'survival of the fittest'.

From a political perspective, as had been dealt in some detail in Chapters 3 and 4, the practices of global capitalism tend to be materialized at first by discursive means involving the notion of 'free trade', 'free market', 'openness', 'opportunity', 'challenges' and 'investment'. However, these notions seem to have been discursively constructed by the developed countries that are inevitably detrimental to the less developed ones. For example, developing countries cannot join the free trade arena fully as do the advanced ones. Such developing countries as Indonesia and Brazil cannot export goods to the USA and other developed countries unless they are really capable of passing the strict regulations imposed by those countries. In addition, the giants from the developed countries can exploit the developing countries, for example, by taking advantages of cheap labor provided by the developing ones in the name of globalization.

From the middle of 2011 to the beginning of 2012, we saw protests of anti-capitalism in New York, London, and other parts of the globe. This indicates that the capitalist economic systems have been practiced against the will of the majority of the world society. But a question arises. Will capitalism collapse? And then the global socialist revolution emerges. Presumably, capitalism will not vanish. The socialists still have a long way to go. As had been argued in Chapter 2, capitalism historically stagnated in 1947, 1970 and finally 2008, all proven by the financial meltdown and collapse of several investment giants, and depressions, yet it has a strong possibility of waking up with a new paradigm, but is still driven by the same principles.

Capitalist ideology keeps evolving. In the late 20th century development, there had been a tendency of mutation from managerial capitalism to financial capitalism, but the latter is currently mired and affected all layers of society. In the first decade of 21th century, the

development of capitalism was interrupted, marked by the 2008 global financial crisis. No one knows for sure how future capitalism will be practiced. The world society needs to take precautions so that the same mistake can be avoided.

It is important to acknowledge that programs in the global economy can be realities, but they can also be merely discursive practices for the excluded society. The world civil society therefore should adapt the real programs, but need to transform and emancipate the ones that are not compatible with the discursive practices of globalization agenda that preach to create the economic well-being of people through equity of global transformation. For that reason, there needs to be critical awareness-raising programs for the society on the importance of understanding both the discursive processes and the material processes of the global economy. In an institutional system of higher education, this can be done by incorporating critical language awareness into social studies. Outside the academic circle, activists working for social organizations, such as the World Social Forum can write articles in weekly magazines and tabloids or publish newsletters, leaflets and the Non-Governmental Organizations such as the Green Peace do their jobs.

World leaders, leading economists, and policy makers should pay sufficient attention to the processes of making the global economy 'global'. The processes include examining, evaluating and monitoring the development of the global economy either as it is textually constructed in genres and discourses or as it is manifested in the material processes, such as equal development, access to resources and distribution of wealth. To do that, interested academia and social development activists all can take part. While linguists can critically fuse their interests with other disciplines, social movement activists can observe the actual process of materializing the global development. Feminist activists either from the Islamic or Western perspective should struggle not only for the inequality in job opportunities but also for fair payments of the same positions they hold.

The topics for further concentration might be the perception of opinions in the newspaper editorials, magazine articles, whitepapers by the readers, whether or not they perceive the opinions, ideology with a certain point of view and how they categorize such texts in terms of membership categorization. The area of inquiry can also be about the influence of rhetorical persuasiveness on the readers' judgment of the issue raised in the argument. The sources of the texts might be best from the texts and talks on loaded issues, such as human rights, environment and gender equalities. The analytical tools can be extended, for example, the rhetoric and the figurative languages, such as metaphor and analogy. For the non-textually oriented discourse analysis as the abstract analysis of knowledge, ideas, dispositive, the analytical tool should include argumentation.

Sample Texts Used for Analysis

The following are sample texts used for the analysis in this book. Other collections of the texts used for the analysis are available from the author's database.

Sample A: Texts from the American Sources

Is the Global Economy Unstable?

By Robert J. Samuelson

The Washington Post, 16 March 2005

Paragraph

- [1] One of the big questions of our time is whether the global economy is stable. The gains from "globalization"—more cross-border trade, investment and technology transfers—are indisputable. Countless millions have escaped poverty in Asia and Europe. A recent study by the Institute for International Economics concluded that American living standards are roughly 10 percent higher as a result of globalization's benefits (cheap imports, greater competition, new technologies). Globalization's winners vastly outnumber its losers.
- [2] Unfortunately, that could change if the world economy turns out to be unstable — incapable of sustaining adequate growth or vulnerable to severe crises. For the moment the dangers are abstract. In 2004 the global economy grew 4.7 percent, economists at Goldman Sachs report. Asia (excluding Japan) grew 8.2 percent; Latin America, 5.6 percent; the United States, 4.4 percent. Global economic growth should average about 4 percent in 2005 and 2006, the Goldman economists predict. Still, the specter of instability lingers.

- [3] Global economic integration—the merging of markets, the mutual dependencies of countries— has raced well ahead of either political integration or intellectual mastery. We simply don't understand well how the global economy operates. Nor is it clear how countries with diverging interests and shared suspicions will cooperate in a crisis.
- [4] One obvious problem is oil. Even if the United States could end dependence on imports for 64 percent of its oil demand (a practical impossibility anytime soon), Europe would still import 80 percent of its needs and Japan 100 percent. Any major shutdown of Persian Gulf exports— from war, terrorism or a political act— could devastate the world economy. Global terrorism or a world pandemic would also pose threats beyond the initial tragedies. Countries might try to protect themselves from outsiders— imposing restrictions on trade, travel and immigration—in ways that would destroy global commerce.
- [5] At present the greatest peril may lie in huge global trade imbalances -- and the financial pressures they create. The basic dilemma is that the world needs American trade deficits as an "engine" of growth, compensating for weak growth in Europe and Japan. But the same trade deficits may now be destabilizing because they send large amounts of dollars abroad. The danger: a dollar "crash" on foreign exchange markets that spills over into the U.S. stock and bond markets, driving down those markets and triggering a global recession.
- [6] Look at the numbers. In 2004 the U.S. current account deficit reached an estimated \$650 billion, or a record 5.6 percent of gross domestic product. (The current account includes all trade, plus other international payments such as those generated by travel and tourism.) The mirror images of U.S. deficits are other countries' surpluses. In 2004 Japan's current account surplus was 3.7 percent of GDP, Germany's was 2.9 percent and China's was 2.3 percent, Economy.com estimates. But even with the stimulus

of selling to the United States, economic growth in Europe and Japan has averaged only 2 percent and 1.5 percent annually since 1994.

- [7] What's the problem? Foreign exporters receive dollars for what they ship to the United States. If those dollars aren't reinvested in American assets—say, U.S. stocks, bonds or Treasury securities—they'll be sold on foreign exchange markets for other currencies: the euro, the yen, the pound. As dollar sales drive down its value, foreigners note that their existing U.S. stocks and bonds are worth less in their own currencies. So they may sell U.S. securities to limit losses. At the end of 2003, foreigners owned \$1.5 trillion in U.S. stocks; widespread sales could trigger steep market declines.
- [8] The risk is an economic implosion. A sinking stock market could damage American consumer confidence and spending. Higher currencies for Europe and Japan could weaken their export competitiveness. (A higher currency tends to make a country's exports more expensive and its imports cheaper.) Together, the United States, Europe and Japan are half the global economy. If they went into recession, other countries might follow.
- [9] Economists are divided. Some fear the worst, because the world is flooded with dollars. Relax, say others. Asian central banks (their versions of the Federal Reserve) will buy surplus dollars, because they want to export to the United States and don't want their currencies to rise against the dollar. Still other economists (including Alan Greenspan) believe that we'll muddle through — that shifts in exchange rates and economic growth will slowly narrow today's trade imbalances. So far the evidence supports everyone. Since mid-2001 the dollar has dropped against many currencies, especially the euro. Asian central banks have bought lots of dollars. And we have muddled through.
- [10] Every economic system requires a political framework, but the framework for the global economy is creaky. Twenty years ago,

the "world economy" consisted mainly of the United States and its Cold War allies. Economic, military and foreign policy objectives overlapped. Now the world economy includes China, India and the former Soviet Union. Global interdependence has inspired some cooperation—the SARS outbreak and Asia's 1997-98 financial crisis being examples. But the political foundation for cooperation has weakened. Our relations with old Cold War allies are strained, while relations with new trading partners—China especially—are ambiguous. Could we someday be at war with China over Taiwan? Or will trade defuse conflict?

[11] The well-being of advanced nations presumes a smoothly operating global economy. We take this for granted without knowing whether it will always be true. We don't ask hard questions because we don't know the answers and fear what they might be.

A Baffling Global Economy

By Robert J. Samuelson

The Washington Post, 16 July 2008

Paragraph

- [1] We've been having the wrong discussion about globalization. For years, we've argued over whether this or that industry and its workers might suffer from imports and whether the social costs were worth the economic gains from foreign products, technologies and investments. By and large, the answer has been yes. But the harder questions, I think, lie elsewhere. Is an increasingly interconnected world economy basically stable? Or does it generate periodic crises that harm everyone and spawn international conflict?
- [2] These questions go to the core of a great puzzle: the yawning gap between the U.S. economy's actual performance (poor, but not horrific) and mass psychology (almost horrific). June's unemployment rate of 5.5 percent, though up from 4.4 percent in early 2007, barely exceeds the average of 5.4 percent since 1990. Contrast that with consumer confidence, as measured by the Reuters-University of Michigan survey. It's at the lowest point since 1952 with two exceptions (April and May 1980).
- [3] Granted, the present U.S. economic slowdown—maybe already a recession—stems mostly from familiar domestic causes, dominated by the burst housing "bubble." The Bush administration's rescue of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the struggling government-sponsored housing enterprises, is the latest reminder. Still, global factors, notably high oil and food prices, have aggravated the slump. The line between what's local and what's global seems increasingly blurred, and there is a general anxiety that we are in the grip of mysterious worldwide forces.

