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Language, Discourse & Society

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Language, Discourse & Society is an international peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

The editorial board will consider proposed articles based on clear methodological and theoretical commitment to studies of language. Articles must substantially engage theory and/or methods for analyzing language, discourse, representation, or situated talk.

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1. Articles and Book reviews may be submitted in English, French and Spanish.
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3. There is no standard length: 6,000 – 8,000 words (1000-1500 in the case of book reviews) is a useful working target but where it is justified, longer or shorter pieces can be considered.
4. Title, author or authors name, affiliations, full address (including telephone, fax number and e-mail address) and brief biographical note should be typed on a separate sheet.
5. Include an abstract of 200-300 words summarizing the findings and at most five keywords. Abstract and keywords should appear in English, French and Spanish.
6. Use New Times Roman, 12 point font, 1.5 space, and page numbers. 8. Number figures and photographs consecutively (Figure 1, Figure 2, etc.). Each one must include a descriptive title.
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Language, Discourse & Society

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Language & Society
Research Committee 25 of the
International Sociological Association

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

It gives me a great pleasure to launch this new journal, *“Language, Discourse and Society”*, an international peer reviewed journal with a scientific board composed by the members of the International Sociological Association RC25 executive board. Beginning with this issue, we offer a new journal, open to articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

The contents of this first issue include seven articles. The first article, *“National Unity In Multi-Ethnic Malaysia: A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Tun Dr. Mahathir’s Political Speeches”*, by Maya Khemlani David and Francisco Perlas Dumanig, uses Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze former Malaysian Prime Minister’s spoken and written public discourses that were published in newspapers and books. The second article, *“A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Goodluck Jonathan’s Declaration Of Interest In The PDP Presidential Primaries”*, by Ikenna Kamalu and Richard Agangan, examines the text of President Goodluck Jonathan’s declaration of his candidacy for his party’s presidential primaries. The study employs a qualitative approach in the analysis of the text to tease out the meaning potential of the rhetorical strategies employed in the speech and the ideology they encode. In this article, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics unearth the underlying ideology and persuasive strategies used in the declaration speech.

The third article, *“Stay healthy, be active and work!- motive analysis of policy proposals on old age”* by Monika Wilińska and Elisabet Cedersund, discusses the motives of ageing policies, based on two cases of national policy documents, from Sweden and Poland. Discourse analysis applied in this study follows the key principles of motive analysis. The fourth article, by Amado Alarcón Alarcón and María Martínez Iglesias, is written in Spanish language, and it is entitled *“Regionalización y organización lingüística: Las filiales japonesas en Cataluña”*. The article analyzes the language policy in Japanese multinational corporations in Catalonia (Spain). Data collection was carried out through field work interviews and quantitative survey at 6 workplaces. The article shows the increasing specialization of languages: control (Japanese), coordination within the region (English) and

production (Spanish and Catalanian).

The fifth article, “Offering Healthcare through Radio An Analysis of Radio Health Talk by Medical Doctors” by Emmanuel Sarfo, uses the genre-based approach to explore the organisational pattern of medical doctors’ health talk given on a local radio station in the University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana. The sixth article, “A New Sociolinguistic Insight into Language Contact Phenomena: evidence from Arabic / French Languages Pair” by Hind Amel Mostari, is an empirical study of the speakers’ attitudes and speakers’ use of their languages/varieties of languages in both Algeria and Morocco. While these countries share common sociolinguistic and cultural heritage, the article explores if, and in which measure, Algerian and Moroccan speakers use Classical Arabic, French and on actual role of French in either country?

The seventh article, “Promoting Brazil at the UN: Dilma Rousseff’s legitimation strategies of authority and morality” by Sandi Michele de Oliveira, analyzes the legitimation strategies of authority and morality employed during the opening discourse of the General Debate of the United Nations by Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff, in order to argue for the inclusion of her country as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. The analyses proposed in the article indicate a complex argumentation structure in which the emerging nations and women share a cognitive frame with Brazil; consequently, arguments from any of the three can be used to advance Brazil’s case to the UN.

Language, Discourse & Society has its ISSN code and it’s going to be listed in the most important databases of Open Access Journals. I would like to highlight that all published articles in *Language, Discourse & Society* are eligible for the two RC 25 awards, The “Language & Society Graduate Student Award” and the “Language & Society Academic Award”. More details are available in this issue. If you are interested in proposing an article, you may find the call for papers for *Language, Discourse, & Society* in this issue.

Finally, I would like to thank the editorial board for generously contributing their expertise, and Kali Michael from American University, Washington DC (USA), who has contributed as editorial assistant for the first issue of the Journal.

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MESSAGE FROM ISA RC25 PRESIDENT

Over the years, the Executive Boards of the Research Committee 25 on Language & Society of the International Sociology Association (ISA) have shared a dream of producing an online journal. In our 2010 business meeting in Gothenburg, Sweden, this dream became a plan. Under the leadership of Federico Farini, we have realized the remarkable goal of launching a peer-reviewed, international, online journal of original scholarship that can publish in three languages (English, Spanish, and French). Federico's tireless efforts to solicit cutting-edge scholarship have helped to lay an outstanding foundation for the journal. I want to express my appreciation to Federico for his dedication, vision and hard work. As well I want to thank all of the members of past and present executive boards for their sustaining work that has enabled RC 25 to develop the resources necessary to make *Language, Discourse & Society* a reality.

Sociological studies of language are well-established in some countries, marginal in others and controversial as "real" sociology in still others. I believe that as scholars we all will benefit from a journal that advances the field by uniting our work. *Language Discourse & Society* provides a unique opportunity for sociologists working in the area of language, regardless of whether or not they are members of the ISA. Further, as a cross-disciplinary journal with a focus on sociological analyses, *Language Discourse & Society* promises to support a vibrant and diverse intellectual community for scholars and our students. Finally, *Language Discourse & Society* has established an independent awards committee led by Stéphanie Cassilde to recognize outstanding faculty and graduate student articles. We hope you enjoy this inaugural issue and encourage you to join this pivotal moment and publish with *Language Discourse & Society*.

Celine-Marie Pascale, American University, Washington, DC, USA
ISA RC25 President

**NATIONAL UNITY IN MULTI-ETHNIC MALAYSIA: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS OF TUN DR. MAHATHIR'S POLITICAL SPEECHES**

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Abstract

This paper examines the discourse of a former Prime Minister (PM), Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, in order to study the ways Tun Dr. Mahathir (henceforth TDM) constructed national unity in multi-ethnic Malaysia through his public discourses over the years as a Statesman. This paper gives particular emphasis to issues in national unity. A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be used to analyze the spoken and written public discourses of TDM that were published in newspapers and books. The findings reveal that one of the goals of TDM's discourses was to create a sense of oneness and a sense of nationhood among the various ethnic groups in the country.

Keywords: Tun Dr. Mahathir, Malaysia, national unity, ethnicity, Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Introduction

A leader's public discourse might create national unity or disunity among the various ethnic groups, depending on how individual members understand and perceive the message. Thomas et al. (2004) argued that the role of discourse is to shape the beliefs of people who establish certain ideologies as common sense, ideologies as common sense, which in turn influence their behaviour. It is hypothesized that a former Malaysian Prime Minister's construction of group realities through his discourse influenced Malaysian attitudes about their own ethnic group and other ethnic groups. Ghazali (2004) defines the modern notion of power as the ability to influence and control people not by force but by mind management. Macionis (2001) posits that discourse by people in power can cause competition and negative perceptions of the other. Power plays a crucial role in discourse because it tends to control the social beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of people of a certain society (van Dijk, 1988). Politics influences most types of discourses and all issues presented in any type of discourse can be classified as political issues. Politics is after all concerned with power: the power to make decisions, control resources, control other people's behavior and, frequently, to control their values (Thomas, et al, 2004). Therefore, politics is always connected to power.

Politics is viewed as a struggle for power and cooperation. Politics exists for those who seek to assert and maintain their power and for those who resolve clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty and the like (Chilton, 2004). It is evident that politics is demonstrated and observed through language. Therefore politics and language are interlinked and in fact, some political activities cannot exist without the use of language.

Language can be powerful, particularly if a speaker tries to exercise control over other speakers. From the moment they start asserting their ideologies to their constituents, politicians in particular are keenly aware that they must use powerful or persuasive language.. More powerful linguistic devices such as the metaphor, euphemism, parallelism and the use of the pronoun are needed increase the potency and persuasiveness of language. (Thomas, et al. 2004).

Ideologies influence power and language plays an important role in constructing and deconstructing ideologies. Ideology is a term developed in the Marxist tradition that describes how cultures are structured in ways that enable the group holding power to have the

maximum control with the minimum of conflict (Lye, 2007). It can be defined as a set of beliefs, perceptions, assumptions, and values that provide members of a group with an understanding and explanation of their world (Beard, 2005:118). Ideologies involve *communication* of ideas and therefore, language plays a central role in constructing and maintaining discrimination and oppression. In fact it must be emphasized that language can never be '*neutral*' as it bridges our personal and social worlds (van Dijk, 1988). For instance, in a democratic political system, the language that is used is collective in nature because it represents the well-being of its constituents. However, in an autocratic political system, the language that is used is authoritative because it imposes power, control and authority towards people. A person's ideology is disclosed through his/her use of language. At times, leaders propagate their own ideologies. They normally have certain beliefs that they think must be propagated and transmitted to their constituents. Frequently, politicians socially reconstruct reality based on professional and personal ideologies. Their political messages carry powerful but coded meanings and messages and these messages reinforce individual beliefs and behaviors and collective ideologies which inevitably affect the formation of public policies and organizational practices. Within contemporary ideological constructs, ideas about race, gender, and class are produced, preserved, and promoted. These ideas form the basis for social behavior. Therefore, understanding ideology is crucial to an understanding of the marginalization, exclusion, and domination of different races of people within a nation.

Ideology is also related to language and unity. The use of language to communicate ideology can unify people, especially people who live in a multiethnic and multicultural society. However, unity in a multiethnic society is not easy to achieve due to differences in culture. Unity is best understood when it is contrasted with the notion of disunity. The discourse of powerful individuals can foster notions of in-group unity and out-group disunity. Ethnocentrism, which originates from intergroup relations, often results in group disunity (see Sherif, 1962). Ethnocentrism is also defined as a belief that the in-group is the center of the social world and superior to the out-groups (Taylor, Peplau, and Sears, 2006). People who belong to the same group may have positive and favorable evaluations and attributions of themselves as members of the in-group and less favorable evaluations and attributions of the out-group. Ethnocentrism may lead to prejudice where the members of the in-group have and

hold a less favorable judgment about the other group. It is likely that as a result of this, conflict among ethnic groups may arise and this could in turn, over time, result in disunity.

The term 'group' signifies a cluster of similar elements shared by its members. Members who do not share similar traits as the in-group are labeled as out-group members. Hence, it is common that in-group members frequently address themselves as 'we' while out-group members are referred to as 'them' (c.f. David and Zuraidah, 2005). The in-group is "a social group commanding a member's esteem and loyalty" while the out-group is "a social group toward which one feels competition or opposition" (Macionis, 2001: 169).

This study analyzes the public discourses of a former Malaysian Prime Minister, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad in relation to politics, power, and ideology. The analysis of the former Prime Minister's public discourses can help current and future prime ministers and other influential political leaders realize the importance of language in establishing and promoting national unity, constructing positive feelings towards other ethnic groups.

1.1 Background of Dr. Tun Mahathir Mohamad

Mahathir served in the government of the second Malaysian Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak from 1970-1976; as Minister of Education from 1974 – 1977 and under the third Prime Minister Tun Hussein Onn; as Deputy Prime Minister from 1976 –1981; and Minister of Trade and Industry from 1977 – 1981. In 1981, he succeeded Hussein Onn as Prime Minister and President of UMNO and served the country for about 22 years. As Prime Minister, he brought a new [vigor](#) to government and economic management (Adshead, 2009). Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the first Malaysian Prime Minister, who did not come from the Malay aristocracy and was not educated in Britain, tilted at the special relationship with Britain and the constitutional privileges of Malaysia's king and sultans, while his then radical "Look East" policy was inspired by Japan's economic success.

2. Methodology

This study examines the manner in which the speeches of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad constructs national unity among different ethnic groups in Malaysia . The tools of critical

discourse analysis such as implicatures and presupposition are used in each of the speeches to examine how TDM uses his ideology, power, and authority to influence his constituents in favor of the objective to unify multi-ethnic Malaysians. The qualitative technique is used to conduct a textual analysis of the speeches. Fairclough's (1995) framework in analyzing discourse is used.

A corpus of selected speeches of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad from 1982-2007 were analyzed. There were compilations of selected speeches of Dr. Mahathir from the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. The speeches were selected based on issues of unity among the diverse ethnic groups in Malaysia. Only those speeches that have relevance on the specific issue of unity were chosen for analysis.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an offshoot of applied linguistics rooted in the tradition of critical social scientific theory (Khan and Hare, 2006: 70). This approach analyses discourses from the real world and studies 'social problems' such as dominance, inequality, racism, and powerlessness. Several studies on critical discourse analysis have been conducted by Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, and Chilton which present social dominance, inequality, racism, and powerlessness. Fairclough's (1989) *Language and Power* discusses how power and dominance are enacted by the speaker. He discusses the methodological framework for analyzing discourse and emphasizes three dimensions when analyzing discourse, that is, description, interpretation and explanation. On the other hand, Van Dijk (1993) in his research on discourse and racism analyzes how racism is enacted by speakers through oral discourse. He emphasizes the structure of the text, while Ruth Wodak in her work on racism and antisemitism emphasizes the importance of a historical dimension in critical discourse studies (see Wodak, 2007).

CDA is an analytical tool that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, resisted and assisted by text and talk in social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 2001: 352). CDA is used to study the influence of such discourse on the larger society. A critical language perspective takes into consideration not only the abstract structure of language, but also its use as discourse within a social and historical context. This perspective also explains how the use of language and society influence each

other (Fairclough, 1990). To analyze the discourse, this paper examines presupposition and implicatures in the speech.

2.2 Presupposition and Implicature

The concepts of implicitness and assumptions are normally associated with linguistic pragmatics (Blakemore, 1992; Levinson, 1983; Verschueren, 1999; as cited in Fairclough, 2003: 57). Linguistic pragmatics is the study of “language in relation to its users” (Mey, 1993, as cited in Fairclough, 2003: 57). Linguistic pragmatics has produced valuable insights about assumptions (presuppositions, implicatures), speech acts and so forth, which have been drawn upon in critical discourse analysis (cf. Fairclough, 1992). This study will analyse assumptions in Tun Dr. Mahathir’s discourse by explicitly stating whether it is a presupposition or an implicature.

It is always the objective of political leaders to persuade and attract their constituents in order to propagate and sustain their ideologies. To achieve one’s political agenda, most political leaders aid their constituents in making assumptions and implications from their messages which are not explicitly stated. In short, the hearers or listeners normally presuppose and often get the implicature.

Presupposition and implicature both play an integral part in every communicative event. Presupposition is defined as a background assumption embedded within a sentence or phrase (Thomas, et al. 2004). It is further defined as “a thing which is assumed, but not stated, at the beginning of a line of argument” (Beard, 2005: 118). Occasionally the hearer or listener may perceive his or her assumptions to be true regardless of whether the entire phrase, clause or sentence is true.

3 Analysis

This analysis uses a historical approach to analyze the data according to the year the speech was made. The analysis is separated according to the following years : 1982, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2003. The aim is to determine how Mahathir forms and

constructs unity among the three major ethnic groups in Malaysia through his published discourse from 1982 to 2003.

3.1 Analysis from 1982- 1989: National Unity in Diversity

From 1982-1989, Tun Dr. Mahathir, T.D.M. emphasizes the importance of national unity despite the ethnic diversity in the country. During the first few years of T.D.M's term as Malaysia's Prime Minister, he notes the impact of unity on economic, social and political progress. Apart from that, it is a known fact that good governance in a multi-ethnic society must ensure the confluence of various ethnic groups to achieve national unity (Prem Misir, 2007). Such a call for unity is evident in T.D.M's speeches, where some ideological implications in his linguistic choices become evident, particularly through the use of pronoun markers.

3.1.1 Ideological Implications and Pronoun Markers

In his campaign speech, Tun Dr. Mahathir focused on some issues, particularly the issue of ethnic unity in Malaysia. When one says "we have achieved success... various races and from all walks of life", this conveys the idea that success belongs not only to one ethnic group, but to all Malaysians, regardless of their group affiliation. In addition, T.D.M went on to say, "*to fulfill this dream we will have to further develop our infrastructure*", which implies that all Malaysians from various ethnic groups must work together to achieve such success. It is also noted that T.D.M's use of pronouns such as "we and our" reveals his intent of unifying all the people of Malaysia by not focusing on any one single ethnic group. Such a strategy is seen in the extract which follows:

"We have achieved success ... various races and from all walks of life"

"Our task will be a formidable one. To fulfill this dream we will have to further develop our infrastructure. We will have to penetrate the more remote areas of the country with roads and transport facilities. We will need to expand our power generating capacity and extend distribution networks. We will need new water supply systems. We will need to establish new towns and communities and equip them with houses, hospitals, schools and other social amenities. We will need more technicians, engineers, medical personnel, teachers and community leaders."

“Our workers want a better quality of life, employers want more profits and the government wants to achieve the socio-economic objectives of the Fourth Malaysia Plan.”

His messages imply that the Malays, Chinese, and Indians have all been successful in their endeavors. The use of “we” and “our” in his speech encompasses the listeners or even the readers, thus making them subjects of the discourse. Basically, the pronoun “we” and “our” refer to the speaker and his constituents, who are the target audience. For instance politicians use the phrase, *“We have achieved..., Our task..., Our workers..., We will have to penetrate”* as a common strategy to make their constituents become part of the discourse or the focus of their discourse.

When hearers assume that the “we” and “our” includes them, the speaker’s ideology is transmitted to the hearers and eventually they become convinced of the speaker’s argument or reasoning. The use of pronouns is a linguistic means of including the people. It also aids in giving people a role and acknowledges their contribution to the work achieved to date. In short, as the audience feels acknowledged, they might feel greater loyalty to a government that expresses gratitude for and acknowledges their help. In this way, people will have stronger support for the government.

3.1.2 Malaysian Citizenship and National Unity

The existence of different schooling systems in Malaysia has resulted in polarization and people tend to gravitate toward their own ethnic group. This results in ethnic stereotypes of the out-group. T.D.M. may have noted this and one way of unifying people is to convince them that they are all Malaysians. The need to emphasise this - that Malaysia is the country for all regardless of ethnicity- presupposes that there are Malaysians who do not feel that this is so and have to be given reassurance. Perhaps, special rights to the Bumiputeras have fueled this sentiment. People already have the schema that the bumiputeras are privileged and that others are treated as second class citizens. There is a feeling of ethnic otherness where the other races can be classified as not belonging to the in-group. Perhaps, this kind of mindset is brought about by group-fulfilling prophecies, where certain stereotypes are associated with some ethnic groups. The statement *“Malaysia is our country”* contests this ideology. It is evident that Tun Dr. Mahathir is disseminating his ideology and trying to influence the

people's ideology that every Malaysian citizen has a right to claim that Malaysia is their country. This is evident when T.D.M. says:

"Malaysia is our country."