- [4] The good that globalization has done is hard to dispute. Trade-driven economic growth and technology transfer have alleviated much human misery. If present economic trends continue (a big "if"), the worldwide middle class will expand by 2 billion by 2030, estimates a Goldman Sachs study. (Goldman's definition of middle class: people with incomes from \$6,000 to \$30,000.) In the United States, imports and foreign competition have raised incomes by 10 percent since World War II, some studies suggest. Job losses, though real, are often exaggerated.
- [5] But a disorderly global economy could reverse these advances. By disorderly I mean an economy plagued by financial crises, interruptions of crucial supplies (oil, obviously), trade wars or violent business cycles. This is globalization's Achilles' heel. Connections among countries have deepened and become more contradictory. Take oil producers. On one hand, high oil prices hurt advanced countries. But on the other, oil countries have an interest in keeping advanced countries prosperous, because that's where much surplus oil wealth is invested.
- [6] Vast global flows of money threaten unintended side effects. Foreigners own more than \$1 trillion of debt issued or guaranteed by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, reports economist Harm Bandholz of UniCredit. In the past six years, he notes, foreigners have purchased \$5.7 trillion of U.S. stocks and bonds. Bandholz says the inflow of money cut U.S. interest rates by 0.75 percentage points. So: Surplus savings from Asia and the Middle East, funneled into U.S. financial markets, may have abetted the "subprime" mortgage crisis by encouraging sloppy American credit practices. Too much money chased too few good investment opportunities.
- [7] A loss of confidence in U.S. financial markets could be calamitous; that was one reason for the rescue of Fannie and Freddie. But just possibly, we're at a crucial -- and desirable -- turning point. For several decades, the U.S. economy has been the world's economic locomotive. Americans borrowed and shopped; the U.S. trade

deficit ballooned to \$759 billion in 2006, stimulating exports from other countries. The trouble is that this pattern of growth could not continue indefinitely, because it required that Americans raise their debt burdens indefinitely. Now, China and other emerging markets may be moving beyond export-led growth. Unfortunately, that shift could abort, if high inflation (8 percent in China and India) derails domestic expansion.

- [8] Today's global economy baffles experts—corporate executives, bankers, economists—as much as it puzzles ordinary people. Countries are growing economically more interdependent and politically more nationalistic. This is a combustible combination. The old global economy had few power centers (the United States, Europe, Japan), was defined mainly by trade and was committed to the dollar as the central currency. Its major countries shared democratic values and alliances. Today's global economy has many power centers (including China, Saudi Arabia and Russia), is also defined by finance and is exploring currency alternatives to the dollar. Major trading nations now lack common political values and alliances.
- [9] It is no more possible to undo globalization than it was possible, in the 19th century, to undo the Industrial Revolution. But our understanding of international markets, shaped by impersonal economic forces and explicit political decisions, is poor. Countries try to maximize their advantages rather than make the system work for everyone. Considering how much could go wrong, the record is so far remarkably favorable. Alas, that's no guarantee for the future.

Mobilization for Globalization

By Steven Pearlstein

The *Washington Post*, 27 February 2008

Paragraph

- [1] For the past 30 years, American capitalism has been on a roller-coaster ride.
- [2] Remember, in the early 1980s, the U.S. economy was written off as unproductive, unimaginative and self-indulgent, doomed to fall behind Japan and Germany with their superior business cultures and economic models?
- [3] As it turned out, America's obituary as an economic superpower was premature. By the turn of the millennium, the Anglo-American economic model was back on top. Communism was dead and buried, an American-led tech boom was in full swing and the rest of the world was looking to the United States as the indispensable source of global growth.
- [4] It was a glorious comeback, to be sure. But just as we were about to settle into a new period of smug triumphalism, things started to unravel again. Productivity slowed, along with the pace of innovation. And the bursting of two monster-size investment bubbles has raised serious questions about the ability of unregulated financial markets to allocate capital.
- [5] Most significantly, the stagnation in wages and income for the vast majority of households—as top executives and industry superstars are walking off with the lion's share of gains from economic growth—has created a backlash against trade and immigration and badly eroded political support for further globalization. Rather than Germany and Japan, it is China and India that are viewed as the imminent threats to U.S. prosperity and economic hegemony.

- [6] I have no doubt that Americans overstate the degree to which globalization is responsible for this economic malaise, just as I have no doubt that economists and business executives understate it. We could probably spend the next decade figuring out whether it is free trade or changing technology or the decline of unions or simply the herd instincts of corporate executives that are most to blame for decisions to move production to Mexico or outsource to Lithuania.
- [7] But as Matthew Slaughter, a Dartmouth economist and one-time Bush economic adviser has written recently, it doesn't much matter how the responsibility is apportioned. As long as trade and globalization are factors, which they clearly are, then whether they account for 25 percent of the problem or 65 percent, the public will be against them.
- [8] Given that political reality, it's disappointing there hasn't been a more serious debate by the presidential candidates about globalization.
- [9] In the Democratic camp, the big fight now between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama is over which one is more against NAFTA. Both are peddling the silly idea that by renegotiating the treaty, they would somehow magically make plants in Ohio and across the Rust Belt suddenly competitive again. And both unfailingly parrot the empty union mantra about "enforceable labor and environmental standards" anytime trade crops up at a candidate forum.
- [10] Things are no better on the Republican side, where the party line seems to be that importing workers from Mexico depresses wages and increases unemployment for U.S. workers, but importing goods made by low-wage workers in China does not. So much for economic literacy. To his credit, John McCain has been more consistent in his support of open borders of all sorts but offers

little to those who are the losers from trade other than platitudes about education and unshakeable confidence in the ability of Americans to adapt to change.

- [11] What none of the candidates has offered is what Americans most desire: a grand bargain that would restore confidence in the competitiveness of the U.S. economy and make it possible politically for the country again to embrace globalization. If we could get beyond stale ideology, it's not hard to imagine what such a grand bargain would look like—a bit of Sweden combined with a strong dose of Silicon Valley, spiced with a pinch of Putin's Russia.
- [12] Sweden has been successful in retooling its once-socialist economic model by embracing the notion that the government should protect workers rather than jobs. In the U.S. context, that would mean reforming the health-care system so that losing your job didn't mean losing your health insurance. It would mean putting serious money into an expanded unemployment insurance program that would cover all workers and include education and training grants, and wage insurance. And it would include an explicit goal of offsetting the alarming increase in income inequality by using the progressive income tax to redistribute income from the highest-income households to everyone else.
- [13] What Silicon Valley can contribute to a new American economic model is not just its fantastic technology, but its entrepreneurial spirit. Silicon Valley is about a culture of risk-taking, not just by companies and investors, but workers as well. It's about companies where everyone understands that the way to get rich is to make great products that change the world. And it's about management that eschews bureaucracy, that values talent above all else, that includes fun in the compensation system and expects ideas and inspiration to flow from the bottom up rather than the top down.

- [14] I realize that it's pretty hard for a blue-collar worker in Toledo to understand what any of that has to do with his factory closing, but in fact it has everything to do with it. The U.S. economy wouldn't be in the funk it's in if it took more cues from Silicon Valley and fewer from Wall Street.
- [15] Finally, we might learn a thing or two from Putin's Russia about playing hardball on the global stage. Rather than spending a decade begging China to stop manipulating its currency for mercantilist advantage, we should slap a 30 percent tariff on all Chinese imports and let them spend a few months negotiating with us on when and how we're going to reduce it. In the same spirit, why not announce that the United States welcomes investment from the sovereign wealth funds of any nation except those that are members of OPEC and other price-fixing cartels?
- [16] Americans have nothing to fear from globalization except their own unwillingness to do something about it. A presidential campaign ought to offer the perfect opportunity for figuring out what that might be.

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Financial Markets and World Economy

Address by President George W. Bush

At Federal Hall National Memorial
New York, New York

13 November 2008

President George W. Bush gave this speech several days before the G20 talks about the global economic crisis

Paragraph

- [1] THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Please be seated. Thank you. Larry, thank you for the introduction. Thank you for giving Laura and me a chance to come to this historic hall to talk about a big issue facing the world. And today I appreciate you giving me a chance to come and for me to outline the steps that America and our partners are taking and are going to take to overcome this financial crisis.
- [2] And I thank the Manhattan Institute for all you have done. I appreciate the fact that I am here in a fabulous city to give this speech. (Applause.) People say, are you confident about our future? And the answer is, absolutely. And it's easy to be confident when you're a city like New York City. After all, there's an unbelievable spirit in this city. This is a city whose skyline has offered immigrants their first glimpse of freedom. This is a city where people rallied when that freedom came under attack. This is a city whose capital markets have attracted investments from around the world and financed the dreams of entrepreneurs all across America. This is a city that has been and will always be the financial capital of the world. (Applause.)
- [3] And I am grateful to be in the presence of two men who serve ably and nobly New York City — Mayor Koch and Mayor Giuliani. Thank you all for coming. Glad you're here. (Applause.) I thank the Manhattan Institute Board of Trustees and its Chairman

Paul Singer for doing good work, being a good policy center. (Applause.) And before I begin, I must say, I would hope that Ray Kelly would tell New York's finest how much I appreciate the incredible hospitality that we are always shown here in New York City. You're the head of a fabulous police force, and we thank you very much, sir. (Applause.)

- [4] We live in a world in which our economies are interconnected. Prosperity and progress have reached farther than any time in our history. Unfortunately, as we have seen in recent months, financial turmoil anywhere in the world affects economies everywhere in the world. And so this weekend I'm going to host a Summit on Financial Markets and the World Economy with leaders from developed and developing nations that account for nearly 90 percent of the world economy. Leaders of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, and the Financial Stability Forum are going to be there, as well. We'll have dinner at the White House tomorrow night, and we'll meet most of the day on Saturday.
- [5] The leaders attending this weekend's meeting agree on a clear purpose — to address the current crisis, and to lay the foundation for reforms that will help prevent a similar crisis in the future. We also agree that this undertaking is too large to be accomplished in a single session. The issues are too complex, the problem is too significant to try to solve, or to come up with reasonable recommendations in just one meeting. So this summit will be the first of a series of meetings.
- [6] It will focus on five key objectives: understanding the causes of the global crisis, reviewing the effectiveness of our responses thus far, developing principles for reforming our financial and regulatory systems, launching a specific action plan to implement those principles, and reaffirming our conviction that free market principles offer the surest path to lasting prosperity. (Applause.)

- [7] First, we're working toward a common understanding of the causes behind the global crisis. Different countries will naturally bring different perspectives, but there are some points on which we can all agree:
- [8] Over the past decade, the world experienced a period of strong economic growth. Nations accumulated huge amounts of savings, and looked for safe places to invest them. Because of our attractive political, legal, and entrepreneurial climates, the United States and other developed nations received a large share of that money.
- [9] The massive inflow of foreign capital, combined with low interest rates, produced a period of easy credit. And that easy credit especially affected the housing market. Flush with cash, many lenders issued mortgages and many borrowers could not afford them. Financial institutions then purchased these loans, packaged them together, and converted them into complex securities designed to yield large returns. These securities were then purchased by investors and financial institutions in the United States and Europe and elsewhere — often with little analysis of their true underlying value.
- [10] The financial crisis was ignited when booming housing markets began to decline. As home values dropped, many borrowers defaulted on their mortgages, and institutions holding securities backed by those mortgages suffered serious losses. Because of outdated regulatory structures and poor risk management practices, many financial institutions in America and Europe were too highly leveraged. When capital ran short, many faced severe financial jeopardy. This led to high-profile failures of financial institutions in America and Europe, led to contractions and widespread anxiety — all of which contributed to sharp declines in the equity markets.
- [11] These developments have placed a heavy burden on hardworking people around the world. Stock market drops have eroded the

value of retirement accounts and pension funds. The tightening of credit has made it harder for families to borrow money for cars or home improvements or education of the children. Businesses have found it harder to get loans to expand their operations and create jobs. Many nations have suffered job losses, and have serious concerns about the worsening economy. Developing nations have been hit hard as nervous investors have withdrawn their capital.

[12] We are faced with the prospect of a global meltdown. And so we've responded with bold measures. I'm a market-oriented guy, but not when I'm faced with the prospect of a global meltdown. At Saturday's summit, we're going to review the effectiveness of our actions.

[13] Here in the United States, we have taken unprecedented steps to boost liquidity, recapitalize financial institutions, guarantee most new debt issued by insured banks, and prevent the disorderly collapse of large, interconnected enterprises. These were historic actions taken necessary to make— necessary so that the economy would not melt down and affect millions of our fellow citizens.

[14] In Europe, governments are also purchasing equity in banks and providing government guarantees for loans. In Asia, nations like China and Japan and South Korea have lowered interest rates and have launched significant economic stimulus plans. In the Middle East, nations like Kuwait and the UAE have guaranteed deposits and opened up new government lending to banks.

[15] In addition, nations around the world have taken unprecedented joint measures. Last month, a number of central banks carried out a coordinated interest rate cut. The Federal Reserve is extending needed liquidity to central banks around the world. The IMF and World Bank are working to ensure that developing nations can weather this crisis.

[16] This crisis did not develop overnight, and it's not going to be

solved overnight. But our actions are having an impact. Credit markets are beginning to thaw. Businesses are gaining access to essential short-term financing. A measure of stability is returning to financial systems here at home and around the world. It's going to require more time for these improvements to fully take hold, and there's going to be difficult days ahead. But the United States and our partner are taking the right steps to get through this crisis.

[17] In addition to addressing the current crisis, we will also need to make broader reforms to strengthen the global economy over the long term. This weekend, leaders will establish principles for adapting our financial systems to the realities of the 21st century marketplace. We will discuss specific actions we can take to implement these principles. We will direct our finance ministers to work with other experts and report back to us with detailed recommendations on further reasonable actions.

[18] One vital principle of reform is that our nations must make our financial markets more transparent. For example, we should consider improving accounting rules for securities, so that investors around the world can understand the true value of the assets they purchase.

[19] Secondly, we must ensure that markets, firms, and financial products are properly regulated. For example, credit default swaps—financial products that insure against potential losses—should be processed through centralized clearinghouses instead of through unregulated, "over the counter" markets. By bringing greater stability to this large and important financial sector, we reduce the risk to our overall financial systems.

[20] Third, we must enhance the integrity of our financial markets. For example, authorities in every nation should take a fresh look at the rules governing market manipulation and fraud—and ensure that investors are properly protected.

[21] Fourth, we must strengthen cooperation among the world's

financial authorities. For example, leading nations should better coordinate national laws and regulations. We should also reform international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, which are based largely on the economic order of 1944. To better reflect the realities of today's global economy, both the IMF and World Bank should modernize their governance structures. They should consider extending greater voter -- voting power to dynamic developing nations, especially as they increase their contributions to these institutions. They should consider ways to streamline their executive boards, and make them more representative.

- [22] In addition to these important—to these management changes, we should move forward with other reforms to make the IMF and World Bank more transparent, accountable, and effective. For example, the IMF should agree to work more closely with member countries to ensure that their exchange rate policies are market-oriented and fair. And the World Bank should ensure its development programs reflect the priorities of the people they are designed to serve—and focus on measurable results.
- [23] All these steps require decisive actions from governments around the world. At the same time, we must recognize that government intervention is not a cure-all. For example, some blame the crisis on insufficient regulation of the American mortgage market. But many European countries had much more extensive regulations, and still experienced problems almost identical to our own.
- [24] History has shown that the greater threat to economic prosperity is not too little government involvement in the market, it is too much government involvement in the market. (Applause.) We saw this in the case of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. Because these firms were chartered by the United States Congress, many believed they were backed by the full faith and credit of the United States government. Investors put huge amounts of money into Fannie and Freddie, which they used to build up irresponsibly large

portfolios of mortgage-backed securities. And when the housing market declined, these securities, of course, plummeted in value. It took a taxpayer-funded rescue to keep Fannie and Freddie from collapsing in a way that would have devastated the global financial system. And there is a clear lesson: Our aim should not be more government—it should be smarter government.

[25] All this leads to the most important principle that should guide our work: While reforms in the financial sector are essential, the long-term solution to today's problems is sustained economic growth. And the surest path to that growth is free markets and free people. (Applause.)

[26] This is a decisive moment for the global economy. In the wake of the financial crisis, voices from the left and right are equating the free enterprise system with greed and exploitation and failure. It's true this crisis included failures—by lenders and borrowers and by financial firms and by governments and independent regulators. But the crisis was not a failure of the free market system. And the answer is not to try to reinvent that system. It is to fix the problems we face, make the reforms we need, and move forward with the free market principles that have delivered prosperity and hope to people all across the globe.

[27] Like any other system designed by man, capitalism is not perfect. It can be subject to excesses and abuse. But it is by far the most efficient and just way of structuring an economy. At its most basic level, capitalism offers people the freedom to choose where they work and what they do, the opportunity to buy or sell products they want, and the dignity that comes with profiting from their talent and hard work. The free market system provides the incentives that lead to prosperity—the incentive to work, to innovate, to save, to invest wisely, and to create jobs for others. And as millions of people pursue these incentives together, whole societies benefit.

- [28] Free market capitalism is far more than economic theory. It is the engine of social mobility—the highway to the American Dream. It's what makes it possible for a husband and wife to start their own business, or a new immigrant to open a restaurant, or a single mom to go back to college and to build a better career. It is what allowed entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley to change the way the world sells products and searches for information. It's what transformed America from a rugged frontier to the greatest economic power in history—a nation that gave the world the steamboat and the airplane, the computer and the CAT scan, the Internet and the iPod.
- [29] Ultimately, the best evidence for free market capitalism is its performance compared to other economic systems. Free markets allowed Japan, an island with few natural resources, to recover from war and grow into the world's second-largest economy. Free markets allowed South Korea to make itself into one of the most technologically advanced societies in the world. Free markets turned small areas like Singapore and Hong Kong and Taiwan into global economic players. Today, the success of the world's largest economies comes from their embrace of free markets.
- [30] Meanwhile, nations that have pursued other models have experienced devastating results. Soviet communism starved millions, bankrupted an empire, and collapsed as decisively as the Berlin Wall. Cuba, once known for its vast fields of cane, is now forced to ration sugar. And while Iran sits atop giant oil reserves, its people cannot put enough gasoline in its — in their cars.
- [31] The record is unmistakable: If you seek economic growth, if you seek opportunity, if you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go. (Applause.) And it would be a terrible mistake to allow a few months of crisis to undermine 60 years of success.
- [32] Just as important as maintaining free markets within countries is

maintaining the free movement of goods and services between countries. When nations open their markets to trade and investment, their businesses and farmers and workers find new buyers for their products. Consumers benefit from more choices and better prices. Entrepreneurs can get their ideas off the ground with funding from anywhere in the world. Thanks in large part to open markets, the volume of global trade today is nearly 30 times greater than it was six decades ago—and some of the most dramatic gains have come in the developing world.

[33] As President, I have seen the transformative power of trade up close. I've been to a Caterpillar factory in East Peoria, Illinois, where thousands of good-paying American jobs are supported by exports. I've walked the grounds of a trade fair in Ghana, where I met women who support their families by exporting handmade dresses and jewelry. I've spoken with a farmer in Guatemala who decided to grow high-value crops he could sell overseas -- and helped create more than 1,000 jobs.