"Our national wealth can be expressed, not just in terms of money, but more meaningfully in terms of the quantity of goods and services that we produce."

"Our national productivity level could be raised by as much as 15% or even 20%."

"But Malaysia is our country, the country of the Malays, the Bumiputeras, and Malaysians of Chinese origin, Indians, Ibans, Kadazans and other ethnic groups (The New Straits Times, 28 September 1985:p.17).

When one says *"Malaysia is our country, the country of the Malays, the Bumiputeras, and Malaysians of Chinese origin, Indians, Ibans, Kadazans and other ethnic groups"* this has an implicature that regardless of ethnic origin we are all Malaysians. Ethnic differences should not hold back a sense of nationhood. Through his choice of words he tries to unite everyone irrespective of race and or religion.

Such implicatures and presuppositions are further enhanced through the use of the possessive pronoun, 'our'. This use is significant as Tun Dr. Mahathir is using the inclusive pronoun to forge a closer link between himself and his audience, thus creating solidarity between both parties. The use of the pronoun 'our' presupposes possession by the noun referents like the Malays, Bumiputeras, Malaysian Chinese, Indians, Ibans and other ethnic groups. It indicates that the government recognizes all ethnic groups as Malaysians who have the right to claim that Malaysia is their homeland. It does not suggest that Malaysia is owned solely by the Malays. Tun Dr. Mahathir is trying to deconstruct the prevailing schema that has been implanted in the hearts and minds of the populace that the non-Malays are immigrants or *pendatang*- an ideology that has been transmitted through the mass media and the discourse of politicians. Thus, the use of the pronoun marker 'our' is all inclusive and intentional. It is hoped by Dr. Mahathir that a pronoun marker creates a sense of belonging and oneness, regardless of one's ethnic background.

The concept of unity is emphasized in Tun Dr. Mahathir's speech. He projects an image of being fair to various ethnic groups in Malaysia by recognizing them as part of the larger social fabric. He states,

“In Malaysia our administration is not contrary to the principles of Islam in taking the contemporary situation into account, including the situation where half of the people of this country are non-Muslims.” (The New Straits Times, 28 September 1985:17).

He describes Malaysia as a country that is not only owned by the Muslims because half of the population is composed of non-Muslims. Although the Islamic principle of governance is mentioned, a certain sensitivity to other religious groups is also given importance and it is recognized that they also play a crucial role in the government. The construction of power and dominance when it comes to religion is fairly presented in Tun Dr. Mahathir’s speech, and this helps in reducing tensions which arise from religious differences. By impicature, Dr. Mahathir’s speech makes the suggestion that the country has to recognize other people as well and respect various cultures and religions. It can be argued that respect of other people’s religious beliefs may help in creating inclusiveness and unity. Furthermore, the emergence of the pronoun “*our*” in this excerpt is also intentional and implies all inclusiveness- an important ideology to promote when governing a multiracial country.

In the second paragraph, he says

“I like to reiterate that Malaysia is a multi-racial and multi-religious country. While Islam is recognized as the country’s official religion, other religions can freely be practiced by their respective followers. Besides, Muslims are protected from the spread of other religions. On the contrary, in spreading and increasing the number of Muslims, the use of force is completely out.”

The need to assert that Malaysia is a “*multi-racial and multi-religious country*” infers that there is a need for assurance. And this follows in the next sentence where T.D.M. points out that free religious practice is permitted and there is no coercion on non-Muslims to become Muslims. When T.D.M says “*in spreading and increasing the number of Muslims, the use of force is completely out*” this presupposes that forced conversion to Islam to increase the

number of Muslims in Malaysia has been an issue that must be dealt with. The message clarifies the issue of equality of religious practice which might aid in making people content.

T.D.M's claim is enhanced with his use of the pronoun "I" which suggests subjectivity on the part of the speaker but a strong leader can assert his will on others. Tun Dr. Mahathir's repetition and reassertion that Malaysia is a multi-racial and multi-religious country suggests that he wants to construct an ideology of one nation- many kinds of people. At the same time, he walks a dangerous path and has to assure the large majority, i.e. the Muslims that Islam is recognized as the country's official religion and that they are protected from the spread of other religions. In short, they do not need to fear. This implicature is to reassure those who might fear the ideology he is constructing of recognising the existence of the outsiders –the non-Muslims.

3.2 Analysis from 1990 - 1999: National Unity and Economic Stability

After a few years of serving the country from 1982 to 1989, T.D.M's discourses were focused not only on national unity, but also on the economic stability of the country. Upon seeing the role of national unity as an important step towards achieving economic stability, the Prime Minister used the economic factor as a strategy to create unity among the Malays, Chinese, Indians and other ethnic groups.

3.2.1 Unity and Economic Success (1995)

In 1995, Tun Dr. Mahathir made another speech at the National Seminar on Public Service in Kuala Lumpur on 1 September 1995. He provided an overview of public service and then introduced the "Malaysian Incorporated concept". Dr. Mahathir Mohamad states,

"The public servants are partners in the Corporation. If the Corporation, i.e. the Nation prosper, then as partners, they will enjoy the dividends. More than that, they will enjoy greater pride as the prosperity and success of the nation is, to a considerable extent, the result of the service provided by the Public servants."

"Under the Malaysia Incorporated Concept, the whole nation is regarded as a corporation and both the public servants and private sector people are responsible for the success of the corporation. They have to work together for this success. The public

servant understands that the failure of the private sector would result in loss of revenue for the government.”

The statement, “*the public servants are partners in the corporation*” has an implicature that both the public servants, who are predominantly ethnic Malays, and partners in corporation, who are mainly Chinese, must work together in order to succeed. In this way, TDM motivates both the Malays and the Chinese to work together so as to succeed. This idea is substantiated when he states, “*under the Malaysia Incorporated Concept, the whole nation is regarded as a corporation and both the public servants and private sector people are responsible for the success of the corporation.*” The implicature is that as the public sector is made up of majority Malays (unstated but in known schema of Malaysians) and the private sector has more non-Malays, then cooperation with the latter by the former is vital for economic success.

3.2.2 Racial and Economic Equality (1996)

Dr. Mahathir Mohamad delivered a speech at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Chair of Malay Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand on March 27, 1996. He thanked the University for having a Chair of Malay Studies and provided a brief description of Bahasa Malaysia and how it had evolved as a language which shares some of the linguistic features with other Asian and Pacific languages. Apart from the linguistic aspect he discussed the “New Economic Policy” (NEP). He said:

“The programme goes under the name of the “New Economic Policy” (NEP). The moment it was announced it came in for scathing comments especially from the Western media. Since bringing up the indigenous people required discrimination in their favour, it was condemned as racist and anti-Chinese. But strangely the majority of the Chinese did not take offence. They in fact cooperated and helped the process of affirmative action and the equitable structuring of the race-base economic functions. After 20 years of the NEP, Malaysia is much more balanced economically, stable politically and the race relations are much improved. By

comparison with other multiracial countries, Malaysia is a haven of peace and racial harmony.”

In his speech, he emphasizes that Malaysia as a multiracial country has achieved its goal of unifying people of different races. When one says “*since bringing up the indigenous people required discrimination in their favour, it was condemned as racist and anti-Chinese*” it presupposes that tension among the other ethnic groups had occurred. He rationalised the NEP policy and argued that the Malaysian Chinese had cooperated in this process of affirmative action. By implicature, economic equality among the major races can help in healthy relations amongst the peoples of the country.

3.2.3 Economic Disparity

TDM makes a strong argument in favour of the NEP policy in that it helps to reduce economic disparity among ethnic groups, particularly between the Malays and Chinese. In the same speech Dr. Mahathir said:

“But the beneficiaries of the NEP are not only the millionaires and billionaires .Literally, hundreds of thousands of indigenous business people have benefited through special training, loans, licences, contracts and guidance by Ministries set up for this purpose.”

The message presupposes that there is a possibility that, apart from the millionaires/ billionaires, others too have benefited from the NEP. Implicit in the statement is awareness that the man in the street has criticised the NEP and it is seen as benefiting only wealthy Malays and not the average Malay.

At the same time this utterance makes it clear that the government works hard to improve the lives of people representing the indigenous population of Malaysia, who are less economically fortunate. It is clear that much effort and attention is given to the Bumiputeras as compared to the other races with the aim of uplifting their economic status so that they enjoy the same economic benefits enjoyed by the Chinese. Dr. Mahathir openly discusses the bias and prejudice against the “brown” Malays. He says:

“One talks so much now about the equality of races. Colour should not differentiate us. But the fact is that many people associate colour with intellectual and other attributes. Thus the remarkable achievement of the Southeast Asia is attributed to the overseas Chinese. The brown Malays who are indigenous to Southeast Asia are dismissed as quite irrelevant to the progress and achievements of ASEAN. The prejudice is very much there.”

By implication, the fact that *“Colour should not differentiate us”* suggests that it still does. And in this way he rationalises the special help given to one community.

3.2.4 Race and Religion

Race and religion play an important role in achieving unity. People who share the same race or religion could easily group themselves due to similarity of cultural practices (Healey, 2010). As a result, T.D.M’s discourses emphasize that there is a need to minimize racial and religious differences. In his speech he convinced investors to come to Malaysia. He emphasized the uniqueness of Malaysia as compared to the other countries in Southeast Asia, that of being both multilingual and multicultural.

On April 25, 1997, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad delivered a speech on Majlis Ulangtahun Ke-50 Majlis Gereja-Gereja Malaysia at PWTC, Kuala Lumpur. He said:

“We are very fortunate that this multi-racial and multi-religious society of ours has had a long experience and tradition of living in harmony with each other. As a direct result we have achieved tremendous economic progress that has considerably lifted the quality of life of our people. This cooperation regardless of race and religion will further reinforce our capacity to build a more liberal and tolerant society.”

When one says *“we are very fortunate that this multi-racial and multi-religious society of ours has had a long experience and tradition of living in harmony with each other”*, it implies that racial and religious conflicts no longer exist in Malaysia, and that economic progress has

been achieved. Words like “multi-racial”, “multi-religious” are linked to “harmony” which in turn brings “*tremendous economic progress*”. The covert message is that in order to succeed Malaysians must be united and tolerant.

Foregrounding Islam and the teachings of Islam vis-à-vis other religions he says: - “*Islam teaches us to allow complete freedom of worship to other religious groups who are willing to live in a Muslim country. Islam teaches us that all humans are created from the same parents, Adam and Eve.*” As Islam is the religion of the majority of Malaysians this concession presupposes that Malaysia is a tolerant country and allows freedom of worship. By being tolerant, Malaysia has reduced group differentiation.

Religion is further emphasized by TDM as a bridge to unify the ethnic groups. When one states “all humans are created of the same parents “Adam and Eve”, it has an implicature that people are brothers even if they hold different religious beliefs or affiliations. Therefore, there is something in common among people regardless of ethnicity and religion. This infers that unity is possible, notwithstanding religious and cultural differences.

As a democratic country, Malaysia has practiced mutual tolerance and respect to all, regardless of ethnicity and religion. He said, “*It is obviously based on such teachings that we in Malaysia practice tolerance and mutual respect for one another. Our non-Muslim friends, such as the Buddhist and Hindus enjoy the freedom to live according to their cultural values and religious norms in a way that is not possible in many other countries.*”

The message is clear that religious freedom helps to minimize religious conflicts. TDM takes pride in saying that “*our non-Muslim friends, such as the Buddhist and Hindus enjoy the freedom to live according to their cultural values and religious norms in a way that is not possible in many other countries.*” This implies that such freedom is only possible in Malaysia as compared to other Muslim countries where people of different religious orientations are not allowed to practice their faith.

3.3 Analysis from 2000 - 2007: National Unity and Success

After Malaysia’s recovery from economic crisis in the mid 90s, economic progress became visible and so T.D.M. convinced his constituents that economic disparities had been reduced. He implies that inequality among ethnic groups has been reduced as well. Such

discourse would mean that national unity and economic progress always go together, thus encouraging Malaysians to minimize ethnic divisions.

3.3.1 Government and its People (2000-2007)

On the 19th of June 2003, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad delivered a speech at the 54th UMNO General Assembly at Putra World Trade Centre, Kuala Lumpur. He states that Malaysians live in harmony and that the government has achieved its goal of uplifting the poor Malays. He says “*the multiracial people of Malaysia live in peace and harmony.*” which presupposes that various ethnic groups have been united. In addition, his message implies that the Malaysian government had succeeded in achieving its goal of unifying Malaysians. He further mentioned that “*the Bumiputera padi farmers and the fishermen now have children who are professionals, high ranking government officials, and professors, generals in the armed forces and millionaires in business*” which implies that equality among Malaysians have been achieved. He also stated:

“The multiracial people of Malaysia live in peace and harmony, thanks to the policy of the first Prime Minister, YTM Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra. The disparities in the economic wealth of the different races have been reduced. The Bumiputera padi farmers and the fishermen now have children who are professionals, high ranking government officials, and professors, generals in the armed forces and millionaires in business.”

Peace and harmony are again highlighted when he says, “*the multiracial people of Malaysia live in peace and harmony.*” Since the audience was predominantly Malays, Dr. Mahathir infers that the Malay community was catching up with the Chinese economically when he says that:- “*The disparities in the economic wealth of the different races have been reduced*”. He emphasizes that the Malays and non-Malays are working together when he says:

“Petronas, fully-owned Government Company is managed by Malay managers and senior executives together with non-Malays.”

It is evident that the government's program has succeeded in bringing the different races, particularly the Malays and the Chinese to work together in businesses. Unity among people from different races brings economic success.

The discourses of T.D.M from 1980-2007 reflect his major concern of uniting the ethnic groups in Malaysia. It is evident in his discourses that TDM spread the ideology that through unity Malaysia can achieve its vision of becoming an industrialized country by 2020. In the 1980s, TDM's goal was to foster good relationships among the major ethnic groups so as to achieve unity. Good governance was also emphasized as a stepping stone towards unity and economic success. The call for national unity and better relationships among ethnic groups were the focus of the intent behind the discourse.

However, in the 1990s, the discourse shifted its focus to economic stability. This is understandable since Malaysia experienced an economic crisis at that time. One way of recovering from the crisis was to make the people feel united and help each other to help the government recover quickly from economic instability.

In 2000, TDM's discourse also notes the emphasis on unity and economic success in. With globalization the call for national unity among the ethnic groups for Malaysia so as to achieve Malaysia's 2020 vision was intensified..

4. Conclusion

The discourse of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad in three different periods, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s suggests that Prime Minister's major goal was to create a sense of oneness, a sense of nationhood. His construction of a country which is successful economically and because there are harmonious relationships among the major ethnic groups comes from the belief that this will surely transpire if all Malaysians, regardless of ethnicity, were to work hand in hand. Tun Dr. Mahathir is explicit in his discourses. Being a leader of a multiethnic population is not an easy task as TDM can be perceived to be biased in favour of his own ethnic group. Consequently, he explains and provides reasons why the Malay community has to be helped. At the same time, the Chinese are portrayed as economically stable. Thus, they need to cooperate with the government's plan of providing the Malays with an equal chance and

opportunity to enjoy the economic benefits that the Chinese enjoy. Tun Dr. Mahathir infers that this will result in a win-win situation for both communities and for the country. However, the smaller communities such as the Indians and other minority ethnic groups in the country do not feature in any of the speeches examined.

In summary, the findings of this study demonstrate TDM's concern for equality and unity among Malaysians. In fact, his concern for uniting all the ethnic groups was emphasized in many of his speeches.

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Appendix 1

The speeches were analysed and classified according to the years they were delivered. The selected speeches were:

1. In 1982, a speech was delivered by Dr. Mahathir Mohamad on the 20th of April, 1982.
2. There were two speeches in 1995: the speech delivered at the South African Parliament in Cape Town, South Africa, on 25th August; and the speech delivered during the *National Seminar on Public Service*, at Istana Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, on 1st September.
3. Three speeches were delivered in 1996: at the *Inauguration Ceremony of the Chair of Malay Studies*, at Victoria University, New Zealand on 27th March; *Market Economy and Moral Cultural Values – A Malaysian Perspective*, at St. Catherine, on 16th April; *The 30th Singapore – Malaysia Congress of Medicine*, in Singapore, on 10th August 1996.
4. In 1997, the three speeches were the *Silicon Valley Conference for Investors on the MSC*, at Stanford University, Santa Clara, California, on 15th January; the *Majlis Ulangtahun ke-50 Majlis Gereja-Gereja Malaysia*, at PWTC, Kuala Lumpur, on 25th April; the *1997 Langkawi International Dialogue*, at the Berjaya Langkawi Beach and Resort, Langkawi, Kedah, on 28th July.
5. There were three speeches in 1998: the *4th Pacific Dialogue*, at the Palace of Golden Horses, Sg. Besi, Kuala Lumpur, on 12th January; the *Official Dinner in Honour of His Excellency Rafiq Hariri, prime minister of the Republic of Lebanon*, at Sri Perdana, Kuala Lumpur, on 9th February; the *Official Opening of the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) General Assembly*, at the Palace of the Golden Horses, Kuala Lumpur, on 8th September.
6. Three speeches were chosen in 1999: the *Luncheon Talk*, at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, on 28th September; the *World 15th Hakka Convention*, at Sunway Lagoon Resort Hotel, Subang Jaya, Selangor, on 5th November; the *International Conference of Religious Studies: Meeting the Millenium*, at the Palace of the Golden Horses Hotel in Kuala Lumpur, on 30th December.
7. In 2003, the speech delivered was at the *54th Umno General Assembly*, at Putra World Trade Center (PWTC), Kuala Lumpur, on 19th June.

All the speeches chosen had something in common - ethnic relationships among the Malays, Chinese and Indians. The focus has been on these three ethnic groups because they constitute a big percentage of the Malaysian population.

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A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GOODLUCK JONATHAN'S DECLARATION OF INTEREST IN THE PDP PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

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Abstract

This paper examines the text of President Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of his candidacy for his party's presidential primaries. Previous studies on presidential speeches in Nigeria have focused on stylistic and pragmatic analysis with little emphasis on the ideological perspective of the texts. None of these studies examined the speeches of a president's declaration of presidential ambition or candidacy for election. The study employed a qualitative approach in the analysis of the text to tease out the meaning potential of the rhetorical strategies deployed in the speech and the ideology they encode. Methods of and insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics were employed to unearth the underlying ideology and persuasive strategies used in the declaration speech. The study revealed a conscious deployment of diverse rhetorical strategies by the President to articulate an alternative ideology for the Nigerian nation. The study also showed that the President used a variety of persuasive strategies such as appeal to ethno-religious sentiments, alignment with the suffering majority of the country, and reconstruction of childhood experiences to entreat and manipulate the conscience of his party and other Nigerians. The study also showed the deployment of delegitimization strategies to threaten undesirable groups such as criminals, miscreants, and corrupt individuals.

Keywords: rhetorical strategies, ideology, language and power, political messiah, President Goodluck Jonathan.

1. Political Rhetoric and the Context of Nigerian politics

The deployment of political rhetoric as an instrument of persuasion in speeches is not a recent phenomenon in the Nigerian political climate. De Wet (2010:103) observes that “politicians rise to power mainly because they can talk persuasively to voters and political elites... politicians are endlessly geared to persuading voters to their own or party’s point of view.” The language of politics is essentially aimed at persuading the audience/addressee to accept the perspective of the speaker. Beard (2000:2) contends that it is important to study the language of politics because it enables us to “understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power.” Van Dijk (1995, 2006) and de Wet (2010) perceive politically structured discourses as instruments of mind control by the dominant ideology.

Political discourses, like declaration of candidacy for a political office, political campaigns, presentation of party manifestoes and other forms of political speeches which fall within the purview of Aristotle’s deliberative rhetoric, aimed at marketing the ideology of the candidate and the party they represent. Beard (2000:35) observes that “making speeches is a vital part of the politician’s role in announcing policy and persuading people to agree with it.” In ideal political situations, language is the bullet employed by political opponents to bring down the other or diminish their relevance, and construct a positive face for themselves. This, to a large extent, is also the case with Nigerian politics. Analysing the rhetoric and propaganda of political campaigns in Nigeria, Ezejideaku and Ugwu (2007:10) posit that political campaigns are meant to acquaint the prospective voters with the candidates and party’s programmes, with the intention of persuading the voters to accept their party’s candidates. They do this by appealing to primordial and sectional sentiments.

2. Nigeria’s Socio-Political Context: The Place of President Jonathan

The political discourses in Nigeria such as campaigns and declarations are normally structured to appeal to sectional or ethno-religious interests. Historical facts show that tribe and religion have played crucial roles in Nigerian politics right since the beginning of the first

republic. This explains why the three dominant political parties in the first republic (1960-1966) represented the interest of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) in the north represented the interest of the mainly Hausa/Fulani group; The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in the east represented that of the dominant Igbo ethnic group; while the Action Group (AG) in the west catered to the interest of the Yoruba. Subsequent political experiments in Nigeria from 1979 to the present time have consciously or unconsciously followed the traditional pattern of North/South, that is to say, the Christian/Moslem or majority/minority dichotomy in the formation of parties and appointment of principal officers of the parties.. In the current dispensation, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the ruling party in Nigeria, also recognizes the role of religion and tribe in its agenda. It has a policy that allows power to rotate between the mainly Moslem North and the predominantly Christian South on a basis of two terms (8years) of four years per term.

The intention of the arrangement was to permit power to rotate among the three major ethnic groups: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. President Obasanjo, a Yoruba/Westerner/Christian, benefitted from the arrangement (1999-2003); President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, a Fulani/Northerner/Moslem, was the next beneficiary of this structure (2007-2010). Unfortunately, Yar'Adua died on May 5 2010 before he could complete his first term in office in 2011, thereby making way for his deputy, Vice-President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, from the Ijaw "minority" ethnic group in the South-South geo-political zone, to be sworn in as President on May 7 2010.

There had been speculations since the emergence of President Jonathan about whether he would step down at the end of the first term of his joint ticket with President Yar'Adua in 2011 and allow a Moslem/ Northerner to complete the second term of the late President after which power will once again return to the South in 2015. His emergence as president and subsequent declaration of his candidacy has upset several hierarchies in the political structures of Nigeria. He is the first minority presidential candidate whose ideology implicitly challenges the assumption that it is the prerogative of the three major ethnic groups to determine the political direction of the nation. This position and many more have pitched him against so many interest groups from within the PDP, from the North, from the East, from opposition parties, and so many others who perceive his presidential ambition as a threat to

their group interests. This paper investigates how President Goodluck Jonathan's speech constructs an alternative discourse and epistemology that de-emphasizes religious and ethnic affiliations as prerequisites for the office of president in Nigeria.

3. Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework

Previous studies of presidential speeches in Nigeria have focused on the stylistic, discourse analysis and rhetorical strategies in the speeches of Nigerian presidents/ heads of state. Ayeomoni (2005) did a linguistic-stylistic investigation of the language of the Nigerian political elite. He analysed the speeches of past presidents, heads of state, governors, ambassadors and political advisers from the six geo-political zones of Nigeria. Yusuf (2002) focused on the dysphemisms in the language of President Olusegun Obasanjo; Ayoola (2005) conducted a discursive study of President Olusegun Obasanjo's July 26, 2005 address to the National Assembly; Adetunji (2009) discussed the inaugural addresses of Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo and America's President George Bush; Babatunde and Odegbedan (2009) examined the pragma-rhetorical strategies in selected speeches of President Olusegun Obasanjo; while Opanachi (2009) engaged in a discourse analysis of President Obasanjo's national address on the Nigeria Labour Congress of 8th October, 2003. None of these studies explicitly examined the role of ideology as a dominant force of mind control in political speeches. The analysts did not link political discourse with the attempt by speakers to manipulate and control the mind of the audience. Thus, political speeches as a tool in the hands of dominant groups to legitimize their control of the "Other" were largely ignored in the analyses.

Language plays an important role in manifesting political wills and accompanying political actions. Schäffner (1996) contends that "in political discourse linguistics have always been interested in the linguistic structures used to get politically relevant messages across to the addressees in order to fulfill a specific function." Schäffner (1996), Sauer (1996), and Fairclough (1996) claim that the analysis of political speeches in political discourse should relate linguistic structures to larger contexts of communicative settings and political functions. Thus, they favour the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the integrated approach.

CDA, as Fairclough (1996:287) claims, is “a perspective which is concerned with showing up often opaque connections between language and other aspects of society and culture”. In addition, van Dijk (1993) suggests examining the style, rhetoric or meaning of texts for strategies that aim at the concealment of social power relations and the exercise of power.

The theoretical framework for this study is Fairclough’s (1995) model of Critical Discourse Analysis - a three dimensional framework that seeks to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another. That is, it analyses language texts (spoken or written), discourse practices (processes of text production, distribution and consumption), and discursive events as instances of socio-political practice. Fairclough (1989:20) defines CDA as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that does not only see “language as a form of social practice,” but also focuses on the idea that social and political dominion is reproduced by “text and talk.” Thus, Fowler (1991:67) describes critical discourse analysis as a theory that sets out to respond to the problems of “fixed, invisible ideology permeating language”.

CDA focuses on the hidden relationship between the discourse practice, events and text on the one hand and the wider socio-cultural context on the other hand. Meaning exists in that hidden relationship because it is all about the “unsaid said” concealed in a text. The “hidden agenda” of any text must be seen from the socio-cultural background that informed the construction of that text. In order to encode these hidden ideologies and power involved in discourse, Fairclough (1989:15) notes that “language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being a site of, and a stake in the struggle for power.” Supporting this view, Luke (1997) posits that CDA reveals the ways discourses are used every day for power relation, and by extension, for signification and the construction of new knowledge. That is why Thompson (2002) asserts that CDA helps to make clear the connections between the use of language and the exercise of power. CDA helps to legitimize the voice of the marginalized and by extension, take the voice of those in power into question. Thus by so doing, it reveals the agenda and motives that serve sectional or self interests which help to maintain and subjugate the other.

As an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, CDA views “language as a form of social practice” (Fairclough 1989:20) and focuses on the idea that social and political domination is reproduced by “text and talk.” According to van Dijk (1988), CDA is

concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias, and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical contexts. By so doing, it illuminates ways in which the dominant forces construct texts that favour their interest.

According to Sheyholislami (2001), one key principle of CDA is that the way we write, what we say, is not arbitrary – it is purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious. Thus, Batstone (1995:198-199) contends that critical discourse analysts seek to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly.

Fairclough (1987, 1993), van Dijk (1988), Wodak (2001), Thompson (2002), and McGregor (2004) contend that CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. The form and structure of sentences can suppress information that exists in a text because of the attitude of the dominant group in the discursive construction. CDA therefore aims at demystifying the text.

Fairclough (2000) observes that there are three central tenets of CDA. To him, discourse is shaped and constrained by: (a) Social Structure, (b) Culture, and (c) Discourse. Social Structure includes age, class, status, ethnic identity, and gender. Culture could be considered as the generally accepted norms of behaviour in the society. Discourse refers to the words we use. Thus, the goal of CDA is to determine the relationship between these three central tenets. Our discourses reflect the societal norms and beliefs, that is, we say things in conformity with the way they should normally be said in our society, and there are certain things we do not say because the society has constrained us not to say them. Likewise, our identity in the social structure is shown in the way we think, act and speak. Thus, text is produced by socially-situated speakers.

There are a number of crucial concepts in CDA which require special attention because they imply discursive power abuse. Van Dijk (2006) examines some of the properties of manipulation, within the “triangulation” framework that explicitly links discourse, cognition and society. A discourse analytical approach is necessary because most manipulation, according to van Dijk, takes place by text and talk. However, insight from van Dijk’s approach shows that the subjects being manipulated are human beings, and this usually occurs

through the manipulation of their “minds”. Since manipulation “implies power and power abuse”, van Dijk recommends a social approach to the study to because a cognitive dimension is important as well, since manipulation always involves a form of mental manipulation”

Manipulation, according to van Dijk (2006) does not only involve power, but precisely, *abuse* of power, that is, *domination*. Manipulation can imply the exercise of a form of *illegitimate* influence by means of discourse where manipulators make others believe or do things that are in the interest of the manipulator and against the best interests of the manipulated (see Wodak, 1987; Chouliaraki, 2005; Martín Rojo and Van Dijk, 1997). Manipulation can equally be a form of (legitimate) persuasion (see Dillard and Pfau, 2002; O’Keefe, 2002). Insight from van Dijk’s notion of manipulation will be incisive to our understanding and analysis of political speech.

4. Data

The data for this study consist of a corpus of 1,855 words on a six page written text, being the text of President Goodluck Jonathan’s declaration of interest in the 2010 PDP presidential primaries. The data were written and delivered orally in English on 18th September, 2010 and transmitted through the print and electronic media, including the internet. The data were collected from President Goodluck Jonathan’s facebook notes on 20th September, 2010. We did a critical discourse analysis of the speech to identify its ideological orientation and persuasive strategies and how they reflect the power relationship between the speaker and his audience. The details of the speech are as follows: “Speech by President Goodluck Jonathan Declaring his Candidacy for the PDP Presidential Primaries” Saturday, September 18 2010. <http://www.facebook.com/notes/goodluck-jonathan>

5. Analysis of Rhetorical Strategies

Political discourses are generally aimed at mind control or manipulation (van Dijk, 1995, 2006). Politicians usually employ persuasive language to make the audience accept their

ideology. They often employ emotional arguments and language to arouse the interest of the audience. De Wet (2010:104) observes that “the language of political persuasion is geared to guiding recipients’ attitudes and orientation/or behaviour, that is, to forming, sustaining or changing their attitudes on a political issue or impelling them to act.” Our analysis will centre on identifying some of the rhetorical strategies employed by the speaker to market his identity (and ideology) and that of his party. We shall examine these strategies under two broad dimensions: positive-face strategies and negative-face strategies. The two are synonymous with Chilton’s (2004:46-47) legitimisation and delegitimisation strategies. Legitimation is expressed in techniques such as arguments about voters’ wants, general ideological principles, charismatic leadership projection, boasting about performance, and positive self-presentation; on the other hand, delegitimation manifests in acts of negative other-presentation, acts of blaming, scapegoating, marginalising, excluding, attacking the moral character of some individual or group, attacking the communicative cooperation of the other, attacking the rationality and sanity of the other. Chilton (2004:47) contends that “The strategies of delegitimation (of the other) and legitimisation (of self) may perhaps coincide with positive face (being an insider and legitimate) and negative face (being not only an outsider and thus not legitimate but also under attack).”

5.1 Positive-face Strategies

We use the term “positive-face strategies” to mean those rhetorical patterns that are intended to positively orient the speaker to his audience. The overall aim of the speaker is to present his political agenda and ideology in the most favourable manner to his audience, who are mainly members of his political party, his political admirers, and potential voters. Some of the positive face strategies employed by President Goodluck Jonathan are analysed below.

5.1.1 Recollection of landmark accomplishments as President

The President started his speech with a list of his accomplishments in “the past four months that I have served as President of Nigeria”. His accomplishments centred around the major problem areas of the economy such as oil and gas, power generation and distribution, peace in the Niger Delta, infrastructural developments, education, electoral system, transparent banking, etc. The items were structured in order of importance and clearly indicate

the President's priority agenda. The placement of the items also reflects the President's assessment of "Self" and his highlighting the areas of great success and ongoing development initiatives.

The President scores "Self" high in the oil and gas sector and rationalizes that with the fact that "today, all our refineries are working, saving us huge amounts of funds spent on importation of petroleum products." On electricity generation and distribution, the President calls on "you" as a witness to his success in the sector - "as **you** can see from the lower quantities of diesel that **you** are buying today, power generation has significantly improved." The deixis "you" is however vague because the identity of the referent cannot be easily determined from the context. It is not certain whether the "you" refers to the president's immediate audience or those who will later read the text of the message, or an imaginary audience. To prove that peace has been restored in the volatile Niger Delta region, the President uses the inclusive first person pronoun "we" – "**we** saw to it that normalcy began to return to the Niger Delta by ensuring government's fidelity to its promises, and this has helped to stabilize our national revenue." It is also not certain why the speaker suddenly shifts from the use of singular "I" to plural "we" in the same discourse context. He perhaps chose to use the plural form to share the success or otherwise the amnesty deal with other stakeholders. It shows collective involvement and responsibility, and an attempt to distance or separate the individual "Self" from a collective action. This explains why de Wet (2010:110) posits that ambiguity is especially conspicuous in political language because politics invariably concerns conflicts of interest. In all, the President is excited to recall with pride "all the development initiatives we have accomplished so far."

Our analysis shows that the President decided to precede his political declaration with a presentation of his accomplishments so as to convince the audience that he has a record of achievement and good governance and can do better if given the mandate to participate in the 2011 general elections as his party's presidential candidate.

5.1.2 Alignment with the suffering majority of the country

President Jonathan in his rhetoric tried to establish common ground with the poor of the country, express an understanding and respect for their socioeconomic position, reassure them of his goodwill to them, and highlight the similarity of their present situation with his past.

The President informed the audience that his concern is the “immediate needs and priorities of our people” and “to solve the everyday problems that confront the average Nigerian.” The reconstruction of his childhood experiences as a metaphor of hope and regeneration is to motivate or manipulate the minds of people within his target audience that he is one of them and that hence, “my story symbolizes my dream for Nigeria.” The President carefully chose words and phrases that connect him psychologically with the audience. He informed them that “I was not born rich”; never “imagined that I would be where I am today”; was raised by “my mother and father with just enough money to meet our daily needs”; “had no shoes, no school bags”; had to carry “my books in my hands”; and could only afford “one meal” some days, etc.

The President used these rhetorical strategies to construct affinity and commonality with the masses and to reassure them that he understands the meaning of poverty and suffering. He gives the impression that he identifies with the plight of the “ordinary Nigerian” and assures them of his friendship and understanding: “You are all my friends and we share a common destiny...I am one of you and I will never let you down.” His mission then seems to be the redemption of the “millions of Nigerians whose potentials for greatness are constrained by the lack of basic infrastructure,” and to raise from this group who are “disadvantaged by the lack of opportunities” an army “who can make a difference in the service of their country”.

5.1.3 Presentation of “Self” in the frame of political messiah

Positive self-presentation is one of the rhetorical strategies employed by politicians to persuade or manipulate their audience. In our analysis, President Jonathan presents himself in the frame of a political messiah with the magic wand to fix all of Nigeria’s socioeconomic problems. He metaphorized himself as the “new era” that “beckons for a new kind of leadership.” He presented a long list of seemingly intractable socioeconomic and political problems facing Nigeria in key sectors such as energy, education, agriculture, the economy, health, transparency and accountability and declared, “I have come to say to all of you, that Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan is the man you need to put Nigeria right.” Using contrastive pairs such as “campaign of ideas not of calumny,” “love, not hate,” and “friends” not “enemies,” he distanced himself from the “divisive tendencies of the past, which have slowed our drive to true nationhood.” He asserted that the “new Jonathan administration” will

“herald a new era of transformation of our country.” The underlying ideology behind the phrase, “new Jonathan administration” is quite tricky. It is an attempt to discriminate between the “new” (future) administration which will be under his firm leadership from the current one that is an appendage of the late Yar’Adua regime. The Yar’Adua administration came with a 7 point agenda in which none of the items listed as top priority was accomplished as at the time of his death “four months” ago. President Jonathan seems to be tactfully distancing himself from the ideology of failure associated with the regime. He is therefore asking for the opportunity to correct the failures of past administrations, including that of late President Yar’Adua, in which he served for three years as Vice-President. This explains why he “humbly offer (my)self” to participate in the 2011 Presidential elections. The above thus affirms Beard’s (2000:41) position that “politicians often claim humility and service to the people as their motive for wanting power.”

5.1.4 Appeal to ethno-religious sentiment

The President recognized early enough the odds against him in the contest, being a candidate from “Otuoke, a small village in the Niger Delta”. He acknowledged that tribe/religion and number (population) are crucial elements of Nigerian politics. He therefore tried in his speech to deconstruct the relevance of ethnicity and religion in the vision of the “new era” he was trying to market to the audience. He asked his audience to break away from the “divisive tendencies of the past” and realize their “God-given potentials, unhindered by tribe or religion” so as to be able to “herald a new era of transformation of our country.” He however makes an indirect appeal to ethno-religious sentiment when he acknowledged that he came to power by the “power of God” and the “support and prayers” of “all ethnic groups, North, South, East and West.” He used the metaphor of inclusion and solidarity by asserting oneness with all ethno-religious groups in Nigeria: “I am one of you and will never let you down!” The reference to God and ethnic groups shows that he completely understands the role of religion and tribe in Nigerian politics, since he is from the Ijaw “minority” tribe in the Niger Delta. He therefore needs the support of all ethno-religious groups in the country to win the party primaries and the 2011 Presidential elections.

5.1.5 Name as Metaphor

It is a common belief in traditional Africa that one's name affects one's fortune in life. Parents therefore give their children "positive" names so that their lives will be positive too. This has even received more recognition and pronouncement within the fold of contemporary Pentecostalism which oppose any "negative" confessions because of their belief that one is what one professes. Izevbaye (1981:164) argues that "names in reality exist in a context that gives them form and meaning. Taken out of this context of social reality, names remain in atomistic state." President Jonathan realized the importance attached to names in traditional Africa and in Christendom, and decided to play politics with his names: Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan.

As part of the build up to his formal declaration, there were huge media hypes about the "miraculous" names of the President. Some of the jingles implored Nigerians to embrace Goodluck Jonathan if they want "goodluck" for themselves, their families, and the nation. This is also contained in the President's equivocation that "**Goodluck** has come to transform Nigeria..." Here, the underlying metaphor and ideology suggest that the President's name "Goodluck" which has worked for him will also work for the nation. The word "goodluck" presupposes an act of providence. The text indirectly urges the nation to key into the divine plan for President Goodluck Jonathan for it to rise above its present state of amnesia. To prove that he is "lucky", the President asserted:

1:

"I never imagined that I would be where I am today...not once did I imagine that a child from Otuoke, a small village in the Niger Delta, will one day rise to the position of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria."

Thus, the noun "goodluck" is metonymically used for the person of President Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan and the aura of "goodluck" around him.