[34] Stories like these show why it is so important to keep markets open to trade and investment. This openness is especially urgent during times of economic strain. Shortly after the stock market crash in 1929, Congress passed the Smoot-Hawley tariff—a protectionist measure designed to wall off America's economy from global competition. The result was not economic security. It was economic ruin. And leaders around the world must keep this example in mind, and reject the temptation of protectionism. (Applause.)

[35] There are clear-cut ways for nations to demonstrate the commitment to open markets. The United States Congress has an immediate opportunity by approving free trade agreements with Colombia, Peru*, and South Korea. America and other wealthy nations must also ensure this crisis does not become an excuse to reverse our engagement with the developing world. And developing nations should continue policies that foster enterprise

and investment. As well, all nations should pledge to conclude a framework this year that leads to a successful Doha agreement.

[36] We're facing this challenge together and we're going to get through it together. The United States is determined to show the way back to economic growth and prosperity. I know some may question whether America's leadership in the global economy will continue. The world can be confident that it will, because our markets are flexible and we can rebound from setbacks. We saw that resilience in the 1940s, when America pulled itself out of Depression, marshaled a powerful army, and helped save the world from tyranny. We saw that resilience in the 1980s, when Americans overcame gas lines, turned stagflation into strong economic growth, and won the Cold War. We saw that resilience after September the 11th, 2001, when our nation recovered from a brutal attack, revitalized our shaken economy, and rallied the forces of freedom in the great ideological struggle of the 21st century.

[37] The world will see the resilience of America once again. We will work with our partners to correct the problems in the global financial system. We will rebuild our economic strength. And we will continue to lead the world toward prosperity and peace.

[38] Thanks for coming and God bless. (Applause.)

Competing in the Global Economy

Address by President Barack Obama

At General Electric Plant, Schenectady, New York,

21 January 2011

Paragraph

- [1] THE PRESIDENT: Hello, hello! Hello, Schenectady! (Applause.) It is good to be in New York. (Applause.) Now let me just begin, if I'm not mistaken, Governor Cuomo — who is going to be an outstanding governor — (applause) — he tried to give me a Jets hat. (Laughter.) I had to refuse it. I had Secret Service confiscate it. (Laughter.) But I will say both the Jets and the Bears I think are slight underdogs, so we're going to be rooting for the underdogs on Sunday. (Applause.)
- [2] In addition to Governor Cuomo, I just want to acknowledge Lieutenant Governor Bob Duffy is here. (Applause.) Two great friends of mine and great champions for New York in the United States Senate — Chuck Schumer and Kirsten Gillibrand are here. (Applause.) Members of the congressional delegation from up this way — Paul Tonko, Chris Gibson, and Richard Hanna are all here. (Applause.)
- [3] Attorney General Eric Schneiderman is here. (Applause.) The outstanding mayor of Schenectady who flew up with me because we had an event down at the White House for mayors and he was on Marine One and Air Force One and he looked like he was having a pretty good time — (laughter) — Brian Stratton is here. (Applause.) And from Albany, Mayor Jerry Jennings is here. (Applause.) Thank you.
- [4] Now, Jeff, thank you for the outstanding introduction, and thank you, GE. It is great to be here. I just had a chance to see some

of the high-tech steam turbines and all kinds of fancy stuff that's being made here, being manufactured here at this plant. And it is unbelievably impressive and it's part of a proud tradition, because GE has been producing turbines and generators here in Schenectady for more than a century.

- [5] A lot has changed since those early days. We've seen technologies transform the ways we work and the ways we communicate with one another. We've seen our economy transformed by rising competition from around the globe. And over the years, in the wake of these shifts, upstate New York and places like it have seen more than their fair share of hard times.
- [6] But what has never changed –we see it right here at this plant, we see it right here at GE –is that America is still home to the most creative and most innovative businesses in the world. We've got the most productive workers in the world. America is home to inventors and dreamers and builders and creators. (Applause.) All of you represent people who each and every day are pioneering the technologies and discoveries that not only improve our lives, but they drive our economy.
- [7] Across the country, there are entrepreneurs opening businesses. There are researchers testing new medical treatments. There are engineers pushing the limits of design and the programmers poring over lines of code. And there are workers like you on assembly lines all across the country, eager to create some of the best products the world has ever seen.
- [8] There are students training to take new jobs by their side. In this community, GE is building one of the world's most sophisticated manufacturing facilities to produce state-of-the-art batteries. (Applause.) Last year, you opened the headquarters of your renewable energy operations, and you created 650 jobs on this campus. (Applause.)

[9] So our challenge, especially as we continue to fight our way back from the worst recession in our lifetimes, is to harness this spirit, to harness this potential, the potential that all of you represent.

[10] Our challenge is to do everything we can to make it easier for folks to bring products to market and to start and expand new businesses, and to grow and hire new workers. I want plants like this all across America. You guys are a model of what's possible.

[11] And that's why, as part of the tax cut compromise that I signed at the end of the year, we provided incentives for businesses to make new capital investments – and in fact GE is investing \$13 million in advanced manufacturing at this plant, taking advantage of some of these tax breaks.

[12] We also extended a program that GE says its customers have used to invest \$6 billion in clean energy production across this country – driving demand for the company's wind turbines. And I saw one of those big turbines on the way in. So we know we can compete. Not just in the industries of the past, but also in the industries of the future.

[13] But in an ever-shrinking world, our success in these efforts will be determined not only by what we build in Schenectady, but also what we can sell in Shanghai. For America to compete around the world, we need to export more goods around the world. That's where the customers are. It's that simple. (Applause.)

[14] And as I was walking through the plant, you guys had put up some handy signs so I knew what I was looking at. (Laughter.) And I noticed on all of them they said, this is going to Kuwait; this is going to India; this is going to Saudi Arabia.

[15] That's where the customers are, and we want to sell them products made here in America. That's why I met with Chinese leaders this week, and Jeff joined me at the state dinner.

[16] During those meetings, we struck a deal to open Chinese markets

to our products. They're selling here, and that's fine. But we want to sell there. We want to open up their markets so that we got two-way trade, not just one-way trade. (Applause.)

[17] So the deals we struck are going to mean more than \$45 billion in new business for American companies — \$45 billion — that translates into 235,000 new jobs for American workers. (Applause.)

[18] And that's also why I fought hard to negotiate a new trade deal with South Korea that will support more than 70,000 American jobs. That's why I traveled to India a few months ago —and Jeff was there with us — where our businesses were able to reach agreement to export \$10 billion in goods and services to India. And that's going to lead to another 50,000 jobs here in the United States. (Applause.)

[19] Part of the reason I wanted to come to this plant is because this plant is what that trip was all about. As part of the deal we struck in India, GE is going to sell advanced turbines—the ones you guys make —to generate power at a plant in Samalkot, India—Samalkot, India. Most of you hadn't heard of Samalkot —(laughter)—but now you need to know about it, because you're going to be selling to Samalkot, India. And that new business halfway around the world is going to help support more than 1,200 manufacturing jobs and more than 400 engineering jobs right here in this community — because of that sale. (Applause.)

[20] So it's a perfect example of why promoting exports is so important. That's why I've set a goal of doubling American exports within five years. And we're on track to do it. We're already up 18 percent and we're just going to keep on going, because we're going to sell more and more stuff all around the world. (Applause.)

[21] When a company sells products overseas, it leads to hiring on our shores. The deal in Samalkot means jobs in Schenectady. That's how we accelerate growth. That's how we create opportunities for our people. This is how we go from an economy that was

powered by what we borrow and what we consume — that's what happened over the last 10 years. What was driving our economy was we were spending a lot on credit cards. Everybody was borrowing a lot. The Chinese were selling a lot to us. Folks were selling a lot to us from all over the world. We've got to reverse that. We want an economy that's fueled by what we invent and what we build. We're going back to Thomas Edison's principles. We're going to build stuff and invent stuff. (Applause.)

[22] Now, nobody understands this better than Jeff Immelt. He understands what it takes for America to compete in the global economy. As he mentioned, I've appreciated his wisdom during these past two years. We had a difficult, difficult crisis on our hands. It was a few days after I took office that I assembled a group of business leaders, including Jeff, to form a new advisory board, because at that time the economy was in a freefall and we were facing the prospects of another Great Depression, with ripple effects all around the world. It wasn't just the United States. The entire world economy was contracting. At such a dangerous moment, it was essential that we heard voices and ideas from business leaders and from experts who weren't part of the usual Washington crowd.

[23] And I tasked Jeff and the other advisors with one mission — help to steer our nation from deep recession into recovery; help take the economy from one that's shrinking to one that's growing. And over the past two years, I've been very grateful for their advice.

[24] And I especially want to commend the man who chaired the panel, one of the nation's preeminent economists, the former head of the Federal Reserve, Paul Volcker, because he offered unvarnished advice and he wasn't afraid to counter the conventional wisdom. He did a great service to this country.

[25] In fact, it was six months ago today that I signed into law a set of financial reforms to protect consumers and prevent future

financial crises and put an end to taxpayer-funded bailouts -- and that's an achievement in which Paul Volcker was instrumental. So we're very proud of him for that work. (Applause.)

[26] Now, two years later, though, we're in a different place. In part because of the economic plan that my recovery board helped shape, the economy is now growing again. Over the last year, businesses have added more than a million jobs. The pace of hiring and growth is picking up, and that's encouraging news. But at the same time, while businesses are adding jobs, millions of people are still out there looking for work. And even here in Schenectady, as well as GE is doing, I know everybody here knows a neighbor or friend or relative who's still out of work.

[27] So it's not — it's a great thing that the economy is growing, but it's not growing fast enough yet to make up for the damage that was done by the recession.