The President also plays politics with his first middle name, "Ebele". Ebele is an Igbo word for mercy or grace. Besides using the name to appeal to Igbo sentiment and give the impression of solidarity and commonality with the Igbo ethnic group, it is also synonymously related to "goodluck" as an act of providence. His second middle name, "Azikiwe," seems to be a new addition. "Azikiwe" is the name of Nigeria's foremost nationalist and first President

of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. President Jonathan's adoption of the name or his popularizing it now as one of his middle names is politically motivated. Four reasons can be adduced for this. First, he wants to appeal to the sentiment of the Igbo people who see his presidential ambition as a threat to their chance of producing a President in 2015. He wants to reassure them that he is one of them. Second, he wants to garner the support of all lovers of Zik (as Nnamdi Azikiwe was popularly known) and his one-Nigeria philosophy. Third, he wants to reinvent and appropriate the myths associated with Zik. Fourth, he wants to be viewed as a great nationalist "in the order" of the Great Zik of Africa.

His surname, "Jonathan" is biblical. Jonathan was the son of Saul, the king of Israel. Jonathan became a popular biblical figure because of his friendship with David, whom he protected from the sword of Saul, his father. The metaphor around the name evokes the image of love, sincerity, and trust. When all the meanings around the President's names are fully deconstructed, the ideological underpinnings that emerge are that the President has a great nationalistic interest in the Nigerian project like Zik; can be trusted like the biblical Jonathan; has the mercy and grace of God upon him to bring about the desired social change; and has the divine mandate (metaphorically called Goodluck) to transform the nation.

5.1.6 Lexical and pattern repetition

Lexical and pattern repetition is a dominant feature of political style/rhetoric. The text of President Jonathan's speech is replete with repeated words and patterns – as rhetorical strategies. Our data reveal that the President has a predilection for repeating certain words he considers fundamental to his political agenda. Such words include "new", "era" and "leadership" which are synonymously related in the discourse context:

2:

The country is at the "threshold of **a new era, an era** that beckons for **a new kind of leadership; a leadership** that is uncontaminated...**a leadership** committed to change; **a leadership** that reinvents...I will herald **a new era** of transformation; **an era** that will end the agony of... **a new** Jonathan administration..."

Structural patterns are also reiterated for rhetorical purposes in the President's speech as can be seen in the two texts below:

3:

“I have come to say to all of you, that Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan is the man you need...I have come to launch a campaign of ideas, not of calumny. I have come to preach love, not hate. I have come to break you away from divisive tendencies...I have no enemies to fight. You are all my friends...”

It is important to note the shift from the use of war metaphor: “launch a campaign” to a religious metaphor: “preach”. It suggests that the President recognizes politics as war but chose to mitigate its effect on his audience by contrasting it with the Christian ideology of love and friendship for one’s enemies. However, the deployment of words like “calumny,” “hate,” “break away,” “divisive tendencies,” “enemies,” and “fight,” which are obtained from war and conflict image schema, validates the argument that politics in Nigeria is war.

4:

“Let the word go out from this Eagle Square that Jonathan as President in 2011 will herald a new era of transformation...Let the word go out that my plans for a Sovereign Wealth Fund...will begin the journey...Let all the kidnapers, criminal elements, and miscreants that give us a bad name be ready....Let the ordinary Nigerian be assured that President Jonathan will have ... Let the international community hear that...”

The structural repetitions contain the direction that his government will take if elected President in 2011. The repeated words and structures are means of controlling the collective mind of the audience and impressing upon this mind that the speaker has the audience’s interest at heart. Our analysis shows how the elite uses words to sustain its domination of the lower classes.

5.1.7 The deployment of pronouns

Beard (2000) observes that pronoun reference is always important in putting over a piece of political persuasion. He therefore contends that “the pronouns politicians use in their speeches are worth looking at because they make a significant contribution to the overall

effect” (46). The text of President Jonathan’s speech is replete with pronoun references that signify different meanings to different people. Our concern here is the way personal pronouns (singular and plural) are utilized in the text and the ideology they encode. Our analysis reveals that the President uses first person singular I/me/myself/mine when he wants to highlight some of his individual achievements or take personal responsibility for some of the actions of his government.

5:

“In the last few months, I embarked on monumental projects in our road infrastructure to end the carnage on our highways. I began several projects to make water resources available...I targeted our educational system to return quality and competitiveness...I re-addressed our drive for self sufficiency in food production. I have taken bold steps to confront our security situation.”

The first person singular is persuasively used to give the impression of personal interest in the affairs of the nation and to instantiate or legitimize his claim of excellent performance in the “past four months.” There are also instances of shift from first person singular to first person plural we/us/ourselves/ours in the same discourse situation.

6:

“**I** have put in place new gas policies and very soon, **we** will be saying goodbye to gas flaring in **our** oil fields. Working with the National Assembly, **we** rolled out a law that requires companies operating in the oil and gas sectors of **our** economy to utilize an appreciable percentage of their goods and services from local sources. **We** saw to it that normalcy began to return to the Niger Delta...”

Our analysis shows the President shift from first person singular “I”, in which he takes credit for having put in place a new gas policy, to the plural “we”. When he realized that such an important law cannot be effective without an input from the National Assembly, he quickly decided to “share the glory”, as it were, with the legislature, hence the noticeable modification in the second sentence. He also gives the impression of a joint or group decision in the Niger

Delta matter. The ideology of the text indicates that the President wants to share the blame of those initiatives with the National Assembly should anything go wrong with them. Again, he wants to give the impression of cordiality between the Executive and the Legislature on serious national matters. However, the first person plural forms “we” and “our” in the first sentence refers to the President and the audience. The speaker wants the audience to believe that he is together with them in certain policies of the government. It is a clever way of manipulating the audience and making it believe he is acting in its best interest. Beard (2000:24) notes that “politicians often wish to suggest that even though they are trying to persuade us to a point of view, we already agree with them... ‘we’ gives a sense of collectivity, of us all being in this together.” There are also some instances in which the first person plural refers to the President and his running mate, Namadi Sambo, as in the text below.

7:

We will fight for JUSTICE!

We will fight for all Nigerians to have access to POWER!

We will fight for qualitative EDUCATION!

We will fight for HEALTH CARE REFORMS!

We will fight to create jobs, for all Nigerians!

The reader can only infer this from the preceding sentence in which he appeals to his party to support “...me. Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan...with Architect Namadi Sambo as my running mate.” Thus the “we” anaphorically refers to the President and his running mate. Here too, the speaker wants the audience to know that together with his running mate they can effectively “fight” all the eight items listed in his speech. A quantitative analysis of the use of pronouns in the president’s text is presented below

Figure 1: *statistical distribution of pronouns in President Jonathan’s speech*

Lexical choice	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage
Pronoun (I)	71	60.68
Pronoun (me)	8	6.84
Pronoun (you)	16	13.68
Pronoun (we)	17	14.53
Pronoun(us)	5	4.27
Total	117	100

The table reveals that the pronoun “I” has the highest frequency, with 60.68% of the entire pronouns identified in the sample analysis. The objective first person pronoun, “me” is uttered 6.84% of the time, and the pronoun “you” 13.68%. The first person plural pronoun “we” represents 14.53% of the words used in his speech, while the first person objective pronoun “us” represents 4.27%. The predominant use of the first pronoun “I”/ “me” highlights individual identity and achievement over group achievement and accomplishment.

5.1.8 Graphological Appeal

The President also used graphological devices to sustain the coherence of his rhetoric. The two major graphological devices employed by the speaker are capital letters and exclamation marks. The two devices were used in the text to emphasize certain development initiatives that the President would accord priority attention if given the mandate.

While the eight equivalent structures (five are presented in 7 above) produce a certain rhythm that enhances textual cohesion, the speaker uses capitalization to foreground areas of priority attention. Thus, while all of the eight sentences end with marks of emphasis (exclamation marks), the speaker graphologically highlights “justice,” “power,” “education,” and “health care reforms” in capital letters in order to create the impression that the foregrounded items will receive more priority attention than the other four in his administration. The rhythm of the structural pattern of the text with its graphological design was intended to strengthen the manipulative purposes of the text. It was aimed at persuading the audience to buy into the ideology of the speaker. This explains why de Wet (2010: 113)

argues that the role of ideology in structuring and directing political language cannot be denied. Next, we examine the speaker's use of negative-face strategies in the text.

5.2 Negative Face Strategies

We coin the term “negative-face strategies” to refer to those rhetorical patterns that are intended to indirectly endear the speaker (self) to his audience and delegitimize the other (his opponents). This is exemplified in President Jonathan's strategies of persuasion, where he employed words that are coercive in nature:

8:

“I re-addressed our **drive** for self sufficiency in food production” and “I have taken bold steps to **confront** our security situation”; “we are pursuing the revision of our laws to be more **responsive**... and more **punitive** to criminals” and “I **charged** our anti corruption agencies to speed up the **war against** corruption, and **respect no sacred cows** in the process.”

President Jonathan adopts words that are tough and authoritative to indicate his readiness to deal with out-group and undesirable elements working against his government/interest. This is intended to make the people empathize with his sudden political dexterity in the face of strong opposition against his candidacy from certain quarters of the country. On the list of those working against his political interest are the “kidnappers, criminal elements and miscreants that give us a bad name” whom he challenged to be “ready for a fight that I shall give them.” Chilton (2004: 47) regards the group as “outsiders” and thus “not legitimate but also under attack” from the speaker who asserts himself as the legitimate source of power. The rhetoric shows the speaker blaming members of the out-group for certain ills in the society.

Jonathan wants his audience to believe that his firm policies or ideologies have created a safe haven for them in a nation that has recently been characterized by kidnapping, corruption, and other social vices. His strategy aims to influence them to believe that he is capable of ridding the nation of those destructive evils that had hampered national advancement and that had given the nation a negative image globally. Thus he tries to

minimize the distance between him and his audience by expressing friendliness and solid interest in the hearer's need of a habitable environment devoid of crime and insecurity.

5.2.1 Orientation with peace and justice of the country

President Jonathan in his rhetoric tried to establish his sincere commitment to the restoration of peace in the country and also tried to sell himself to his audience as a man of peace and justice. Considering the crisis usually associated with political campaigns and such other political activities, the president reassures them of his goodwill and ideological departure from the negative past characterized by image muddling and character assassination of one's opponent.

9:

“I have come to **launch** a campaign of ideas, not one of calumny... to **preach** love, not hate.”

Thus, he has offered himself as a preacher of love and not hatred; and a symbol of change, “new era”. Hence he has “come to break” the people away from “the divisive tendencies of the past which have slowed our drive to true nationhood.” This is a subtle appeal to his listeners to jettison any sentiment of bias they may hold against his political ambition.

In the same vein, he tries to persuade his political antagonists to forgo their political differences. He declares “I have **no enemies to fight. You are all my friends** and we share a common destiny”.

The above presupposes that he recognizes the fact that politics in Nigeria is warfare, but he does not want his opponents to consider it as such; hence, he appeals to their conscience to see him as a friend who “shares a common destiny” with them. This is a strategy employed by the President to subtly coerce his audience and opponents.

6. Conclusion and Findings

The study reveals a conscious deployment of diverse rhetorical strategies by the President to articulate an alternative ideology for the Nigerian nation. The President articulates a new

ideological direction that challenges previous approaches to governance in post-colonial Nigeria and gives the impression of a new dawn in the polity. He wants his audience, and his political antagonists, in fact all Nigerians, to see and accept him as the metaphor of change they all long for. The persuasive strategies were adopted to positively orient the President to his audience and to threaten the autonomous face wants of the opposition. Specifically, the President uses the positive-face strategies to project his identity and self-image and the negative-face strategies to coerce and threaten the opposition, and to make them jettison any sentiment of bias they may hold against his political ambition.

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**STAY HEALTHY, BE ACTIVE AND WORK! MOTIVE ANALYSIS OF POLICY
PROPOSALS ON OLD AGE**

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Abstract

This article discusses the motives of ageing policies, based on two cases of national policy documents, from Sweden and Poland. The discourse analysis applied in this study follows the key principles of motive analysis. The main findings indicate that neither document is primarily concerned about older people and their well-being. People and their lives are secondary to the main focus of the analysed policy proposals. Ageing is feared in those documents, and imagined consequences of the population ageing are attenuated. This study offers an insight into discursive spaces of old age in Poland and Sweden. Furthermore, it presents motive analysis as a valuable method for studying ways of problematising social policy issues. The article draws attention to discourses that shape social policy and are reinforced by it. It also shows the process of enacting a precautionary principle in social policy that often leads to reductionist and simplistic perspectives that focus on only one aspect of a given phenomenon.

Keywords: discourse, motive analysis, old age, social policy documents

1. Introduction

The contested, constructed and contradictory nature of the welfare state has been recognised to have a profound role in shaping and producing its people (Clarke, 2004). Each welfare state favours different groups of people and forms of behaviour; it is based on certain moral assumptions that are promoted (Clarke, 2004; Kremer, 2006). Consequently, there is growing interest in the cultural analysis of social policies and an inquiry into cultures of welfare to explain the meaning of the values, ideals, assumptions and emotions that the welfare state evokes and is built on (Chamberlayne, 1999; Clarke, 2004; Freeman & Rustin, 1999; Lockhart, 2001; Oorschot, 2007; Pfau-Effinger, 2005). Critical approaches to welfare states and social policymaking processes advocate attention to discourses that shape social policy and are reinforced by them (Bacchi, 1999, 2009; Schram, 2000, 2006). “Discourses have implications for what we can do and what we should do” (Burr, 2007: 75). They are the social practices constructing our reality; they construct systems of truth, which in turn, govern and define people’s lives (Burr, 2007). One such practice is language use. It is through the use of language that people are able to know the world; language is used to construct our representations of the world, but it is not representational of the world out there (Pascale, 2007). Applying a discourse perspective to social policy allows for an examination of constructed problems and illuminates boundaries set to define them (Bacchi, 1999, 2009; Schram, 2006). Discourse analysis can be regarded as an important resource to counteract oppressive welfare structures (Schram, 2006).

In this study, we centre on the ways of problematising old age in social policy. Welfare structures are found to be fundamental sites of ageist attitudes and oppressive practices (Laws, 1995). The way social policies present old age affects individual experiences of ageing, societal values related to ageing and attitudes towards older people and ageing (Biggs, 2001; Hendricks, 2004; Ng & McCreanor, 1999, Katz & Green, 2009). Research has found ageing policies to be replete with instances of ageism (Biggs, 2001), clearly contributing to, if not shaping, intergenerational conflicts (Estes & Philipson, 2002), and invoking fears of an ageing population (Vincent, 1996). We posed the following question in this study: what are motives of such ageing policies?

In this paper, we analysed motives of ageing policies as expressed in two national ageing policy documents from Poland and Sweden. Poland and Sweden are members of EU, which has obvious repercussions for their social policy strategies but otherwise, they are very different, which offers an interesting background for the present discussion. Whereas the welfare state model in Poland remains undefined (Golinowska, 2009; Steinhilber, 2006) and described as a work in progress (Inglot, 2008), Swedish model of social policy has been steadily developing since 1930s. Universalism, redistribution and service welfare as well as a high level of decentralisation remain to be the key landmarks of this model (Abrahamson, 2002; Greve, 2007). The Swedish model, built on the idea of people's home (*folkhem*), has been recognised for its generous public sphere and involvement of the state in the welfare of its citizens. The Polish model of welfare state is oriented towards residual and familial welfare models; welfare benefits are means-tested and the family is the main unit of policy (Steinhilber, 2006). The socio-political transformation that began in 1989 had a great influence on the general political and economic climate; yet, similar changes were not observed in the sphere of social policy. Many characteristics of the socialist welfare model remained intact, for instance, maternalism/familialism of the Polish welfare that assigns most of family caregiving duties to women (Glas & Fordor, 2007; Szkira, 2009). Social services are not fully developed and levels of social transfers are very low (Mikołajczyk-Lerman, 2011).

“Strategy of Social Policy for the years 2007-2013” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) was introduced in Poland in 2005, and the Government's Proposition 2005/06:115 “National development plan of care and nursing for elderly” (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006) was introduced in Sweden in 2006. These documents express recommendations and propositions that should advance care and welfare for older people: within a 5-year period in Poland, and within a 10-year period in Sweden. In this sense, there are two preferable, desired visions in both countries. None of these documents can be regarded as an accurate representation of the welfare discourse on old age in Poland and Sweden; nonetheless, they are part of it. Furthermore, each policy proposal is indicative of the way a social problem is represented; to call for a change is to represent a problem in certain way (Bacchi, 1999, 2009).

2. Two documents- two institutions?

Poland has only recently started planning for its ageing policy and has no first-hand experience to refer to (Synak, 2003). Apart from the pension system, no other social security issue related to old age has been addressed (Orenstain & Haas, 2002). “Strategy of Social Policy for the years 2007-2013” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) is the first document to present national guidelines for ageing policy. The “Strategy...” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) was introduced in response to the demands of the Lisbon Treaty (2000), to which Poland committed itself after joining the EU, in 2004. In 2008, in line with the aforementioned document, a national programme “Generational solidarity- actions towards the increase of labour participation among people aged 50+” was introduced. The rationale of the programme was based on the ideas of activity and social utility of older people, which clearly corresponds to the main ideas expressed in the “Strategy...”

Sweden, however, has a long-standing tradition of ageing policy that has been simultaneously developing; it has three main pillars: a pension system, housing policy and eldercare (Gunnarsson, 2009). However, it is noteworthy to stress that the political debates equate ageing policy with eldercare very often (Brodin, 2005). Consequently, the last two decades have been replete with discussions concerning the future of eldercare in Sweden, particularly its ability to respond to the needs of diverse groups of people (see Brodin, 2006; Gunnarson, 2002) and prevent regional disparities in quality. The latter discussion reached its peak in 2008, when the National Board of Health and Welfare introduced *Äldreguiden*, which gave an overview of the quality of eldercare across the country and revealed great differences across municipalities. The Government’s Proposition 2005/06:115 “National development plan of care and nursing for elderly” (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006) is the recent attempt to alter eldercare in Sweden.

In both cases, analysed documents were introduced by the national equivalent ministries of social policy. However, the language of those ministries varies. In Poland, the name of the ministry has been changed many times to incorporate social care and health and to reflect changing marketing approaches. In 2005, a Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (labour was added) was established, and its main areas of responsibility were defined as follows: social insurance, labour and family affairs (www.mpips.gov.pl). There are 13 included departments,

two of which are addressed to particular groups of people: the Department of Women, Family and Counteracting Discrimination and the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Disabled People. There is no separate section for old age and/or older people. In Sweden, the situation looks different. The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs has 13 areas of responsibility and is divided into four sectors led by four different ministers, including a Minister for Children and the Elderly. The minister for Children and the Elderly is responsible for, among other things, elderly care; however, pension is managed by the Minister of Social Security. Previously, the elderly minister (*äldreminister*) was associated with public health (2006-2010) and care (2004-2006). In her mission statement published on the official website, the current minister sets the following goal: "My vision is a Sweden where those who are weak become strong" (Larsson, 2010), which is followed by separate goals related to children, people with disabilities and older people.

The language used in these two examples highlights the different values and ideas underpinning the work of both ministries. In Poland's case, the labour element is presented as the main category of social policy. It is not applied to any specific group, but rather it expresses the general rule on which welfare state in Poland operates. On the contrary, in Sweden, there is a clear specialisation of social policy addressing old age. Based on the minister's statement, older people are seen as a group of dependants; they are 'weak', and hence they need help and care. As a conclusion, a study of public discourses on ageing in Sweden (Nilsson, 2008) discusses a discourse of our elderly. The nomination for the Minister for Children and the Elderly can be seen as an example of such paternalistic attitude.

3. Methodology

We deploy a motive analysis in this study. Motive analysis belongs to the broader field of discourse analysis, which is founded on the assumption that saying is doing, and language is a kind of action. To stress the dimension of language as "a mode of action" Kenneth Burke, the founder of this approach, called his model of analysis "dramatism" (1969a: XXII). Dramatism of Burke's methodology reflects another assumption stating that social space can be approached similarly to theatrical space because in both cases actors' actions are contingent

upon various forces (Kenny, 2008). To understand actors and their actions, Burke proposed an analysis of motives that are conceived of as basic “forms of thought” (1969a: XV). The concept of motive is not interchangeable with purpose; motives are described as worldviews, systems of ideas that help to comprehend the social world (Clapp, 2009; Williams, 2009).

Burke asserted that actions are constructed discursively, and his grammar of motives was to enable comprehension of those discursive formations (Scollon, 2006). He presented “the dramatisic pentad” (Williams, 2009) that comprised five elements: act, scene, agent, agency and purpose. These grammar forms creating a terministic screen (Scollon, 2006) are interconnected with each other; thus, change in one element propels change in another (Williams, 2009). Burke established the concept of ratios to accentuate the meaning of those relations for understanding motives. In the process of analysis, ratios indicate the direction of causation between various elements of the pentad (Scollon, 2006). Hence, to discern a motive, one needs to know what was done, the background and/or situation where it happened, the person who acted, the means she/he used to complete the action, and its outcome. Moreover, one needs to attend to relations existing among those five elements; for example, to explain the relationship between the scene and agent, does the scene determine the agent’s actions, or does the agent transform the scene according to their desire? Motive analysis pays equal attention to what is said and how it is said (Burke, 1969a, 1969b). Consistently, Burke discussed the notion of ideology, which he contended was about the use of words carefully selected to meet certain ends (1969b). Ultimately, the analysis of motives searches for explanations of actions as agents provide them and offers alternative perspectives for understanding these actions (Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Considering the structure of the analysed documents, we conducted the analysis in two steps. First, we examined the introduction of each document to search for statements conveying information about acts, agents, scene, purpose and agency. We focused both on directly and indirectly expressed elements of the motive pentad, and ratios established among them. The analysis of agency in those texts linked the first step with the second. The agency related to the overall act and purpose of the document comprised various acts. We treated those acts as having a motive and subsequently, we looked for the remaining elements of motives. However, we acknowledge that while those acts may stand independently, their meaning should be considered against the backdrop of the overall act and their role in

answering the agency's overarching question throughout the whole document. In the course of analysis, we also presented an alternative view of explanations offered in the policy documents.

None of the documents is available in English; hence all quotations used in the subsequent parts are authors' own translations. The analysed documents use the following terms to refer to older people: people at postproductive age [*osoby w wieku postprodukcyjnym*] and elderly [*äldre*]. Although they express ageist attitudes, we preserve them in the original form to accentuate the type of language used in both documents.

4. Findings

4.1. Fear of ageing

Every action occurs within a specific context. Yet, a scene is a ground not only in the physical sense, but metaphorical as well; therefore, the question about the type of scene that calls for a particular action is particularly relevant (Burke, 1969a). Analysed documents deal with the sphere of ageing policy, their main claim is that something needs to be done about the population ageing. In understanding why this is so, the establishment of a scene provides an answer.

The introductory part of the "Strategy..." contains a section called "demography" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:6-8). There are two main demographic trends stressed here: a decrease in the fertility rate of women and an increase in the overall life expectancy. What follows is an analysis of changes in the number of people of postproductive age. Apart from statistical data, the picture is supported by a chart depicting the tendency of the demographic dependency ratio to grow, with a particular focus on the share of people at post-productive age, and a chart displaying the growth of the 65+ population segment to the year 2029. The latter information is supported with a detailed estimation of the expected number of people over the age of 65, 85 and 100.

Likewise, the Governmental proposition (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006) is rich in statistical information concerning the share of older people in the total population in Sweden, emphasising divisions between men and women. A particular focus is on the 80+ age

group, which has the greatest need of care. Differences between men and women are stressed when discussing the disadvantaged situation of women who, according to the data, are more likely to be clients of eldercare, residents of special housing and to live alone more compared than men. A substantial part of the introduction deals with costs for eldercare: it ranges from displaying the percentage estimated cost increases, as a proportion of GDP, to a detailed specification of expenditures for eldercare and health care for older people. The picture ends with acknowledgment of the role played by relatives in caring for older people, as well as analysis of the staff working in the eldercare field, including their total number, sex and level of education. The report concludes that there is a shortage of educated staff within eldercare, and that this type of work is mainly performed by women.

The discourse of alarmist/ apocalyptic demography (Katz, 1996; Vincent, 1996) based on decline ideology (Gullette, 2004) seems to underpin both documents, yet it has diverse features in each case. The Polish document puts forwards an economic perspective: increased numbers of older people entails increasing costs for the rest of society. Sharp distinctions between the categories of pre-productive, post-productive and productive age are drawn. Moreover, a fourth category, the “immobile age” [*wiek niemobilny*] (those over the age of 44) (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 6), is introduced here. Evidently, the position in the labour market is a primary determinant in assessing people’s value.

Although the financial aspect is also crucial in the Swedish document, its presence is the outcome of a different type of thinking: “When the number of elderly in the populace is growing, so does their need for care” [*När gruppen äldre växer, växer också behoven av vård och omsorg*] (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19). An increasing number of older people entails an increasing number of sick people who are in need of care. Even though it is mentioned at the beginning of the introduction that more and more older people enjoy better health nowadays, the role of the state is emphasised: “The overall welfare policy lies at the heart of this progress” [*Det är den generella välfärdspolitiken som lagt grunden för denna utveckling*](Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19). Diversity of the group of elderly is acknowledged, but only in terms of variety of care needs. Therefore, the document revolves around the following logic: as greater numbers of older people make up society, the more the state’s involvement is required.

Fears invoked of a population that does not work and people who are “foremost, recipients of the various social welfare benefits” [*przede wszystkim beneficjentami różnego rodzaju świadczeń społecznych*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 7), in Poland, and fear of sickness, in Sweden, penetrate the discourse. Carefully selected statistical data are tools used to persuade the audience that the situation is severe and requires immediate action. According to the analysed documents, ageing is a problem that calls for a solution. Defence against ageing, which is constructed as a threatening phenomenon, is a driving theme of both documents. Considering the scene-act ratio, it is mainly the ageing population that determines ageing policy acts. However, in both cases, additional scenes are established. In Poland, it is the market economy; in Sweden, it is the welfare economy. In Poland, ageing is equated with a decline in the labour force; in Sweden, it is about bodily decline. Nevertheless, both types of decline are described as costly to the society. Simultaneously, solid lines are drawn between different groups of people. People who are above a certain age are presented as different from the rest of society; an age marker becomes a social divider that clearly indicates who “they” are. Hence, categories such as post-productive age and elderly are presented as unproblematic and self-evident.

4.2. Ready to act

Ageing, or more specifically, ageing society, is the scene that calls for some actions. The principal act, according to the Polish document, is “a building a system of support for persons at the post-productive age” [*Budowa systemu wsparcia dla osób w wieku poprodukcyjnym*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 22). This act is in line with the perception of ageing as being primarily an economic problem for the country. Consistently, the Polish act discusses a category of people at the postproductive age, stressing their unusual place outside the labour market that needs to be changed. It is unusual because, in the discursive space of the welfare system displayed in the act, every person is labour active, and life outside the labour market seems non-existent. Consequently, old age is perceived as manageable, and older people as responsible for their life projects (Katz, 2000, 2001).

The Swedish act asserts that “This [an increasing number of older people] requires development and renewal of social planning as well as health care and eldercare” [*Detta kräver utveckling och förnyelse av såväl samhällsplaneringen som sjukvården och*

äldreomsorgen] (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19). This reorganisation of ageing policy includes the establishment of a national steering plan of eldercare with “much clearer rules” [*en tydligare styrning*](Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19), legislative changes and the allocation of more financial resources for eldercare. It highlights the bureaucratic element of the system and centres upon accumulating governmental documents. The scene-act ratio shows that ageing population calls for changes in social policy. Acts directly related to older people are not mentioned here.

In both countries, the vision of ageing is presented as a simple and straightforward phenomenon. Considering the act-purpose ration, ageing leads to one-dimensional outcomes. There is no discussion relating to diverse images of ageing, multiple life courses and stories. It appears to be ‘natural’ that ageing is about sickness and/or lack of activity.

4.3. This is what we want

The Swedish document expresses a governmental will to improve quality, accessibility, equality as well as diversity within eldercare. This is not the only purpose presented in this document, however. Notions of “raising ambitions” [*ambitionshöjning*] and that “Sweden will be the best place in the world to grow old. This the most important goal of this development plan” [*Sverige skall bli världens bästa land att åldras i. Det är regeringens högst ställda mål i denna utvecklingsplan*] (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19) - this is how the overall aim of the new policies are described in the Swedish document. This seemingly positive picture is, however, concealing some ambiguity. The concern over Sweden’s international reputation seems to supersede other issues. No references to the opinions or wishes of ordinary people are found here. In that sense, the development of ageing policy can be read as just one of the areas of public policy that needs to be scored with respect to other countries; “social policy becomes its own cause” (Schram, 2000: 26). Moreover, there are governmental criteria on which policy decisions would be made, not the will of the people.

Compared to this, the Polish version seems to have more local purpose, which is expressed as follows: “adjust social policy to the consequences of these changes [refers to demographical trends] and counteract negative phenomena” [*dostosowanie polityki społecznej do skutków zachodzących zmian oraz przeciwdziałanie niekorzystnym zjawiskom*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:6). Reoccurring, phrases such as “challenges”, “strong impact”, and

“socio-economic situation of the country” add to the drama caused by ageing. Economic sustainability appears to be the ultimate goal. Accordingly, active ageing is supposed to lead to “effective and satisfying” [*efektywnie i satysfakcjonująco wykorzystany*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:7) ways of using seniors’ time, and activation of older workers implies “postponing the decision about retirement” [*odkładania momentu przejścia na emeryturę*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:7). Just as in the Swedish case, older people and their welfare are not primary concerns here. In the Polish scenario, they pose a threat of becoming an economic burden on the rest of society.

Surprisingly, older people and their well-being are not the ultimate targets of ageing policies; they are rather means to achieve slightly different ends. Under the guise of concern and attention, there is an unmistakable tendency to control and shape the lives of older people in order to pursue goals that are far removed from the overtly expressed ones.

4.4. *We will do it or... maybe someone else will*

There is a clear indication, in the Swedish document, that it is the government that sees a need for developing and reconstructing eldercare in Sweden “According to the government’s assessment there is a need for a clear steering of elderly care” [*Regeringen bedömer att det på visa områden krävs en tydligare styrning*]. Therefore, “the government intends to... [*regeringen avser att*] ...The government presents, in the development plan, its will to work for ... [*I utvecklingsplanen presenterar regeringen sin vilja att verka för*]” (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006:19-27). As far as the document and the overall plan for elderly care are concerned, the question of an actor is unproblematic. The agent-act ratio, relating to the policy-making, shows the prime role of the government, which makes all decisions. Yet, the question at the heart of this analysis involves the realisation of the plan. Here, there is a sudden shift in appointing actors responsible for the execution of the government’s plan: “Responsibility for planning, financing and developing eldercare rests on municipalities and county councils” [*Ansvar för att planera, finansiera och utveckla vård och omsorg om äldre vilar på kommunerna och landstingen*] (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006:19). A top-down perspective is apparent here: decisions and plans worked out at the national level are to be followed by adequate implementations at local levels.

In the case of Poland, the question of actors is more complicated. There are many actors acknowledged in the introduction to the “Strategy...” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) who took part in preparing the document. Non-governmental organisations, trade unions, employers’ organisations and 50 social policy scholars contributed to the document. Subsequently, the document was subjected to societal consultations. As a social-policy making process, the Polish case clearly represents a model diametrically opposed to the Swedish one. Various social organisations at different levels participated in the process of writing the document, but the execution of the project remains problematic. Wherever there is an indication that something needs to or should be done, the agent of the desired act remains unidentified. There are numerous instances of nominalisation (the linguistic process of concealing actors responsible for certain acts), such as: “it will be achieved through [*Cel ten będzie realizowany poprzez*] ... building a system of support [*budowa system wsparcia*] ... creating conditions [*tworzenie warunków*] ...” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 34-36). There are at least two ways of reading such locutions: first, if no one is specified as the sole executor of the plan, then everyone can try to work with it; second, there is a plan that no one is responsible for, and therefore no one would be interested in pursuing it. What is shared by these two options is that in both cases, no one is accountable for the implementation of new policies.

It appears that an army of experts has been hired to discuss the problem of ageing. Though employed at different stages, both Polish and Swedish versions of the document acknowledge and accentuate the role of self-designated experts on aging. They are scholars, social policy makers, representatives of governmental agencies and care organisations- people who produce a professional perspective on ageing.

4.5. A way to go

There are several ways of achieving the main objectives of the future ageing policies mentioned in both documents. There are discussed as the key thematic sections of the documents mentioned above in the introduction. Tables 1 and 2 below summarise the results of a motive analysis of five priorities, as expressed in the Polish document, and six areas of development, as stated in the Swedish one.

Creation of conditions facilitating integration in the ageing society				
Act	Agency	Scene	Purpose	Agent
Development of a system of care	-building the system of financing (social insurance or budget); -support to family caregivers who work; -development of community care (practice, staff, standards and supervision); - provision of health care and training of nurses; -expansion of service for independent living	local community; family;	- community-based model of integration	Not specified
Introduction of residential care	- provision of all-hours care;- training of the staff	Social care homes	-provision of specialised support to people with special care needs	Not specified
Activation and community integration	- support of societal integration of people at post-productive age (neighbourhood groups of older persons, social and cultural participation, life-long learning); - supporting actors and advocates working in the interest of older people; supporting development of intergenerational bonds	Local communities;	-use of the potential of people at post-productive age	Not specified (NGOs)
Provision of pension services	- equality among men and women (equalisation of the retirement age);- introduction of flexible working schemes - support of older workers (training, activation);- support of individual plans for old age financial security	(the labour market?)	-adequate pensions	Not specified (the government and legislative organs)
Pursuit of coherent ageing policy	program of ageing policy meeting international standards;- education for old age;-anti-discrimination practices;	governmental level; school system; public media; local level	-counteract age discrimination; preparation for old age;	Not specified

Table 1. Integration in the ageing society in Poland- an analysis of motives

According to the overall goal of the new policies, a support system for people of post-productive age should be the prime focus of ageing policy in Poland. Yet, later in the document, this purpose is reframed as “Creation of conditions facilitating integration in the ageing society” [*Tworzenie warunków sprzyjających integracji w starzejącym się społeczeństwie*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:34). Against the background of ageing society (scene), integration is seen as the main goal. However, neither actor nor agency is specified here. This priority of social policy is to be achieved through the implementation of five specialised objectives, which are presented in the above table.

All acts mentioned in the document are formulated in a way that conceals the agent. Nominalisations take the form of either nouns constructed from verbs or the gerund: hence, the numerous instances of “promotion [*promocja*], development [*rozwój*], strengthening [*wzmacnianie*], creating [*tworzenie*], and implementation [*wdrażanie*]” (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 34-36). Consistent with the overall approach of the document, the issues of responsibility and accountability are also avoided in this section. In this sense, the whole document can be read as an expression of wishful thinking that is not followed by more concrete actions. However, this type of wishful thinking has its own ideology, one that needs to be examined.

An important arena for actions, described in the document, is a local community. The role assigned to the local community seems to extend the frame of a scene; to a great extent, local community is assumed to undertake concrete actions such as caretaking or organising various activities. For the former, the family has a prime role in care responsibilities; the latter appears to be mutually shared by older people and NGOs along with other local organisations. It is apparent that the main value promoted in the document is activity - with its social, cultural and labour dimensions. On the one hand, this may be read as the enactment of a positive model aiming at achieving some good. On the other hand, the situation seems to be far more problematic. Older people are expected to be active, to participate in social life, be able to contribute to their own well-being and above all else, prove their usefulness to the

communities. Activity is perceived as a privilege that older people cannot resist (Katz, 2000; Sinding & Gray, 2005). This type of “prescribed busyness” (Cruikshank, 2003:160) is in line with the aforementioned fear of economic burdens on the rest of society caused by older people. Integration of older people is conditional: it does not refer to just any older people; it pertains to a specific type of older person. Concurrently, the emerging situation may be considered in terms of a model encompassing integration and dehumanisation (Haim, 1994): to be integrated, older people need to fulfil additional requirements, since being a fellow human is not enough in their case.

In comparison to the Polish document, the Swedish one clearly responds to the question of responsibility and accountability for planned acts. The government is the main agent that has control over the majority of activities. Even if some actions are assigned to other actors, the government still retains its role as the ultimate supervisor and instructor. Here, ageing is clearly associated with disease; instead of aiming to attain positive conditions, attention is focused on preventing and counteracting envisioned negative features of ageing.

Development plan				
Act	Agency	Scene	Purpose	Agent
Improvement of care of the most sick	-increased cooperation between municipalities and county councils;- more funding; -better work performed by medical doctors; - review of medications;	Not specified (home and hospital?)	-increase safety and trust within elder care	-the government, municipalities,-county councils,-medical doctors
Provision of housing	-a stimulus package for renovation of special housing; -an inquiry into the housing situation of older people; -secure better access to good housing	Not specified	-good housing adjusted to local needs	municipalities, the government
Development of social care	-expansion of home services; cooperation with minority organisations; development of nutrition-related care	Not specified (home)	support for living in ordinary housing; response to a multicultural society	Not specified (municipalities)
Securing nationwide equality of care and local development	-research enquires on older people; recruitment of more actors providing care; supporting technical advancement	Not specified (home)	-clarify rules regulating elderly care; quality development	-the government,-the National Board of Health and Welfare; -Central Statistical Office
Preventive work	-preventive home visits;-financial support to relatives providing care,	Not specified (home)	-prevent injuries and bad health among older people; benefit all citizens	-the government. municipalities
Training of staff	-a national system of qualifications and recruitment for eldercare workers; improvement of working conditions	Not specified (working life)	-competent staff	-the government; (many nominalisations)

Table 2. Six development areas of ageing policy in Sweden- an analysis of motives

Although the roles of agent and agency are obvious, the scene of proposed acts is rather vague. While one might reasonably conclude that the national and municipal levels contain acts to be performed, on the other hand, the focus on agents may indicate a special ratio between the agent and scene. Whereas in the Polish document, the scene designates potential agents, here the agent has much more power over the scene. In this situation, the agent transforms and creates the scene according to his or her own plan (Burke, 1969a). Overall, this approach can be seen as a version of segregation and dehumanisation practices (Haim, 1994). Older people are different than the rest of society; they are viewed as potentially sick and disabled. Services and care provided to them is intended to separate them from the outside world. At best, it centres upon confining older people in their own houses, albeit with an increasing range and scope of home services.