[28] The past two years were about pulling our economy back from the brink. The next two years, our job now, is putting our economy into overdrive. Our job is to do everything we can to ensure that businesses can take root and folks can find good jobs and America is leading the global competition that will determine our success in the 21st century.

[29] And so now, to help fulfill this new mission, I'm assembling a new group of business leaders and outside advisors. And I am so proud and pleased that Jeff has agreed to chair this panel — my Council on Jobs and Competitiveness — because we think GE has something to teach businesses all across America. (Applause.)

[30] Now, I hope you don't mind, I'm going to brag about your boss for a second here. Jeff is somebody who brings a wealth of experience to the table. He is one of the nation's most respected and admired business leaders, and that's a reputation he earned over 10 years at the helm of this company. In the coming days, we'll be announcing the business leaders, the labor leaders, the

economists and others who will join with Jeff to help guide us into that overdrive mode.

[31] I know this council will be an important asset as we seek to do everything we can to spur hiring and ensure our nation can compete with anybody on the planet. That means spurring innovation in growing industries like clean energy manufacturing, the kind of stuff that's being done right here at this plant; ensuring our economy isn't held back by crumbling roads and broken-down infrastructure.

[32] It means educating and training our people. I just had a chance to meet one of the guys here at the plant who had been trained at Hudson Valley, which I had an opportunity to visit a while back. And that's an example of the kind of partnerships that we've got to duplicate all across the country.

[33] Schenectady offers that kind of example. Hudson Valley Community College created a program so students could earn a paycheck and have their tuition covered while training for jobs at this plant. That's helping folks find good work; it's helping GE fill high-skill positions; it's making this whole region more competitive.

[34] So ultimately winning this global competition comes down to living up to the promise of places like this. Here in Schenectady, you're heirs to a great tradition of innovation and enterprise: the pioneering work of Edison that made the entire modern age possible — the tungsten filaments that still light our homes; the x-rays that diagnose disease; now the advanced batteries and renewable energy sources that hold so much promise for the future.

[35] In these pioneering efforts, we see what America is all about. We see what has in our past allowed us to not only weather rough storms but reach brighter days. And it's got to remind us that we've got those same strengths. This is America. We still have that spirit of invention, and that sense of optimism, that belief

that if we work hard and we give it our all, that anything is possible in this country.

[36] The future belongs to us. And you at this plant, you are showing us the way forward. So thank you so much, everybody. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Sample B: Texts from China's Sources

'Genghis Khan started globalization'

By Le Tian

The *China Daily*, 06 May 2006

Paragraph

- [1] We think of globalization as selling Coca-Cola in Calcutta or Starbucks in Shanghai. But researchers claim the process dates back 800 years, to the time when Genghis Khan was building his empire.
- [2] It was under Genghis Khan's empire that the Eurasian landmass began to demonstrate the characteristics of global exchanges, according to Hao Shiyuan, a researcher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS).
- [3] Thanks to the expansion of the empire, "economic and cultural exchanges became possible to the maximum extent and previously isolated civilizations became linked," said Hao, director of the academy's Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, at an international symposium on the founding of the Mongol Empire held by the CASS in Beijing yesterday.
- [4] "This is what globalization features: shrinking space, shrinking time, and disappearing borders," said Hao.
- [5] Globalization is leading to the integration of the world's markets, culture, technology, and governance, in a similar way to the spread of communications, trade, transport and technology in Genghis Khan's era, said Hao.
- [6] Establishing the Mongol Empire, the largest contiguous land empire in history, covering modern Mongolia, China, Korea, Russia, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria in the 13th century,

Genghis Khan has been described as 'World Conqueror,' 'Emperor of All Men' and 'Scourge of God.'

- [7] But whatever title he is given, nothing can eliminate his contribution to the integration of ethnicities, nationalities and civilizations in ancient times.
- [8] An in-depth understanding of the historical context and social system of the time is needed to evaluate Genghis Khan and his contribution to history, said B. Enkhtuvshin, vice-president of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, at the symposium.
- [9] "Genghis Khan promoted globalization as has no ruler before him," said the Mongolian academician, who is also director of the International Institute for the Study of Nomadic Civilizations.
- [10] More than 50 experts and researchers from China, Mongolia, Russia, Japan and the United States attended the symposium, commemorating the 800th anniversary of the founding of the Mongol Empire.

Compromises Needed to Save Global Economy

By Liu Junhong

The *China Daily*, 02 April 2009

Paragraph

- [1] As the second G20 summit kicks off in London, the world's focus is on whether the meeting can propel the reform of the International Monetary Fund and trigger global economic recovery.
- [2] Of course, European countries and the US hold different views towards policies on international finance and monetary reform due to protection of their respective interests. Therefore, it's too optimistic to say that the two sides can join hands in adjusting global policies simultaneously.
- [3] Protectionism has swept across the world in the face of the financial crisis.
- [4] The US government firstly adopted the "buy America" policy, taking the lead to breach its own pledge of opposing trade protection.
- [5] According to the latest report of the World Bank, 17 of the G20 members have launched their own measures of trade protection.
- [6] It shows that large countries have conflicting interests, which will hamper international monetary reform and even unbalance the international order.
- [7] So, the upcoming summit in London will have to answer three questions dealing with bad loans, reshuffling the international financial system, and fighting against trade protectionism.
- [8] First, the summit should find ways to deal with bad loans and financial assets, which will hinder the recovery of the international financial system. Therefore, the urgent issue faced by the G20 summit is to coordinate policies of different countries and push developed countries to strip off and digest non-performing loans

and assets to prevent the crisis from further spreading and deteriorating.

- [9] Second, reform of the international financial system is not only a long-term strategic issue, but also a pressing one which will determine the direction of the world economy.
- [10] So, the London summit should contribute to the work of clarifying the general requirements of reform and ensuring that it is fair, open, and efficient.
- [11] Third, the summit will have to deal with the resurgence of trade protectionism. The US passed an act including a "buy American" clause and started to violate the North America Free Trade Agreement, causing risks for the world economy.
- [12] The European Union expanded its traditional standards to add indexes like climate and environmental protection as well as waste recovery.
- [13] In the meantime, advanced countries have abused the litigation procedures of the World Trade Organization to adopt trade protectionism in the disguise of anti-monopoly and anti-dumping; they also elbowed out emerging countries under the pretext of copyright protection to oppose industrial development.
- [14] In the face of the crisis, trade protectionism will naturally lead to the inefficient allocation of global resources, rupture of world industrial chains, and even trigger international political contradictions and ethnic conflicts.
- [15] Thus, the G20 summit, as the political arena for mapping out the future international order, should make the best of this opportunity to actively oppose trade protectionism and stick to WTO tenets.
- [16] Moreover, it should coordinate policies and strategies among different powers in the hope of building a harmonious and orderly

trade and investment system to save the world economy.

The author is a researcher with the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations.

Rebalancing Global Economy

By Zhang Monan

The *China Daily*, 24 February 2011

Paragraph

- [1] Continuous dilution of US dollar debts calls for replacing its dominance with multi-currency monetary order.
- [2] The US-led Western countries' advocacy of revising the way that current accounts are measured fully exposes their attempts to shift the responsibilities for the global economic imbalances to countries with a trade surplus.
- [3] Global economic imbalances are in essence a result of the imbalances in global comparative labor advantages among different countries. There are two major labor divisions in the current global economy, namely in trade and finance.
- [4] The first category is mainly represented by Germany, Japan and China, all big commodity exporters that hold a huge current account surplus, and the second is represented by the US and some European countries that enjoy huge financial advantages in exporting capital and various kinds of financial products and services that contributed to their huge current account deficits.
- [5] While the global manufacturing sector has shifted from developed countries to emerging markets, developed economies still firmly retain their status as the world financial centers. Developing countries, due to their less-developed financial markets and vulnerable financial systems, have to employ established reserve currencies for their overseas trade pricing, settlements, lending and investments. As a result, emerging economies have to sustain bigger exchange rate and assets risks.
- [6] The huge current account deficit of the US is a reflection of the current skewed international monetary order. As of Jan 31, 2011,

the total US public debt was \$14.13 trillion, 96.4 percent of the country's 2010 GDP of \$14.7 trillion. By taking advantage of its long-established monetary dominance, the US has a long history of credit abuse and its trade and fiscal deficits have increased far faster than production. The volume of US national debts held by foreign countries and regions has kept rising over the past decade and it has issued 32 percent of the world's total bonds.

- [7] However, Washington has skillfully utilized the dollar as the world's leading reserve currency for overseas financing of its national debts and promoted their international circulation to the US' advantage.
- [8] The dollar standard system has not only helped the US realize international circulation of its enormous national debts, it has also helped the world's largest economy to increase its national wealth through monetization or devaluation of the dollar. The dollar's status as the world's leading currency has also increased the US' capability to pay off or dilute its foreign debts through oversupplying and over-issuing the dollar.
- [9] From 2002 to 2006 alone, the US diluted an accumulated \$3.58 trillion of its national debts under such a monetary strategy. With the evaporation of a large volume of US national debts, the wealth of other countries, especially those holding US national debts, has seriously dwindled over the past years.
- [10] In 2009, the value of global foreign reserves was about 13 percent of the world's whole GDP. Of this, more than 60 percent was dollar-denominated assets. In the same year, the gross volume of US assets held by foreign countries, not including financial derivatives, was 1.25 times its nominal GDP. However, dollar depreciation has accelerated the transfer of this large amount of wealth, a process in which the US has proven to be the largest beneficiary.
- [11] The current dollar-led international monetary order already

fails to reflect the latest developments in the global economic structure. In the absence of a corresponding monetary system, the world economy is encountering a series of challenges and dilemmas induced by conflicting policies among different countries on economic growth, inflation, employment and interest rates. In a sense the latest global financial crisis is an unavoidable adjustment of disparities in the distribution of global interests and a rectification of some other unreasonable problems in the process of globalization.