Transformation of the organisation and structure of eldercare is the core concern of the document. Yet, the introduction of new laws and the production of new documents and repost appear to be almost equally important. There is an assumption that a more highly regulated system gives greater control to the regulator, and therefore secures the fulfilment of expected goals. Paradoxically, this may be achieved by the Swedish government: not only are remedies to the apparent problem of ageing suggested by the government, it is also government that sets the standards and suggest ways of measuring them. In this scenario, the voice of older people themselves is unimportant, or rather “trivial”, as Persson & Berg (2009) concluded in their study on formal influence channels for older people in Sweden.

4.6. Social identity of older people

In this section we will discuss several elements of policy language used in the analysed documents. In terms of the overall style of the documents, they may be described as examples of realism in policy. Realism is about presenting things the way they are, plain and blatant (Apthorpe, 1997). This is particularly evident in the introductory sections of the documents. There is typically an assortment of statistics quoted after introducing many institutions and organisations- these tools are used in order to represent the current situation. This display provides a background to the policy recommendations and solutions to the problem which follow. However, this practice portrays the process of producing a certain type of knowledge about ageing that characterises older people as dependent on the state (Katz & Green, 2009).

Another feature of realism expressed here is the deductive nature of its prescriptions (Apthorpe, 1997). Given a certain situation, experts propose a relevant solution. What differentiates the two documents is the fixation on a few terms that are recurring in the whole document, which ultimately reveals the core approach to ageing. In case of Poland, there are words such as post-productive age, work, activity and community. Ageing is viewed through the lens of national economy; the problem of ageing is that people stop working. Active participation and utilisation of human potential is the key response to that situation. Moreover, the life of an older person is confined to a local community, one that is assumed to fulfil all his/her needs. The rhetoric of the Swedish document centres on care, elderly, a national plan, home. Older people do need care because – this is the main argument underpinning the government’s proposition. They do not exist as active subject; they are portrayed as recipients increasing level of care and services. They are not pictured as members of society; they sit at home and await the next delivery of care or services in silence. Their lives are confined to the space of their apartments; home, in this document is about physical space, a non-institutional rather than a familiar social space. It becomes less important whether there are any people around who can make the space homey and sociable.

The Swedish document, to a greater degree than the Polish one, exemplifies a discourse of essentialism. Essentialism, in political discourse, is the conviction that governmental actions and plans are intrinsically good and appropriate; moreover, the state or government is the entity that has the solution (Gasper, 1996). The latter is called prescriptive essentialism (Gasper, 1996) and this type of discourse is clearly visible in the document. In each of six areas of development, there is a story being told. The government tells a story about what is or can go wrong, and instantly offers a solution that is assumed to be correct. For instance, people do not trust the system of eldercare and do not feel safe; hence, the government suggests that the cooperation between various administrative units should be improved. It is assumed that if the rules of cooperation between various units are clear, people will feel safer and more secure. The solution is presented as the singularly correct one. These straightforward responses of the Swedish government are juxtaposed to the idealistic visions proposed in the Polish document. The whole concept of ageing policy relies on the conviction that older people thrive in their communities; they are eager to help

one another; and they see themselves as members of a bigger group which boosts their sense of solidarity.

5. Discussion

The main objective of this study was to explore the motives of ageing policies as expressed in two national social policy documents, in Poland and Sweden. Upon a critical examination of the analysed texts, we found that neither document is primarily concerned about older people and their well-being. People and their lives are secondary to the main focus of the analysed policy proposals. The documents attenuate the imagined consequences of ageing. This application of precautionary principle in social policy often leads to a focus on only one aspect of a given phenomenon, because the underlying fear blurs and silences other aspects (Sunstein, 2008). In the Polish document, ageing is feared because it renders people inactive; furthermore, it reduces the labour force, which threatens the economic sustainability of the country. In the Swedish document, ageing is principally associated with physical impairment, and older people are viewed as state dependents in need of care.

Old age, in both documents, is tolerated on the condition of activity and good health. Old people are encouraged to make their own choices, to decide on their own behalf, providing that their choice is consistent with the policy's vision. Tables 1 and 2 indicate which actions and behaviours of older people are promoted and, therefore, expected. In the case of a document from Poland, older people are supported in their work in society and the community; the right choice to make is to choose to be active. In the document from Sweden, it is the opposite; the right choice expressed is to stay home, to become invisible to the rest of the society. Otherwise, old age is perceived as a burden, and the existence of older people is problematic.

The idea that people's lifestyle may cause social problems stems from the new discourse of welfare paternalism (Mead, 1997). It is based on the welfare state's exertion of control and power over people's individual interests and the enforcement of certain values (ibid). In the Polish document, work is given the main value. As such, it exhibits elements of the personal responsibility discourse that praises work and denies the visibility of other structural factors that may be at play (Schram,

2000). In the Swedish document, the logic of medicalisation of dependency (Schram, 2000, 2006) is discernible. The main problem with older people, as represented in the document, is that they are sick and that they consequently need to be treated. The growing public administration, the development of assessment processes and the controlling mechanisms outside institutional frames all indicate the advancing medicalisation of welfare (Schram, 2000, 2006). In the analysed document, the quest for more administration and advanced forms of monitoring people's lives was clearly visible. The government values health because it needs it. Sweden is one of the countries that applies a functional approach to health and perceives health as necessary for successful governance (Bacchi, 2009).

This study reflects upon discourses of old age that made examined policy proposals possible. However, it does not explain the complexity of ageing policies in Poland and Sweden and is far from providing a comprehensive image of such policies. By identifying key categories and concepts used in these two documents, and by attending to the language of the documents, this study offers an insight into discursive spaces of old age in Poland and Sweden. It shows words and ideas that can be used within these spaces. The attitudes of "postproductive age" in Poland and "our elderly" (Nilsson, 2009) in Sweden do not seem to raise any concerns or elicit societal disapproval. On the contrary, they indicate societal ideas about old age aimed at its management. These ideas and attitudes become parts of the "assumptive worlds" that not only policy makers carry over in their occupational duties, but welfare professionals as well (Wilson, 1991).

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REGIONALIZACIÓN Y ORGANIZACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA: LAS FILIALES JAPONESAS EN CATALUÑA

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Resumen

Este artículo analiza las políticas lingüísticas en multinacionales japonesas en Cataluña. El trabajo empírico se ha desarrollado mediante entrevistas en profundidad y encuestas aplicadas en 6 centros de trabajo. La creciente importancia de las regiones económicas, que están desplazando a los estados como protagonistas territoriales en la organización de sus actividades, fomenta el uso de una lengua franca regional para la coordinación, en el caso europeo el inglés. El japonés, como lengua de control, es de uso exclusivo para los expatriados desincentivándose su aprendizaje entre los directivos regionales. El inglés se vuelve central en el desempeño laboral y la comunicación horizontal y vertical de la región. Debido a los diferentes niveles de conocimiento y a la necesidad de una mayor eficacia lingüística en la comunicación se produce un proceso de racionalización neo taylorista. El artículo muestra la creciente diferenciación entre una lengua de control (japonés), una lengua de coordinación regional (lengua), y las lenguas locales. Finalmente, el artículo aborda si este tipo de lengua franca, culturalmente débil, generada desde las empresas y no desde los estados es un requisito necesario para la creación de una identidad federal basada en la región.

Palabras clave:

Filiales japonesas – Lengua de control – lengua de coordinación – Política lingüística.

Abstract

Regionalization and linguistic organization: Japanese subsidiaries in Catalonia.

This article analyzes the language policy in Japanese multinational corporations located in Catalonia (Spain). Data collection was carried out through field work interviews and quantitative survey at 6 workplaces. The growing importance of economic blocs has spread the use of English as a lingua franca to coordinate the European area. In contrast, Japanese language is used to control the European bloc through expatriates from corporations Headquarters. As long as European workers are not encouraged to learn Japanese, exclusively used by global upper echelons of the company, English language becomes a key ability in the workplace. The article shows the increasing specialization of languages: control (Japanese), coordination within the region (English) and production (Spanish and Catalanian). Japanese companies are pushed to rationalize English language under neo taylorist techniques and through basic vocabulary and basic computer procedures in order to eliminate communication failures due to workers different English's skills. Finally, the article discusses if this rationalize lingua franca, culturally weak and generated within the companies apart from the states, is a requirement to create a federal identity.

Keywords:

Japanese subsidiaries – Language of control – Language of coordination – Language policy

1. Introducción.

La creciente internacionalización de la economía y la mayor importancia de la lengua en los productos y procesos productivos hace que la gestión lingüística de las organizaciones se haga más evidente y requiera de soluciones más urgentes (Spolsky, 2009). El modo de desarrollo informacional, al centrarse en la información y el conocimiento, comporta que las competencias culturales y lingüísticas de los trabajadores se conviertan en un factor de productividad y competencia cada vez más relevante (Reich, 1991; Castells, 1996; Heller, 2010).

Las necesidades actuales de gestión lingüística se producen en el marco de un proceso de globalización que ha estimulado la integración económica y las interacciones sociales y culturales en base a grandes regiones (Giddens, 2001; Rugman 2005). Según Fishman (1999), estas interacciones promueven la expansión de las lenguas regionales, como el swahili en África oriental, el wolof y el hausa en África occidental, el árabe en el norte de África, el chino en el sudeste asiático, el español en América Latina o el inglés en Europa y Norteamérica.

En este artículo analizamos las relaciones entre proceso de regionalización económica y políticas lingüísticas de las empresas a través de las representaciones de los directivos y del personal técnico en filiales catalanas de corporaciones japonesas. Consideramos que introducir las regiones como elemento clave entre lo global y lo local nos permite comprender mejor la relación entre la lengua de los productores locales, la lengua de la coordinación regional y, volviendo a la matriz, la lengua local del origen del capital. Además de qué lenguas y quienes las emplean, nos interrogamos sobre qué propiedades lingüísticas se asocian a cada función organizativa y qué habilidades se esperan de las personas que las desempeñan. Desde habilidades lingüísticas cotidianas –y *auténticas*- de una comunidad de habla hasta competencias lingüísticas de carácter técnico y bajo criterios de estandarización neo taylorista del lenguaje (Cameron, 2000; Heller, 2010; Roberts, 2010).

En el texto realizamos una revisión del conocimiento precedente sobre las políticas lingüísticas en relación con la orientación estratégica de las empresas multinacionales, es decir, cómo gestionan globalmente las funciones de control y coordinación.. Posteriormente, exponemos los principales elementos metodológicos del estudio. En el análisis nos centramos en las características lingüísticas de la

función de control y de coordinación en las empresas estudiadas y profundizamos en los intereses de los directivos locales por extender el uso de la lengua inglesa en el ámbito regional y en la posición que ocupan las lenguas locales y la lengua japonesa ante la regionalización. Finalmente, discutimos la eficiencia de la lengua inglesa como instrumento para la inclusión de los miembros de la corporación y su eficacia para transmitir información.

2. Organización lingüística y multinacionales:

La literatura especializada en gestión lingüística de las empresas multinacionales ha prestado especial atención al establecimiento de una de lengua corporativa común, básicamente el inglés (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999; Fredricksson et al. 2006). Esta política lingüística se basa en un criterio económico fundamental: la reducción de los costes de transacción de tipo lingüísticos; tanto costes de tipo directo (costes de traducción o primas salariales) como indirectos (perdida de calidad en la comunicación, de productividad debido a errores y originados por conflictos) (Breton y Mieszkowski, 1979; Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999; Van den Born y Peltokorpi, 2010)¹.

El establecimiento de una lengua común para la reducción de costes de transacción suele partir de una perspectiva mecanicista de la lengua (Janssens et al. 2004). La lengua se concibe como un “código neutro” donde los significados son inmediatamente traducibles entre lenguas. Sin embargo, la perspectiva cultural y la política cuestionan esta concepción de la lengua. En el plano cultural, un mensaje no puede ser mecánicamente traducido a otro idioma sin perder o modificar parte de su significado, valor comunicativo, simbolismo, interpretación, efecto emocional, etc. (Janssens et al. 2004: 298). Por ello, una traducción mecánica genera malentendidos culturales y errores en el desempeño. Desde la perspectiva política, las decisiones de planificación lingüística se comprenden en términos de imposición jerárquica de una lengua con la finalidad de alcanzar un mayor control de los recursos (Park, Dai

¹ Se argumenta que una lengua corporativa común facilita la comunicación, el aprendizaje, el control entre unidades y la creación de valor entre fronteras. Promueve la cohesión, la confianza, visiones compartidas y un sentimiento de pertenencia a la “familia” global de la empresa multinacional (Ferner, Edwards y Sisson, 1995; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Luo y Shenkar, 2006: 321; Barner-Rasmussen y Björkman, 2007.). Bajo una perspectiva económica se puede asumir que estos elementos forman parte de los costes indirectos de la diversidad lingüística. .

Hwang y Kline, 1996; Frederikson et al, 2006; Solé et al. 2006). De ahí que las ventajas del "código neutro" sean difícilmente alcanzables si no se opta por un idioma que sea a la vez la lengua de todos y de nadie, como proponen los defensores del esperanto. Los anteriores problemas implican que la lengua corporativa común sólo puede ser una pieza de la administración lingüística, en la que también tienen un papel clave las lenguas locales, las lenguas del país de origen, de los expatriados o los traductores e intérpretes (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999: 381, 389).

Una línea reciente de investigación analiza los modelos de organización lingüística de las empresas multinacionales de acuerdo con su orientación estratégica global (Maclean, 2006; Luo y Shenkar, 2006; Solé et al. 2006; Van den Born y Peltokorpi, 2010). Las orientaciones estratégicas de las multinacionales fueron clasificadas por Perlmutter (1969) como etnocéntricas, policéntricas o geocéntricas según la forma en que distribuyen el control y la coordinación de la producción a escala global. En este enfoque control y coordinación son conceptos clave. El control hace referencia al grado de cumplimiento de ciertos objetivos a través del ejercicio del poder o de la autoridad. La coordinación remite al proceso que provee de los adecuados vínculos o enlaces entre las diferentes unidades o tareas de la organización para alcanzar una relación eficiente en el desempeño de las funciones (Pla Barber, 2001: 139). En esencia, en las empresas etnocéntricas el control y la coordinación es dependiente de la matriz. En las policéntricas o multidomésticas el control, especialmente el financiero, es ejercido por la matriz, pero las filiales tienen una elevada autonomía para la organización de la producción. En las geocéntricas el control y la coordinación están diseminados globalmente.

En las compañías de tipo etnocéntrico la lengua de la matriz cumple el rol de instrumento de comunicación orientado al control y a la coordinación. Este modelo lingüístico es consistente con una única función de producción altamente centralizada en la matriz, con empresas subsidiarias ejerciendo la ejecución de bienes industriales con un bajo componente lingüístico (vehículos, bienes de equipo,...). Los expatriados tienen un papel clave a través de una comunicación basada en la confianza y en valores compartidos con el grupo nacional (Solé et al. 2006). El etnocentrismo puede constituir una formidable barrera a la empatía en la comunicación intercultural y puede conducir no sólo a la ruptura comunicativa sino también a la hostilidad mediante: a) uso de canales informales de comunicación, b)

elección de compañeros; c) grado de sospecha y desconfianza y d) transmisión selectiva de información (Park et al. 1996).

En los modelos policéntricos las lenguas locales tienen un mayor peso, debido a que se fabrican (y diseñan) productos diferenciados para cada mercado local. El control sobre los resultados y las líneas estratégicas dependen de las matrices y de los expatriados, aunque dicho control puede ser ejercido también a distancia. La lengua de control es la lengua de la matriz, pero la coordinación de la actividad se produce mayoritariamente en la lengua local. El bilingüismo en lengua local y lengua de control tiene un alcance limitado dentro de la plantilla, limitándose a un pequeño número de expatriados y de “gatekeepers” locales (Maclean, 2006; Luo y Shenkar, 2006).

Las compañías geocéntricas apuestan por la disolución del origen nacional de la compañía en la gestión. En las orientaciones geocéntricas predomina el uso de una lengua franca para la coordinación debido a la alta interdependencia de todos los centros de la empresa y a una mayor intensidad lingüística de los procesos productivos –la frecuencia y calidad de la comunicación para la producción y comercialización de los productos- (Luo y Shenkar, 2006: 325-326; Alarcón, 2007; Grin, Sfredo y Vaillancourt, 2010: 49). La estrategia geocéntrica es especialmente pertinente cuando la materia prima y el producto es información y conocimiento, con un elevado componente lingüístico (una llamada a un call center) o técnico en el análisis de símbolos transmitidos a través de internet (interpretación de una radiografía por parte de un equipo médico).

Pese a que los dos primeros modelos pueden, idealmente, operar sin recurrir a la lengua inglesa, durante las últimas décadas esta lengua ha adoptado un papel más relevante en todo tipo de empresas multinacionales (Truchot, 2002; Solé et al. 2006; Van den Born y Peltokorpi, 2010). Los “tipos ideales” descritos anteriormente deben de revisarse en la actualidad a la luz de la mayor importancia de la regionalización de la economía y de la consolidación de estrategias de gestión basadas en la región (Perlmutter y Heenan, 1974).

3. Metodología.

A partir de una investigación más amplia desarrollada en España², en este artículo nos centramos en la gestión interna de las filiales catalanas. Hemos recabado información sobre la política lingüística, sobre las prácticas, creencias y la administración (o *managment*) de la lengua, entendida como esfuerzos explícitos y observables realizados por algún agente que reclama autoridad sobre el resto de participantes en el dominio para modificar sus prácticas y creencias (Spolsky, 2009: 4-5). Hemos analizado seis unidades funcionales: Logística internacional, en el caso de Honda Logístics, Comercialización y asistencia técnica en Hitachi Power Tools, Hitachi Data Systems, y Servicio técnico de Hitachi Air Conditioning y en Sony España los servicios centrales para España y Portugal (desde mayo de 2011 absorbida por Sony Europe Limited, con sede en el Londres). En Nissan, con más de 4000 empleados en Cataluña, centramos el trabajo de campo en el Departamento de recursos humanos. Los centros de trabajo y el departamento analizados tienen entre 40 y 11 empleados. El tamaño relativamente pequeño dentro de estas enormes corporaciones nos permitió una elevada comprensión de las diferentes facetas del uso de la comunicación y de la lengua en cada una de las unidades y su conexión con el resto de la corporación y su entorno.