- [12] Because the imbalanced global monetary structure has directly resulted in imbalances in the global current account, there have been strong calls in the international community for reform of the world's monetary system since the onset of the global financial crisis. Following China's proposal of setting up a super-sovereign international reserve currency, European countries, which are facing the possibility of a widespread sovereign debt crisis, have also called for the establishment of a global reserve currency through reforms of the global monetary system under the G20 consultation mechanism.
- [13] Considering the widespread international criticism of the current dollar-led global monetary system, a diversified global reserve currency system remains a good option for promoting a balanced and healthy development of the global economy.
- [14] The end of the dollar's decades-long hegemony and the formation of a multi-currency monetary system, which also involves the euro, the Japanese yen and the Chinese renminbi, would help the global economy develop in a more balanced direction.

The author is an economics researcher with the State Information Center.

Strengthen Confidence and Work Together for a New Round of World Economic Growth

Special Speech by H.E. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China in Davos at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2009

28 January 2009

Professor Klaus Schwab, Executive Chairman of the World Economic Forum, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Paragraph

- [1] I am delighted to be here and address the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2009. Let me begin by thanking Chairman Schwab for his kind invitation and thoughtful arrangements. This annual meeting has a special significance. Amidst a global financial crisis rarely seen in history, it brings together government leaders, business people, experts and scholars of different countries to jointly explore ways to maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth and better address global issues. Its theme-"Shaping the Post-Crisis World" is highly relevant. It reflects the vision of its organizers. People from across the world are eager to hear words of wisdom from here that will give them strength to tide over the crisis. It is thus our responsibility to send to the world a message of confidence, courage and hope. I look forward to a successful meeting.
- [2] The ongoing international financial crisis has landed the world economy in the most difficult situation since last century's Great Depression. In the face of the crisis, countries and the international community have taken various measures to address it. These measures have played an important role in boosting confidence, reducing the consequences of the crisis, and forestalling a meltdown of the financial system and a deep global recession. This crisis is attributable to a variety of factors

and the major ones are: inappropriate macroeconomic policies of some economies and their unsustainable model of development characterized by prolonged low savings and high consumption; excessive expansion of financial institutions in blind pursuit of profit; lack of self-discipline among financial institutions and rating agencies and the ensuing distortion of risk information and asset pricing; and the failure of financial supervision and regulation to keep up with financial innovations, which allowed the risks of financial derivatives to build and spread. As the saying goes, "A fall in the pit, a gain in your wit," we must draw lessons from this crisis and address its root causes. In other words, we must strike a balance between savings and consumption, between financial innovation and regulation, and between the financial sector and real economy.

- [3] The current crisis has inflicted a rather big impact on China's economy. We are facing severe challenges, including notably shrinking external demand, overcapacity in some sectors, difficult business conditions for enterprises, rising unemployment in urban areas and greater downward pressure on economic growth.
- [4] As a big responsible country, China has acted in an active and responsible way during this crisis. We mainly rely on expanding effective domestic demand, particularly consumer demand, to boost economic growth. We have made timely adjustment to the direction of our macroeconomic policy, swiftly adopted a proactive fiscal policy and a moderately easy monetary policy, introduced ten measures to shore up domestic demand and put in place a series of related policies. Together, they make up a systematic and comprehensive package plan aimed at ensuring steady and relatively fast economic growth. First, substantially increase government spending and implement a structural tax cut. The Chinese Government has rolled out a two-year program involving a total investment of RMB 4 trillion, equivalent to 16% of China's GDP in 2007. The investment will mainly go to

government-subsidized housing projects, projects concerning the well-being of rural residents, railway construction and other infrastructural projects, environmental protection projects and post-earthquake recovery and reconstruction. Some of them are identified as priority projects in China's 11th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. The rest are additional ones to meet the needs of the new situation. This two-year stimulus program has gone through scientific feasibility studies and is supported by a detailed financial arrangement. RMB 1.18 trillion will come from central government's budget, which is expected to generate funds from local governments and other sources. The Chinese Government has also launched a massive tax cut program which features the comprehensive transformation of the value-added tax, the adoption of preferential tax policies for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and real estate transactions, and the abolition or suspension of 100 items of administrative fees. It is expected to bring about a total saving of RMB500 billion for businesses and households each year. Second, frequently cut interest rates and increase liquidity in the banking system. The central bank has cut deposit and lending rates of financial institutions five times in a row, with the one-year benchmark deposit and lending rates down by 1.89 percentage points and 2.16 percentage points respectively. Thus the financial burden of companies has been greatly reduced. The required reserve ratio has been lowered four times, adding up to a total reduction of 2 percentage points for large financial institutions and 4 percentage points for small and medium-sized ones. This has released around RMB800 billion of liquidity and substantially increased funds available to commercial banks. A series of policy measures have been adopted in the financial sector to boost economic growth, including increasing lending, optimizing the credit structure, and providing greater financial support to agriculture and the SMEs. Third, implement the industrial restructuring and rejuvenation program on a large scale. We are seizing the opportunity to push

ahead comprehensive industrial restructuring and upgrading. To this end, plans are being drawn up for key industries such as automobile and iron and steel, which not only focus on addressing the immediate difficulties of enterprises but also look toward their long-term development. We have taken strong measures to facilitate the merger and reorganization of enterprises, phase out backward production capacity, promote advanced productive forces, and improve industry concentration and the efficiency of resource allocation.

- [5] We encourage our enterprises to upgrade technologies and make technological renovation. We support them in making extensive use of new technologies, techniques, equipment and materials to restructure their product mix, develop marketable products and improve their competitiveness. Our financial support policies are being improved, a sound credit guarantee system installed and market access eased for the benefit of SME development. Fourth, actively encourage innovation and upgrading in science and technology. We are speeding up the implementation of the National Program for Medium- and Long-Term Scientific and Technological Development with a special focus on 16 key projects in order to make breakthroughs in core technologies and key generic technologies. This will provide scientific and technological support for China's sustainable economic development at a higher level. We are developing high-tech industrial clusters and creating new social demand and new economic growth areas. Fifth, substantially raise the level of social security. We have accelerated the improvement of social safety net. We will continue to increase basic pension for enterprise retirees and upgrade the standard of unemployment insurance and workers' compensation. We will raise the level of basic cost of living allowances in both urban and rural areas, welfare allowances for those rural residents without family support and the special allowances and assistance to entitled groups. This year, the central budget for social security and employment will increase at a much higher rate than the

growth of the overall fiscal revenue. We are advancing the reform of the medical and health system and working to put in place a nationwide basic medical and health system covering both urban and rural areas within three years and achieve the goal of everyone having access to basic medical and health service. It is estimated that governments at all levels will invest RMB 850 billion for this purpose. We give priority to education and are now working on the Guidelines of the National Program for Medium- and Long-Term Educational Reform and Development. This year, we will increase public funds for free compulsory education in rural areas, offer more financial support to students from poor families and improve the well-being of middle and primary school teachers so as to promote equity in education and optimize the educational structure. We are using every possible means to lessen the impact of the financial crisis on employment. We are following a more active employment policy. In particular, we have introduced various policy measures to help college graduates and migrant workers find jobs and provided more government-funded jobs in public service. These major policy measures as a whole target both symptoms and root causes, and address both immediate and long-term concerns. They represent a holistic approach and are mutually reinforcing. They are designed to address the need to boost domestic demand, readjust and reinvigorate industries, encourage scientific innovation and strengthen social security. They are designed to stimulate consumption through increased investment, overcome the current difficulties with long-term development in mind, and promote economic growth in the interest of people's livelihood. These measures can mobilize all resources to meet the current crisis.

- [6] China's economy is in good shape on the whole. We managed to maintain steady and relatively fast economic growth in 2008 despite two unexpected massive natural disasters. Our GDP grew by 9%. CPI was basically stable. We had a good grain harvest for the fifth consecutive year, with a total output of 528.5 million tons.

Eleven million and one hundred and thirty thousand new jobs were created in cities and towns. Household income in both urban and rural areas continued to rise. The financial system functioned well and the banking system kept its liquidity and credit asset quality at a healthy level. When China, a large developing country, runs its affairs well, it can help restore confidence in global economic growth and curb the spread of the international financial crisis. It will also help increase China's imports and outbound investment, boost world economic growth and create more development and job opportunities for other countries. Steady and fast growth of China's economy is in itself an important contribution to global financial stability and world economic growth.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

- [7] Will China's economy continue to grow fast and steadily? Some people may have doubts about it. Yet I can give you a definite answer: Yes, it will. We are full of confidence. Where does our confidence come from? It comes from the fact that the fundamentals of China's economy remain unchanged. Thanks to our right judgment of the situation and prompt and decisive adjustment to our macroeconomic policy, our economy remains on the track of steady and fast development. Our package plan takes into consideration both the need to address current difficulties and that of long-term development. It is beginning to produce results and will be more effective this year. Our confidence comes from the fact that the long-term trend of China's economic development remains unchanged. We are in an important period of strategic opportunities and in the process of fast industrialization and urbanization. Infrastructure construction, upgrading of industrial and consumption structures, environmental protection and conservation projects, and various social development programs—all can be translated into huge demand and growth potential and will bolster relatively high-speed growth of our economy for a long time to come. Our confidence also comes from the fact

that the advantages contributing to China's economic growth remain unchanged. With 30 years' of reform and opening-up, we have laid a good material, technological and institutional foundation. We have a large well-trained and relatively low-cost labor force. We have a healthy fiscal balance, a sound financial system and adequate funds. Our system enables us to mobilize the necessary resources for big undertakings. There is harmony and stability in our society. What is more important, we follow a scientific approach to development which puts people first and seeks comprehensive, balanced and sustainable development. We are committed to reform, opening-up and win-win progress. We have found the right development path in line with China's national conditions and the trend of our times. Our people are hard-working, persevering and resilient. It is precisely these fine qualities that endow China, a country with a time-honored history, with greater vitality in the face of adversities. At the same time, there is no fundamental change in the external environment for China's economic growth. The pursuit of peace, development and cooperation is the irreversible trend in today's world. The readjustment to the international division of labor offers new opportunities. We have the confidence, conditions and ability to maintain steady and fast economic growth and continue to contribute to world economic growth.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