El perfil laboral de los participantes recorre las posiciones directivas, de managers intermedios, administrativos y personal técnico. En esta submuestra de centros de trabajo realizamos, en dos etapas, 23 entrevistas en profundidad (19 autóctonos y cuatro japoneses) y dos grupos focales (6 y 5 participantes autóctonos). Además, 42 empleados autóctonos con el perfil laboral indicado cumplieron un cuestionario cerrado que recogía las principales variables de la investigación. El cuestionario fue redactado en tres versiones lingüísticas atendiendo a los principales idiomas de los encuestados: catalán, castellano e inglés. Se recabó información

² Los resultados que presentamos forman parte de una investigación más amplia sobre organización lingüística y empresas en Cataluña. En una primera etapa realizamos 228 encuestas y 22 entrevistas. Dicha investigación se amplió posteriormente con 118 nuevas encuestas, 48 entrevistas y 11 grupos de discusión en Cataluña, Madrid y País Vasco. El trabajo de campo se centró en empresas afectadas por la internacionalización de la actividad económica en los sectores sector bancario, nuevas tecnologías, industrial y sector hostelero. El análisis de los resultados de la primera fase está disponibles en Solé et al. (2008) y un análisis de tipo cuantitativo de la primera etapa se encuentra en Alarcón et al. (2010). La investigación fue financiada por el *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* y el Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (SEJ2005-03937).

secundaria sobre la posición de las empresas en el mercado y su estructura organizativa (internacionalización, productos, organización de la producción).

4. Política lingüística de las filiales japonesas en Cataluña

Un directivo describe su empresa, una de las mayores corporaciones mundiales de su sector, como una "empresa reinventada" bajo los principios de "transnacionalidad y multifuncionalidad". Transnacionalidad hace referencia a la menor dependencia con respecto a la matriz donde los proyectos dejan de realizarse exclusivamente en el ámbito local para desarrollarse coordinadamente con otros centros de la compañía en la *región* Europa. Multifuncionalidad la describe como la creación de equipos de trabajo formados por personal técnico de diferentes áreas funcionales (investigación y desarrollo, comercial, producción, diseño, marketing) que con frecuencia pertenecen a divisiones de la compañía situadas en otros países debido a las ventajas comparativas de cada área geográfica. Transnacionalización y multifuncionalidad conllevan la reconstrucción de espacios supranacionales para la comunicación, nuevas competencias intelectuales e interpersonales y mayor horizontalidad, debido a la reducción de niveles jerárquicos implicando la necesidad de elegir una lengua franca en la región, el inglés, para el staff técnico y directivo europeo.

En nuestra investigación la cuestión clave es como se produce el encaje entre la nueva lengua de coordinación a nivel regional (el inglés), las lenguas de los propietarios (japonés) y las lenguas de producción principalmente castellano y catalán en Cataluña por la una baja presencia de inmigrantes (Birsl y Solé, 2004). Para explicar la relación entre las lenguas en el ámbito interno de la corporación debemos de contextualizar los cambios lingüísticos en la evolución de los paradigmas organizativos. En el modelo de producción taylorista-fordista la lengua jugó un papel poco importante en la ejecución. La fuerte división entre ejecución y planificación del trabajo unido a la rutinización de tareas manuales facilitó la incorporación de mano de obra inmigrante en las fábricas fordista debido a los bajos requerimientos lingüísticos (Boutet, 2001; Cohen, 2009).

La evolución hacia formas de trabajo post-fordistas se materializa en estructuras descentralizadas apoyadas en las nuevas tecnologías convierten a las multinacionales en más intensivas lingüísticamente y en un caso paradigmático de diversidad lingüística que necesita ser organizada (Charles y Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; O'Hara-

Devereaux y Johansen, 1994; Janssens et al. 2004: 415). Ello impone nuevas necesidades lingüísticas para estas organizaciones. Para satisfacer esta necesidad lingüística durante los años 80 y 90 se procede a adoptar el inglés como lengua de coordinación global. Al igual que en el ejemplo mostrado, son varias las investigaciones que describen como este proceso se ha intensificado especialmente en empresas de ámbito lingüístico de origen no anglohablante. Por citar algunos ejemplos, en multinacionales nórdicas, francesas o alemanas (Truchot, 2002; Fredriksson et al. 2006; Solé et al.2006).

Pese a la importancia de la horizontalización de la comunicación en el marco de estrategias de red, la concentración de poder (principalmente financiero y tecnológico) sin centralización de recursos (diseminando fábricas por todo el mundo y recurriendo masivamente a la subcontratación) es un elemento clave en la estrategia postfordista (Harrison, 1997). Independientemente de su estrategias de orientación global, las compañías tienden a cumplir esta lógica organizativa. En clave de organización lingüística, el proceso de concentración del poder implica, como observamos a continuación, una lengua de control (que concentra el proceso de toma de decisiones en los países de origen) y una lengua franca de coordinación de la actividad productiva de las empresas que permite una mayor inclusión en la comunicación del conjunto de unidades de la corporación.

4.1. El ejercicio del control. Lengua japonesa y expatriados

La empresa multinacional japonesa se asocia a un modelo de gestión etnocéntrico cuyas filiales son administradas por directivos expatriados que se encargan de asegurar una única producción homogénea a escala mundial con pocas concesiones a las variaciones regionales (transplantes) (Keeley, 2001; Curòs Vilà, 2004). Los expatriados ejercen un control fuerte con un importante peso de la cultura de la empresa matriz. La promoción de los directivos locales es difícil y la expatriación desde la filial hacia la matriz u otras filiales son, en esta tipología de organización, muy pocas (Doz y Prahalad, 1986).

En nuestra muestra, con la excepción, de Honda Logistics todos los centros y departamentos estudiados cuentan con expatriados del país de origen de la corporación. En nuestra muestra, Nissan Motor Ibérica, sobre una plantilla de 4.200 trabajadores, tiene entre 40 y 50 expatriados japoneses. Su tarea principal es comunicar reportes periódicos e incidencias a la matriz a la sede regional. Los

directivos y empleados locales tienen poca o nula información sobre las tareas concretas que están desarrollando sus homólogos japoneses a pesar de trabajar en unidades con pocos empleados. La estancia del personal japonés en las filiales es relativamente corta y su adaptación a la cultura local reducida. En los casos estudiados, entre uno y cuatro años antes de regresar a Japón.

“Estaba el Director General y los directores japoneses, y bajo un jefe español. El director japonés hablaba inglés, en teoría, pero había diferentes niveles de inglés. El jefe local hablaba con el director en inglés, y con los operarios en castellano. En principio ningún japonés ha puesto a aprender castellano, y es lógico porque en principio vienen por periodos de 4 años ..”

En la empresa etnocéntrica el ámbito del bilingüismo en las funciones de control es limitado. Los “gatekeepers”, un reducido número de empleados (directivos o no), ejercen de traductores o mediadores en diferentes combinaciones entre filial, sede regional y matriz. En nuestras empresas no se observa personal autóctono con conocimiento de lengua japonesa. Solo en uno de los centros, un ejecutivo de origen mexicano con una larga carrera en la organización puede relacionarse en japonés con los expatriados. Una de sus funciones, además de ingeniería, es la de “gatekeeper” entre expatriados japoneses e ingenieros españoles. Los expatriados japoneses en general tienen un bajo conocimiento de castellano y ninguno de catalán. Aunque reconocen la importancia de la lengua catalana para la sociedad global, esta lengua no se considera para la producción ni la comercialización al homogeneizar las particularidades del mercado local al Estado español o la península ibérica (España y Portugal).

4.2. La regionalización y la lengua de coordinación: el inglés.

Aunque el concepto de compañía regiocéntrica no es nuevo (Perlmutter y Heenan, 1974), este modelo cobra importancia en el presente (Heinecke, 2011). Las regiones³ se convierten progresivamente en el centro geográfico en torno al que gravita la actividad operativa de las multinacionales. Diferentes episodios de crisis durante el cambio e inicio de siglo -como la crisis asiática, la inestabilidad de Rusia o América Latina, la guerra global contra el terrorismo o la crisis financiera en Europa y los

³ Principalmente el North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), el Mercado Único Europeo, el Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR), la Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), o la Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Estados Unidos- han contribuido a la tendencia hacia la regionalización de las multinacionales, más que a su globalización. Otros factores como los límites globales a las economías de escala, las diferencias regionales en los mercados de consumo y de empleo, la distancia entre las filiales y las matrices, variaciones regionales en las reglas y costumbres culturales en el comercio contribuyen a que se produzca un mundo semi-globalizado, donde la integración global de los mercados pivota en las regiones (Enright 2004; Ghemawat 2008; Heinecke, 2011: 13-14).

Los directivos locales de las filiales japonesas en Cataluña indican que su dependencia jerárquica es europea: París (Nissan), Gante en Bélgica (Honda-Logistics), Londres (Hitachi) y Berlín (Sony). Las reuniones y trabajo que desarrollan con otros directivos se vehiculan en inglés como lengua franca de la región y a pesar de que sede regional se encuentre en países donde la lengua oficial es otra gran lengua europea, como Francia o Alemania.

“Esta oficina en particular es la división electrónica de consumo de (nombre). En España, puede haber veinte (nombre), pero está es sólo de electrónica de consumo(...). La casa matriz (*sic*) está en Inglaterra, allí tienen los informáticos, recursos humanos, pero en cada país tienen una fábrica, que sería esta. Nosotros lo que nos encargamos es de darle servicios a todas las Hitachis que se establecen en España a través de Inglaterra. (...) Dependencia 100% con Inglaterra. La base informática, que es la clave, todo son terminales conectados con Inglaterra, cualquier necesidad que tenemos, cualquier problema de comunicaciones, cualquier necesidad de software, cualquier curso que nos tengan que hacer... siempre es dado desde Inglaterra. Aquí solo somos intermediarios”

Los directivos funcionales y técnicos encargados de gestionar la producción se convierten progresivamente en un grupo de trabajo bilingüe a través de la incorporación gradual a funciones regionales, a una elevada participación en cursos de inglés –más de la mitad de la plantilla ha participado en cursos de inglés dentro de la corporación durante los últimos tres años- y a la incorporación de jóvenes, con mayor conocimiento de este idioma y que los sitúa en posición de ventaja comparativa respecto a los empleados de más edad. Hemos de considerar que estas empresas basan su política de personal en mercados de trabajo interno, lo que dificulta renovar los perfiles lingüísticos de sus empleados, formado principalmente por la/s lengua/s de trabajo local/es.

Los viajes al extranjero, con motivo de participación en proyectos, formación, etc. son elevados y la percepción general es que esta situación va en aumento. De los 42 empleados que respondieron el cuestionario, una quinta parte viaja a Europa por

motivos laborales más de 5 veces al año y dos quintas partes entre 1 y 5 veces. Dos terceras partes de los empleados indican que tienen mucha relación con trabajadores europeos. Sólo en dos casos se indicó tener mucha relación con trabajadores japoneses, siempre en su centro de producción, con expatriados o atendiendo a visitas de directivos japoneses. La lengua utilizada con éstos es el inglés o el castellano. Sin embargo, con el proceso de regionalización de la actividad, diseñado desde la matriz, confieren menor importancia a las lenguas locales o de los Estados y los expatriados priorizan el inglés para su relación con los directivos locales.

En centros de trabajo la comunicación con la sede regional, siempre es en inglés, especialmente a través de sistemas de comunicación informático, pero también diaria para una parte de los entrevistados (la totalidad en dos centros) a través de correo electrónico y de conversaciones telefónicas. Con menor regularidad y con una extensión menos reducida a través de videoconferencias. Apenas existe relación con empleados de otros continentes (excluyendo los expatriados japoneses). El desarrollo de proyectos, los congresos y convenciones se celebran, fundamentalmente, en inglés y con otro personal europeo y japonés. Finalmente, adquieren más relevancia las carreras profesionales que se desarrollan en diferentes filiales europeas. Así, existen planes de formación de ámbito europeo –eurograduados- que cumple esta función y cuya lengua vehicular es el inglés.

4.3. Poder e invisibilización de la lengua japonesa.

Los idiomas están profundamente vinculados con el ejercicio del poder. Primero, porque son un medio de control del proceso de la comunicación, y la fluidez lingüística en el idioma dominante o en múltiples idiomas se convierte en una fuente informal de poder experto. Segundo, porque una vez que la lengua de trabajo ha sido establecida se convierte en una condición para el acceso a un conjunto de recursos muy importantes dentro de la organización: promoción laboral, formación corporativa, programas de promoción de directivos, información relevante, etc. Y tercero, cuando un grupo es capaz de introducir su lengua como idioma de coordinación incrementa su capacidad de dominación hacia el resto de grupos (Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999; Charles y Marschan-Piekkari, 2002).

Negociar y establecer políticas lingüísticas explícitas puede suponer una activación y polarización de las identidades grupales y los conflictos subyacentes (Harzing y Feely, 2007). Las tensiones entre las pugnas por el control y las

necesidades de coordinación quedan patentes en las dificultades para su establecimiento en procesos de fusiones y adquisiciones cuando éstas tienen diferente origen nacional (Truchot, 2002, Moulettes, 2002, Park et al. 1996, Vaara, Tienari, Piekkari y Sääntti, 2005).

Existe evidencia de que la sobrerrepresentación de directivos japoneses en sus filiales a lo largo de todo el mundo -63% de los directivos de alta responsabilidad en Estados Unidos (Yoshihara, 1996, citado en Keeley, 2001)- genera situaciones de insatisfacción y conflicto. Críticamente, el elevado recurso a la expatriación acaba exportando directivos japoneses con cualificaciones técnicas inferiores a los directivos locales, con comprensión muy pobre del de contexto local y dificultades para absorber la información detallada que les suministran los directivos locales, lo que dificultan el desarrollo e implementación de planes estratégicos.

Investigaciones previas han mostrado la percepción de los empleados locales de un control de tipo colonial y el surgimiento de resistencia de tipo lingüístico (Keeley, 2001; Wright et al. 2001). Wright et al. (2001) observaron en filiales de compañías multinacionales en Escocia, que las compañías japonesas no muestran ningún interés en que sus empleados desarrollen competencias en inglés más allá de algunas palabras del “company speak”, insuficientes para la comunicación en y con la matriz. De esta forma se refuerza implícitamente las divisiones lingüísticas dentro de la compañía. En nuestra muestra, en una escala de 0 a 10, los directivos autóctonos, el conocimiento de japonés se sitúa en una media de 0,2 y 0,1, con una desviación típica baja, de 1 y 0,6, es decir se encuentran totalmente excluidos de la comunicación en este idioma, pero tampoco existe interés por aprender esta lengua.

Un problema fundamental de la regionalización es la aparición estrategias federales encabezadas por directivos locales que reclaman un mayor margen de autonomía y control sobre las operaciones. Puede hipotetizarse que la regionalización tiene por efecto una mayor autonomía y poder, vehiculado a través de la lengua inglesa, frente a la autoridad japonesa. En nuestra muestra, los directivos de Nissan, en el marco de un intercambio accionarial con Renault, aprovechan este momento de transición dentro de la organización para combatir el control japonés y el peso del idioma japonés como lengua corporativa. Reivindican la lengua franca de la región, y en una búsqueda de nuevos aliados en Renault indican tener algunos conocimientos de francés y sentirse cómodos usando ese idioma, a la vez que niegan el papel del japonés dentro de la región.

Aunque el control se sigue ejerciendo, como en el pasado, desde la empresa matriz los directivos entrevistados en Cataluña perciben independencia en la gestión de sus funciones e implementación de proyectos. La presencia de directivos japoneses no es contradictoria con la autonomía en la gestión de determinados ámbitos y funciones, como las estrategias de comercialización o logística para Europa o la gestión de los recursos humanos de las filiales europeas. La autonomía local no es nueva (Curòs Vila, 2004). Lo nuevo es la región, y no los Estados, como nuevo espacio de autonomía organizativa y de coordinación.

Pese a la creciente retórica sobre la diversidad y la gestión multicultural en este tipo de organizaciones, la lengua corporativa o del origen nacional de la compañía continúa jugando un papel clave en los procesos de promoción personal, en la movilidad geográfica de los traslados (“expatriados”) y en las funciones de control y confianza de la organización. Se sigue reservando las posiciones clave en el control a los trabajadores japoneses. También aspectos estratégicos de innovación y desarrollo se siguen concentrando en las matrices, lejos de la sede regional.

"Hay centros de investigación en Frankfurt, Roma e Inglaterra, pero hay unos centros de ingenieros muy potentes en Japón. Sólo con acceso a los universitarios japoneses. (...) Aquí también se diseña, pero las directrices vienen de Japón. Por ejemplo aquí en España en(empresa) tienen unos modelos únicos para España, pero hay bastantes ingenieros japoneses, y diseñadores que trabajan con ellos. (...). En cada una de las grandes centrales hay un japonés controlando la situación. (...) A veces, como tenemos una alta cantidad de stock, a veces desde Japón detecta que el modelo "x" tiene un defecto, y nos envían un equipo de mecánicos japoneses, gente que no tiene ni idea de inglés, y en algún caso sí que se ha contratado un traductor. Durante muchos años hemos tenido uno aquí para que traduzca a los japoneses, no saben hablar en castellano ni en inglés".

El control, pues, tiene una apariencia difusa, de forma que los directivos autóctonos de las filiales dejan de percibir la relevancia de la lengua corporativa en la estructura global de control. En el caso de las empresas japonesas según los entrevistados autóctonos el japonés no tiene ninguna relevancia en las plantas europeas. Su percepción es que los directivos europeos deben trabajar exclusivamente en las lenguas locales o en inglés. El japonés, desde su posición en la compañía, no desarrolla ninguna función relevante. La invisibilización y negación de la lengua corporativa por parte de los directivos locales es paradigmática. Aunque la planta de Nissan en la Zona Franca de Barcelona cuenta con cerca de 40 empleados japoneses, numerosas visitas de este colectivo desde la matriz y

numerosos rótulos en japonés, los directivos autóctonos la identifican como una lengua para las conversaciones informales: "entre ellos", constatándose la división de las afiliaciones en la empresa entre matriz y regiones. "El japonés, nadie te lo pedirá", constatándose los resultados de Wright, et al (2001).

P.- ¿Cuántas visitas a lo largo de un año, cuantos extranjeros directivos o ingenieros vienen? R.- Absolutamente imposible de calcular. Depende tanto de los niveles que no es correcto decir visitas... las reuniones se producen aquí o fuera de aquí, o en centros externos de Nissan, o en caso de proveedores correos electrónicos constante, absolutamente constante y diario. P.- ¿En todas estas comunicaciones lo básico es el inglés? R.- Es el idioma oficial P.- ¿El japonés no juega un papel importante? R.- No. P.- ¿En conversaciones informales? R.- Si, entre ellos".

4.4. Los problemas del inglés desde la perspectiva de la inclusión y de eficacia lingüística.

La cuestión en este apartado es observar las capacidades de la lengua inglesa como lengua inclusiva a nivel regional a la vez que eficaz, esto es, si proporciona una comunicación de calidad, libre de errores de interpretación y que no genere problemas de productividad.

El concepto de *maximin* en la comunicación se refiere a situaciones en las que los agentes buscan (max)imizar el pago esperado (mín)imo para sí mismos a partir de sus elecciones lingüísticas (Van Parijs, 2007). Esta estrategia de eficiencia lingüística significa elegir idiomas de comunicación respecto a los el máximo de interlocutores tengan, al menos, una comprensión mínima. Ello permite minimizar el número de excluidos en una comunicación. En las empresas estudiadas, los directivos entrevistados justifican la elección del inglés para la coordinación regional bajo el criterio maximin porque: a) es la forma de excluir a menos individuos de la organización y, b) todo el mundo lo entiende.