- [8] The global financial crisis is a challenge for the whole world. Confidence, cooperation and responsibility are keys to overcoming the crisis. Confidence is the source of strength. The power of confidence is far greater than what can be imagined. The pressing task for the international community and individual countries is to take further measures to restore market confidence as soon as possible. In times of economic hardships, confidence of all countries in the prospect of global economic development, confidence of leaders and people around the world

in their countries, confidence of enterprises in investment and confidence of individuals in consumption are more important than anything else. In tackling the crisis, practical cooperation is the effective way. In a world of economic globalization, countries are tied together in their destinies and can hardly be separated from one another. The financial crisis is a test of the readiness of the international community to enhance cooperation, and a test of our wisdom. Only with closer cooperation and mutual help, can we successfully manage the crisis. To prevail over the crisis, accepting responsibilities is the prerequisite. When governments fulfill their responsibilities with resolution and courage, they can help maintain a stable financial order and prevent the crisis from causing more serious damage on the real economy. Political leaders must be forward-looking. They should be responsible to the entire international community as well as to their own countries and people. It is imperative that we implement the broad agreement reached since the G20 Summit on Financial Markets and the World Economy. We should not only take more forceful and effective steps to tide over the current difficulties, but also push for the establishment of a new world economic order that is just, equitable, sound and stable. To this end, I would like to share with you the following ideas.

- [9] First, deepen international economic cooperation and promote a sound multilateral trading regime. Past experience shows that in crisis it is all the more important to stick to a policy of opening-up and cooperation. Trade protectionism serves no purpose as it will only worsen and prolong the crisis. It is therefore necessary to move forward trade and investment liberalization and facilitation. China firmly supports efforts to reach balanced results of the Doha Round negotiations at an early date and the establishment of a fair and open multilateral trading regime. As an important supplement to such a trading regime, regional economic integration should be vigorously promoted.

- [10] Second, advance the reform of the international financial system and accelerate the establishment of a new international financial order. The current crisis has fully exposed the deficiencies in the existing international financial system and its governance structure. It is important to speed up reform of the governance structures of major international financial institutions, establish a sound global financial rescue mechanism, and enhance capacity in fulfilling responsibilities. Developing countries should have greater say and representation in international financial institutions and their role in maintaining international and regional financial stability should be brought into full play. We should encourage regional monetary and financial cooperation, make good use of regional liquidity assistance mechanisms, and steadily move the international monetary system toward greater diversification.
- [11] Third, strengthen international cooperation in financial supervision and regulation and guard against the build-up and spread of financial risks. Financial authorities around the world should step up information sharing and the monitoring of global capital flows to avoid the cross-border transmission of financial risks. We should expand the regulation coverage of the international financial system, with particular emphasis on strengthening the supervision on major reserve currency countries. We should put in place a timely and efficient early warning system against crisis. We should introduce reasonable and effective financial regulatory standards and improve oversight mechanisms in such areas as accounting standards and capital adequacy requirements. We should tighten regulation of financial institutions and intermediaries and enhance transparency of financial markets and products.
- [12] Fourth, effectively protect the interests of developing countries and promote economic development of the whole world. The international community, developed countries in particular, should assume due responsibilities and obligations to minimize

the damage caused by the international financial crisis on developing countries and help them maintain financial stability and economic growth. International financial institutions should act promptly to assist those developing countries in need through such measures as relaxing lending conditions. We should advance the international poverty reduction process and scale up assistance to the least developed countries and regions in particular with a view to building up their capacity for independent development.

[13] Fifth, jointly tackle global challenges and build a better home for mankind. Issues such as climate change, environmental degradation, diseases, natural disasters, energy, resources and food security as well as the spread of terrorism bear on the very survival and development of mankind. No country can be insulated from these challenges or meet them on its own. The international community should intensify cooperation and respond to these challenges together.

[14] I want to reaffirm here China's abiding commitment to peaceful, open and cooperative development. China is ready to work with other members of the international community to maintain international financial stability, promote world economic growth, tackle various global risks and challenges, and contribute its share to world harmony and sustainable development.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

[15] The harsh winter will be gone and spring is around the corner. Let us strengthen confidence and work closely together to bring about a new round of world economic growth.

Thank you.

Consolidate the Upward Momentum and Promote Sustained Growth

Address by H.E. Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

At the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting of the New Champions 2010

In Port city, Tianjin, 13 September 2010

Professor Klaus Schwab, Executive Chairman of the World Economic Forum,

Distinguished Guests,

Paragraph

Ladies and Gentlemen,

- [1] Let me begin by extending congratulations on the opening of the fourth Annual Meeting of the New Champions, the Summer Davos, and a welcome to you all. At the crucial juncture when the world economy is slowly recovering, the meeting will explore the way forward for future development under the theme of "Driving Growth Through Sustainability". This is highly relevant and significant, and I wish the meeting full success!
- [2] The past two years have seen China emerge as one of the first countries to achieve an economic rebound and maintain steady and relatively fast economic development under extremely difficult and complex circumstances. We owe our achievements to the comprehensive implementation of the stimulus package. At the height of the international financial crisis, China's economic growth rate dropped by a big margin. Many enterprises completely or partially suspended operations, and some even closed down. Many workers lost their jobs and a large number of rural migrant workers had to return to their home villages. In view of this, we acted immediately to introduce a stimulus package. From

the second quarter of 2009, the downward trend in economic growth was quickly reversed. The economy grew by 9.1% in 2009 and 11.1% in the first half of 2010. Urban employment has kept expanding, people's income has been increasing, and social stability and harmony has been maintained. As a Chinese saying goes, one would never fully appreciate the difficulty unless he has experienced it in person. For a country like China with 1.3 billion people, without a certain rate of economic growth, full employment and people's well-being can only be empty talk. The stimulus package has enabled us to not only maintain the current economic growth and social stability, but also, and more importantly, secure the sound momentum of economic development. The severe external shock did not cause a big fluctuation in China's modernization process. This is of major and far-reaching significance.

- [3] In tackling the international financial crisis, we have always given top priority to transforming the economic development pattern and restructuring the economy. In the past two years, domestic demand, consumption in particular, has played an increasingly strong role in driving economic growth. Total retail sales in 2009 rose by 16.9 percent in real terms, the fastest since 1986. This good momentum is continuing and retail sales in the first half of this year grew at roughly the same rate as the same period of last year. The upgrading of the industrial structure has been accelerated. In the first seven months of this year, the value added of high-tech industries increased by 17.7 percent year on year, 0.7 percentage point higher than that of the industries above a designated level. Infrastructure development has been strengthened. On 1 August 2008, the Beijing-Tianjin Intercity Railway, China's first top-class high-speed rail with full intellectual property, was put into operation, shortening the travel time between Beijing and Tianjin to only 30 minutes and binding the two major municipalities as one. The Wuhan-Guangzhou high-speed railway that went into operation on 26 December 2009 set the world record of the longest

and fastest high-speed railway completed on an uninterrupted basis. Solid progress has been made in energy conservation, emissions reduction and environmental protection. Last year, we shut down small thermal power plants with a total capacity of 26.17 million kilowatts and phased out inefficient production capacity of 16.91 million tons of steel, 21.13 million tons of iron and 74.16 million tons of cement. By the end of this month, we will have eliminated an additional amount of inefficient production capacity, including 8.25 million tons of steel, 30 million tons of iron and 91.55 million tons of cement. Energy consumption per unit of GDP has been reduced by 15.6 percent in the first four years of the 11th five-year plan period. Regional development has been more coordinated. In 2009, the growth rates of value added of industries above a designated scale in the central and western regions were 1.1 and 4.5 percentage points higher than the national average respectively. In the first half of this year, such growth in the central region was 3.1 percentage points higher than the national average, and that in the western region on a par with the national average. Also in the first half of this year, the central and western regions' contribution to the value added of industries above a designated level in the national total increased to 38.8 percent from 38.1 percent of the same period in 2008. What is more important is that we have made all-round arrangements for accelerating the transformation of economic development pattern and economic restructuring from a macro and strategic perspective. All these will give a strong boost to the stable and healthy development of China's economy in the long run.

- [4] We have implemented a pro-active fiscal policy and a moderately easy monetary policy with an unprecedented intensity, and at the same time successfully kept fiscal and financial risks under control. In the past two years, China's budget deficit and government debt have been kept below 3 percent and around 20 percent of the GDP respectively. The asset quality of banks and their ability to fend

off risks have improved. The capital adequacy ratio and NPL ratio now stand at 11.1 percent and 2.8 percent respectively, both in the safe territory. This being said, we are keenly aware of the latent fiscal and financial risks, especially the debt risks of the financing platforms of local governments. This is not a new problem, yet the risks have somewhat increased in recent months. We have formulated the measures to strengthen the regulation of those financing platforms and implementation is well underway. In the face of the sudden international financial crisis, the extraordinary policy measures that we have adopted are necessary and these measure have played a positive role. Yet some negative impacts are hardly avoidable. What's important is to keep those negative impacts within a scope that we can manage. In this sense, we have done a good job in balancing the need of promoting positive effects with that of reducing negative ones. Taken as a whole, the results of our stimulus package are good.

- [5] By implementing the stimulus package, we have not only maintained China's economic stability and relatively fast economic growth, but also made important contribution to the world economic recovery. At a time of negative economic growth for major developed countries, the fast economic stabilization and rapid economic growth of China and other major developing countries greatly boosted international confidence in overcoming the financial crisis and provided a strong impetus to the world economic growth. In 2009, China's imports totaled 1.0056 trillion U.S. dollars, and its trade surplus dropped by 102 billion U.S. dollars. In the first seven months of this year, China's imports reached 766.6 billion U.S. dollars, a surge of 47.2 percent year on year. This shows that China's economic growth has provided major development opportunities for the multinationals and created huge demand for major economies and neighboring countries. It has become an important engine for the world economic recovery.

[6] To sum up, from both the near and long-term perspective and in both the real economy and the fiscal and financial field, our stimulus package, policies and measures are timely, forceful, effective and suited to China's realities. They are the right choice that will bring benefits to both the current and future generations and serve the interests of the world. China's economy is now in good shape, featuring fast growth, structural improvement, rising employment and basic price stability. Growth of some major economic indicators moderated in the second quarter of this year. This is mainly due to the high level of the base figures and our proactive macro-control measures. We have the confidence, conditions and capabilities to maintain steady and fast economic development. In exercising macro-control, we will take it as a central task to appropriately handle the relationship between maintaining steady and rapid economic development, adjusting the economic structure and managing inflation expectations, and we will take policy stability as the main focus. While maintaining the continuity and stability of our policies, we will make macro-control measures more targeted and flexible to consolidate and strengthen the sound momentum of development.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

[7] The underlying impact of the international financial crisis has not been fully eliminated, the world economy has yet to enter a benign cycle of steady growth, and systemic and structural risks are still prominent. We need to cement and build on what we have achieved in countering the financial crisis. We need to take into consideration both the immediate needs and long-term development and, while continuing to energize the recovery, create conditions for sustainable development through structural reform. This is a common task for all countries. In case of China, there is a lack of balance, coordination and sustainability in the economic development. The main problems include the unreasonable economic structure, weak capabilities for scientific

and technological innovation, rising resources and environmental constraints, uneven urban-rural and regional development and lack of coordination between economic and social development. Some of these problems are inescapable in our current stage of economic development, and some are caused by inadequate institutional reform. To effectively address these deep-seated and structural problems, we will take an integrated approach that balances near-term macro control with long-term development and advances reform and opening-up in the broader context of scientific development. Only in this way can the Chinese economy achieve greater and more sustainable development. For now and in the time to come, we will focus our efforts in the following fields.

- [8] We will pursue balance growth of domestic and external demand and establish a long-term mechanism to expand domestic demand, consumer demand in particular. The Chinese market is one with the largest potential in the world. To fully tap the potential and effectively unleash the domestic demand holds the key to long-term and steady development of China's economy, and represents an important means to meet the prominent challenges in the economy. We will speed up the reform of the income distribution system, and raise the proportion of individual income in the national income and the proportion of the primary distribution that goes to wages and salaries. We will create conditions for more people to earn income from property, reverse the trend of widening income gap as quickly as possible, and boost the sustainable growth of people's income and consumer spending. With a commitment to coordinated development between urban and rural areas and between different regions, we will take active and prudent steps to advance urbanization, and allow eligible rural migrant workers to gradually become urban residents in line with the local conditions. We will accelerate the building of the new countryside and improve rural infrastructure and public services. We will continue to implement the overall strategy for regional development, push forward the development of the

western region and the reinvigoration of the old industrial bases in northeast China and other places, energize the development of the central region, cultivate new drivers for domestic demand, and open up new space for the growth of domestic demand in rural areas and central and western regions. At the same time, we will continue to make full use of both the international and domestic markets. China's economy is an open economy, and China is both a major exporter and a major importer. We do not pursue surplus in foreign trade. China runs a trade surplus with the United States and Europe, yet a trade deficit with Japan and the ROK. We have a surplus in the processing trade, yet a deficit in general trade. Our export growth is rapidly recovering, yet our import has grown even faster. We cannot and will not pursue development with our door closed. We will expand domestic demand and at the same time actively stabilize and expand external demand, and strive to achieve balanced development of domestic and external demand.

- [9] We will spur economic development through innovation and promote scientific and technological advances and upgrading of the industrial structure. This is a strategic priority if we are to fundamentally ease the resources and environmental constraints, adapt ourselves to the adjustments in the international demand structure and new changes brought by the upgrading of domestic consumption, raise the quality and efficiency of our economic development and national competitiveness across the board, and promote sustainable economic development. We will integrate our efforts in strengthening the capacity for scientific and technological innovation with those for improving the modern industrial system. We will upgrade the traditional industries with advanced technologies, nurture a number of internationally competitive enterprises with their own intellectual property and well-known brands, and build a number of world-class modern industry clusters which can serve as growth drivers, so that China can move from a big manufacturing country to a

strong manufacturing country. We will firmly grasp the new trend in future scientific and technological advancement, provide stronger policy support and planning guidance, actively build the emerging industries with strategic importance, develop new pillar industries as a faster pace, and strive for leap-frog development. We will accelerate the opening up of the service industry both domestically and externally, foster an enabling policy and institutional environment for its development and increase its proportion in the national economy.

[10] We will continue to conserve resources and protect the environment, and raise the efficiency in resources utilization and capacity in tackling climate change. To conserve resources and protect the environment is China's basic state policy. We must accelerate the formation of an industrial structure, production model and consumption pattern that are conducive to energy and resources conservation and eco-protection to promote harmony between man and nature. We will further improve laws and standards, strengthen accountability evaluation in meeting environmental targets, and advance the development of circular economy. We will make all-round efforts to save energy, water, land and materials and make comprehensive use of all kinds of resources, enhance the conservation and management of all natural resources, and take a holistic approach to protect and repair the eco-environment. We will energetically develop low carbon industrial, construction and transport systems, increase the forest carbon sink and speed up the R&D, demonstration and industrial application of low carbon technologies. We will comprehensively enhance our capacity for tackling climate change, and actively carry out international cooperation against climate change under the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities".

[11] We will strike a balance between economic and social development and strive to ensure and improve people's livelihood and

promote social equity and justice. To improve people's livelihood and extend the benefits of economic development to all is the fundamental goal of economic and social development. And to meet the essential needs of the people and free them from worries for daily necessities is an important responsibility of modern government. Many countries now face the challenge of high unemployment. China is also confronted by a rather severe employment situation. There are almost 800 million people of working age in China, equivalent to the workforce of all developed countries combined. The annual increase of workforce in the job market far exceeds the number of jobs available. The oversupply of labor and structural labor shortage exist side by side. We will make employment expansion a priority target in economic and social development, implement a more pro-active employment policy, vigorously create new jobs, and encourage self-employment to promote full employment. We will enhance the government's capability in providing public services, gradually establish a fairly complete and sustainable system of basic public services that covers both urban and rural areas, and promote equal access to social security and basic medical and health care services. The issue of housing is both an economic issue and more importantly, a major issue affecting people's livelihood and social stability. To stabilize the housing price and ensure housing availability is an important responsibility of governments at all levels. We must further rectify the market order, improve the land, tax and financial policies, accelerate the establishment of a long-term mechanism for the healthy development of the housing market and curb investment and speculative demand. We need to guide the market towards greater supply of ordinary commercial housing, speed up the development of low-income housing and build public rental housing in order to form a rational structure of housing supply and meet the diverse housing needs.

[12] We will deepen reform and increase the dynamism and vitality for sustainable development. China's development and progress

would not have been possible without reform and opening-up. And to achieve the modernization goal of building a prosperous, democratic, culturally-advanced and harmonious country, we still need to rely on reform and opening-up. With China's reform endeavor at a crucial stage, we must advance the reforms in all areas with greater determination and courage. We must deepen comprehensive reforms in the economic, political and other fields to enable the entire system to better meet the needs of developing a modern economy and building socialist democracy, push forward social equity and justice and facilitate the free and all-round development of the people.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

[13] China's development is open development. China's opening-up is long-term, comprehensive and mutually beneficial. We will uphold all policies conducive to opening-up. China is committed to creating an open and fair environment for foreign invested enterprises. China gives high priority to intellectual property protection and has already made this a national strategy. We are ready to conduct exchanges and dialogue with other countries in this field. I wish to reiterate here that all enterprises registered in China according to Chinese laws are Chinese enterprises. Their products are made-in-China products. And the innovative products based on their research and development are created-in-China products. All foreign invested enterprises registered in China enjoy national treatment. In government procurement, China gives equal treatment to all products produced in China by foreign invested enterprises and Chinese invested enterprises alike.

[14] China's huge market volume, sound infrastructure, strong industrial support ability and stable and fair market environment are attracting more and more multinational enterprises to invest and establish business in China. China is now one of the world's largest foreign investment destinations. More than 470 of the top

500 global companies have established their presence in China. By July this year, China had received 1.05 trillion U.S. dollars of foreign investment in cumulative terms, ranking the first among developing countries for 18 years in a row. In the first seven months this year, foreign investment in China increased by 20.7 percent over the same period last year. Foreign invested enterprises on the whole enjoy good operation in China and have reaped good returns. Many have become the bright spot and profit center in the global business growth of their parent companies. All of these demonstrate that the efforts of the Chinese government to foster a favorable investment environment have been recognized by the investors and bolstered foreign investors' confidence. We will continue to improve the foreign-related economic laws, regulations and policies, and improve the business environment for foreign investors in China. We sincerely welcome enterprises from all countries to actively participate in China's reform and opening-up process, and hope that all types of enterprises will strictly abide by China's laws and regulations, run businesses in China according to law, and share the opportunities and benefits of China's prosperity and progress.

Thank you.

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