Casi dos terceras partes de los directivos de las filiales tienen un conocimiento (apreciación subjetiva) igual o superior a 5 en una escala de 0 a 10. La media, sin embargo, es de tan sólo 4,9, tanto para competencia oral como escrita con una desviación típica de entre 2,1 y 2,3 respectivamente. Un pequeño subgrupo indica abiertamente no poder comunicarse en inglés, especialmente trabajadores de mayor edad apartados de funciones directivas. La mayoría de los entrevistados indican

poseer un nivel medio de inglés⁴. Cuando se alude a que “el inglés todo el mundo lo entiende” nuestros informantes no están mintiendo, pero la calidad de la comunicación en ese idioma es un importante problema a considerar.

Pese al discurso sobre la importancia del inglés, su uso en la mayoría de casos se limita a la lectura, envío y recepción de correos electrónicos sencillos y participar de forma pasiva en locuciones o reuniones internacionales. Sólo una minoría de los trabajadores locales desarrolla negociaciones y coordinación técnica que precisa unos niveles altos de conocimiento de inglés, principalmente en las funciones directivas (directivos o adjuntos a la dirección). Por este motivo, las reuniones en inglés son poco operativas hasta que no han sido transcritas. Una vez se tiene por escrito el contenido de la reunión, los directivos "del Sur" pueden participar efectivamente. Con "suerte" hay algún interlocutor en la sede europea de la compañía que habla español y facilita el trabajo.

“El nivel de ingles suele ser un hándicap incluso para personas con alto de nivel de ingles, ya que hablamos de negociación, capacidad de influir, de integrar posturas favorables, apoyos... Esto requiere un alto nivel de influencia. Es difícil tener un idioma similar al nativo como para poder estar en igual de condiciones”

“ Cuando hacemos las conferencias por teléfono, son muy complicadas, y hay mucho nivel de ingles, están los nórdicos y los ingleses, que son como máquinas, y luego estamos los españoles, portugueses, italianos, griegos, etc, que no lo llevamos tan bien como ellos, podemos entender el 60, 70%, el 100% es muy complicado, no lo llevamos tan a mano. Pero siempre hay un secretario que transcribe estas reuniones, y distribuyen estos textos al rato, y siempre tienes un día o dos hasta que los cambios se hacen efectivos para leer y comprender el contenido. Por que por teléfono no se puede hacer; no toda la gente comprende igual de bien lo que están diciendo, por que hay muchos niveles de ingles . (...) Claro, por teléfono es muy complicado. Y a veces son reuniones serias, y tomar decisiones rápidas por teléfono sin haber comprendido 100% es complicado, entonces el secretario envía esas minutas por e-mail y cuando las entiendes dices pues vale, correcto, o no correcto”

Desde la perspectiva de la eficacia comunicativa, la elección de los idiomas en las empresas no se regula necesariamente por criterios de máxima inclusión. La *estrategia de eficacia* se sintetiza en el criterio *minimax*. Con el criterio *minimax* se elige la lengua que (min)imiza la (máx)ima pérdida comunicativa (Alarcón et al.

⁴ Respecto a las lenguas locales el conocimiento es más elevado en castellano con un valor medio de 9,3 y 9,2 para las competencias orales y escritas con una baja desviación típica (0,9). En el caso de la lengua catalana los valores presentan importantes cambios, 8,0 para el nivel oral y 6,5 para el nivel escrito, con una desviación típica de 2,0 y 2,7. Las medias de conocimiento de francés oscilan entre 2,4 y 1,9, con una gran desviación típica, indicando casos de elevado y nulo conocimiento.

2009). En las siguientes citas se pone de manifiesto la preferencia del ejecutivo local por tratar con un connacional español en la sede regional de la compañía en Londres. En la segunda se indica que lo importante no es el inglés, sino comunicarse, lo que implica traducciones y otras estrategias lingüísticas para la comunicación.

“P.-¿No hay trabajadores en Inglaterra que hablen castellano? R.- No, si que los hay, pero no por que ellos los hayan buscado, es por que hay muchos españoles que van allí a trabajar a la sede regional, (sobretudo jóvenes) y a aprender el idioma, y entonces se ofrecen allí. Pero no los asignan a nosotros. Puede que tengamos suerte... en logística hay uno, y hablamos con él en español, es más fácil, pero normalmente esto no se hace. Aprovechamos lo que podemos, pero el esta allí por casualidad”

“Lo más importante es que lo entiendan todos, si hay que enviar el resumen de la reunión a Londres, pues se traduce luego, lo importante es que se entienda. No por hacer una reunión en inglés vamos a dejar de entendernos. La lengua es lo de menos, lo importante es comunicarse”

Cuando se persigue la máxima calidad en la comunicación una estrategia lingüística óptima es reducir la comunicación a un subgrupo culturalmente homogéneo, como por ejemplo el subgrupo japonés. Ello se basa en el supuesto de que la homogeneidad cultural comporta la minimización de los errores de comunicación dentro del colectivo. Si el objetivo del grupo es minimizar las pérdidas en la comunicación relativas al control, la lengua japonesa puede mostrarse, racionalmente, una lengua más eficaz que la lengua inglesa, respecto a la que los directivos europeos muestran una elevada heterogeneidad de conocimiento.

El problema de la eficacia en la comunicación orientada a la coordinación de la actividad adopta carices distintos. Los datos observados permiten cuestionar que el uso del inglés permita una comunicación de calidad, libre de errores. La mayor intensidad de la comunicación hace que la lengua inglesa no sólo sirva como instrumento de coordinación, sino que el trabajo lingüístico se convierte en *objeto* de control por parte de la dirección. La necesidad de controlar al trabajador lingüístico impulsa hacia la racionalización de la comunicación a través de la comunicación intermediada por computadoras y bajo principios neo tayloristas en el uso del lenguaje (Cameron, 2000; Duchêne, 2009; Heller, 2005, 2010).

La comunicación se rutiniza, de modo que para el desempeño laboral la comunicación se circunscribe a unos catálogos preestablecidos de códigos y frases sencillas, correos electrónicos cortos, muchos veces en un inglés básico, reproducidas de forma repetitiva en el desarrollo cotidiano de su trabajo. Además, en

la coordinación europea tienen un papel clave las lenguas construidas a partir de vocablos de raíz lingüística inglesa: a) Normas UN/EDIFACT (United Nations Directories for Electronic Data Interchange for Administration, Commerce and Transport); b) Códigos informáticos, limitados y establecidos por departamentos informáticos; c) Comunicación por conjunto de procedimientos (Procedimientos de Gestión de la Calidad Total, normas ISO, protocolos); d) Idioma de la empresa (*companyspeak*, en este caso con prestamos lingüísticos del japonés) y del sector con una importante presencia de vocablos japoneses.

“Un claro ejemplo de esa multiculturalidad es el hecho de que se puedan organizar proyectos partiendo de diferentes sede y herramientas de gestión (...) hay un montón de dispositivos que facilitan el intercambio. Ya no es el viajar con su coste adicional... El hecho de poder trabajar con herramientas informáticas y nuevas tecnologías hace que sea mucho más sencillo trabajar en ámbito multicultural y eso es bastante evidente”

La gestión lingüística incorpora los principios de la calidad total, persiguiendo cero tiempos muertos, cero demoras, cero errores... y cero contacto lingüístico no racionalizado. La unidad de logística analizada persigue minimizar el número de conversaciones cara-a-cara, o a través de teléfono distintos clientes “internos” (entre diferentes unidades) y externos al considerarlos una pérdida de tiempo. Un derroche. En una de las áreas logísticas de una de las empresas se ilustra esta tendencia. Una vez establecidos y automatizados los canales de comunicación con clientes y proveedores, el objetivo es que menos del 1 por 20.000 de los pedidos efectuados telemáticamente pueda contener errores que supongan un correo electrónico o una llamada de teléfono para resolverse.

“Tenemos un porcentaje por debajo del 0,02% de reclamaciones. Es una burrada por ellos pero es muy poco. De 150.000 piezas que envías en un mes, tienes reclamaciones de 20. Un total de 1500 de los 3 millones y medio de pedidos al año”.

La formación lingüística para este desempeño sólo tiene cabida en el lugar de trabajo, haciendo poco relevantes los conocimientos lingüísticos socialmente imbricados de la lengua inglesa. Observamos, por tanto, un marco de racionalización lingüística como estrategia de productividad que limita la arbitrariedad en las formas de comunicación propias de las comunidades de habla tradiciones.

5. Conclusiones

Hemos observado que el proceso de regionalización europea se gestiona a través de una mayor importancia del trilingüismo organizacional y la extensión de un bilingüismo individual. El trilingüismo organizacional se compone de una lengua que cumple funciones de control (lengua de origen de la corporación), una lengua de coordinación (el inglés como lengua franca a nivel regional) y las lenguas de producción local. El bilingüismo individual de los directivos se orienta, progresivamente, hacia lengua/as locales más inglés y lengua japonesa más inglés. La producción intensiva en mano de obra, por su parte, sigue siendo realizada por monolingües locales. Lejos de producirse una homogenización lingüística en base a la nueva lengua de coordinación regional, asistimos a una readecuación de los ámbitos funcionales de las lenguas locales y de la lengua del origen nacional de la corporación.

El tipo de organización con base regional, transnacional e intensiva en gestión de información muestra una organización lingüística que extiende el uso del inglés como lengua de coordinación. Principalmente, porque el inglés es el idioma de la comunicación entre las sedes regionales y las filiales y el idioma en el que se desarrollan los proyectos a escala europea. Sin embargo, hemos observado que las competencias lingüísticas en inglés son relativamente bajas y dificultan una comunicación eficaz. La participación de un mayor número de empleados en tareas relacionadas con el tratamiento de información a escala europea no significa que necesiten un conocimiento de inglés social o culturalmente imbricado. Por el contrario, se producen procesos de estandarización lingüística a través de las nuevas tecnologías que permiten controlar los usos lingüísticos.

El inglés como lengua franca contribuye a una mayor autonomía europea en la implementación de los planes estratégicos de estas compañías a escala europea. Sin embargo, no tenemos indicios de que esta lengua genere una base cultural común que promueva lazos de confianza. En el proceso de socialización del espacio europeo tiene un elevado papel de la comunicación de perfil bajo, a través de la comunicación por internet o de aplicativos informáticos. Pese a que emergen carreras

europas de gestión, estas afectan a una parte muy reducida de la plantilla y la identidad de la base local de las filiales de cada Estado siguen siendo fuertes.

En clave prospectiva, la organización lingüística analizada en este estudio genera un nuevo escenario de la socialización lingüística de los empleados (Roberts, 2010). La concepción de comunicación a través de criterios neo tayloristas convierte a la lengua inglesa en un instrumento de control de la producción local a escala europea más que una fuente de identidad. Una pregunta que se deriva para futuras investigaciones en el ámbito de las empresas multinacionales es si la comunicación en inglés, desarraigada del territorio y culturalmente débil, es suficiente para el éxito de estrategias federalistas que aumenten el poder de los directivos regionales en la toma de decisiones del conjunto de las corporaciones globales. Por otra parte, la socialización lingüística puede producir nuevos trabajadores para los que la diversidad suponga una forma de riqueza y satisfacción cultural. Sin embargo la aplicación de los principios neo tayloristas para la racionalización del trabajo lingüístico pueden provocar los efectos contrarios.

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OFFERING HEALTHCARE THROUGH RADIO: AN ANALYSIS OF RADIO HEALTH TALK BY MEDICAL DOCTORS

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Abstract

With the advent of increasing diseases and inadequate access to healthcare by the general public, coupled with increasing focus on preventive healthcare, the radio has become a useful means of healthcare delivery in Ghana. This paper attempts to find out whether, as a situated linguistic behaviour in a professional setting, health talk given by medical doctors has a cohesive generic structure that allows for the fulfilment of a communicative purpose. Thus, using the genre-based approach (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993), the paper explores the organisational pattern of medical doctors' health talk given on a local radio station in the University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana. It is found that the presentation given by the medical doctors involves three moves, namely: (1) Introduction, which has two steps – Definition and Thesis/Previewing; (2) Problem, with four steps - Definition, Epidemiology, Causes/Risk Factors, and Signs and Symptoms; (3) Solution, with two steps - Prevention, Treatment. The paper has implications for healthcare delivery and genre studies.

Keywords:

genre, organisational structure, move, step, health talk

1. Introduction

According to Piotrow, Kincad, Rimon & Rinehart (1997), there is substantial evidence to show that in the field of public health people want to know about their health; they want to talk more about it to friends and family; they want to hear about it through the mass media, and discuss it with competent, caring service providers; people are willing to change their health behaviour; and public health communication programmes are helping people make these changes. Knowing that “the health challenges of the next century are formidable” (Piotrow et al, 1997:xvii), health professionals are finding new ways of offering health care to the general public. One of such ways is radio talk-shows.

With the increasing number of radio stations in Ghana in the last decade or so, health talk-shows on radio (and other media channels) are becoming more and more popular (e.g., *Nestlé Nutrition Line*, Joy FM; *Dwaso Nsem Health Titbits*, Adom FM; *You and Your Health*, Metro TV, *Complete Woman*, Ghana Television; *Health*, The Mirror newspaper, a. s. o.). This surfaced on the media landscape because, as part of their social services programmes, most radio stations (have) designed health programmes to reach out to and educate the public on health issues. And to make such programmes more successful, they normally engage the services of medical and other health professionals.

In these health talk-shows, because the natural face-to-face doctor-patient interaction is unavailable, how the medical professionals do the presentation is crucial for the understanding of the audience. Since the talk show normally has a specific purpose of informing and educating audience, it can be considered a genre – a class of communicative events, members of which share some communicative purposes (Swales, 1990) as well as it being identified and understood by the members of the discourse community in which it regularly occurs (Bhatia, 1993).

Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore the rhetorical-move/generic structure of the health talk-shows presented by medical doctors of the University of Cape Coast hospital, Cape Coast, on a radio station in the University.

The study is significant in two ways. First, it adds to the existing literature on medical discourse and genre studies by providing data and information from a

different environment, culture and context. This is significant because “Different societies, periods and cultures assign different values to different priorities; in the past 30 years, for example, medical care in the Western world has increasingly emphasised patient autonomy in decision-making” (Gotti & Salayer-Meyer, 2006:11). Second, it will inform healthcare delivery and access in Ghana and elsewhere in the world.

2. Some Studies on Medical Discourse

The importance of medical discourse dates back to antiquity even though its systematic study and recognition is quite recent (Roter & Hall, 1989). According to Roter & Hall,

it is only since the mid-1960s that the actual dynamics of the therapeutic dialogue have been observed in any systematic manner and that an attempt to recast this aspect of medicine as science has been made. The evolution of methodological and technological sophistication has made observation and analysis of medical visit easier over the years, and, indeed, the number of empirical studies of doctor-patient communication doubled between 1982 and 1987 to over 60 (163)

Roter and Hall, thus, explore some frameworks for coding medical interaction to aid research in the area. Some of these frameworks explored include: Bale’s (1950) Interaction Process Analysis Approach, for assessing patterns of interaction, communication, and decision-making processes in small groups; Roter’s (1977) Interaction Analysis System, a modification of Bale’s, to study interaction dynamics in routine medical encounters; Stiles, Putnam, James & Wolf’s (1979a, 1979b) the Verbal Response Approach, an alternative approach that made use of linguistic theories; Inui, Carter, Kukull & Haigh (1982), who compared the above-mentioned frameworks to see the effectiveness of each of them, among others. Roter & Hall mention that, in the application of the above-mentioned theories, it was found out that patients usually were unable to recollect about 50% of the information communicated to them by their physicians. If this is true, then it is important that how information is communicated to patients is studied to find out its effectiveness.

Waitzkin (1989) similarly examines some theories of medical discourse and concludes that personal troubles of patients often have their roots in social issues beyond medicine; and that while medical encounters involve ‘micro-level’ interactions between individuals, these interpersonal processes occur in social contexts that are shaped by ‘macro-level’ structures in society. He further states that “The technical structure of medical encounter, as traditionally seen by health professionals, masks a deeper structure that may have little to do with the conscious thoughts of professionals about what they are saying and doing” (220). Waitzkin’s observation implies that there is the need to study the structure of medical discourses in order to suggest other ways of improving medical interactions.

According to Gotti & Saleyer-Meyer (2006), in contemporary times, medicine has become so important and absorbing that there has been an increasing number of annual publications of medical journals and non-medical journals devoted to linguistic, sociolinguistic and socio-historical study of medical discourse. Thus, more theories have currently been applied to the study of medical discourses, as exemplified below.

Conversation Analysis (CA), Bowles (2006) suggests, has contributed to medical discourse studies by means of applied and interdisciplinary studies. He thinks that if medical discourse is considered as a social act then CA may concentrate on the phases, moves and the social action that is generated through the discourse. Candlin (2006) also uses CA to analyse audio-taped nurse-patient interactions, considering how social variables (age, gender, culture, etc.) affect such interactions. She postulates that patients’ points of view and cultural background in medical interaction are as important as the doctors’ and therefore attention should be given to both, so as to reduce power threat and ensure patients’ cooperation in the interactions.

Also, Leon & Divasson (2006) examine the influence of the communicative and rhetorical features (e.g. introduction, discussion and conclusion sections) of biomedical research papers on the syntactic features of the noun phrase (NP) and vice versa. They conclude that there is some connection between the NP features (e.g. post-modification) and the rhetorical features of the said articles. Similarly, Mungra (2006) studies the macrostructure and rhetorical moves/steps in medical research articles and finds that the rhetorical moves of Introduction-Method-Results-Discussion (IMRD) or Create-a-Research-Space (CARS) proposed by Swales (1990)

apply to these articles. Fløttum (2006) compares discipline and language features in medical research articles and concludes that disciplinary factors outweigh language factors and features in the articles.

Corriveau (2007), on the other hand, traces the history of penal law on 'homoerotic mores' in Quebec and opines that medical and religious discourses helped modify the meaning of homosexual crime in the legal repression of homoerotic behaviours in Quebec in the first three quarters of the 20th century. He believes that the pathologizing discourse ensured that homosexuality was no longer condemned as behaviour that was against nature. Thus, the penal law granted pre-eminence to medical discourses and their expertise in order to assist in the control of deviant homosexual behaviour. This means that medical discourses in our communities can inform law-making processes because medical and religious as well as legal discourses reinforce each other.

Adebite & Odebunmi (2006), in a study of 'discourse tact' in doctor-patient interactions in South-Western Nigeria, find that the doctor-patient interaction during diagnosis is dominated by the doctor eliciting information from the patient while the patient also tries to respond appropriately. They also indicate that in such interaction, politeness principles are usually exploited to enhance successful diagnosis, even though conversation maxims (quantity, relation and manner) are sometimes flouted. They again indicate that doctor-patient interaction generally has problem-solution structure. Adebite & Odebunmi recommend that medical communication requires the attention of language scholars "in order to gain insight into language as an act of social behaviour and action, especially with respect to the institution of medicine" (499).

Two main observations can be made from the above-reviewed literature. First, the literature can be grouped into three. There are those that deal with general (or theoretical) issues in medical discourse (e.g. Bale, 1950; Howard, 1989; Kukull & Haigh, 1982; Roter & Hall, 1989; Roter's 1977; Stiles et al, 1979a, 1979b). These studies propose ways in which medical interactions may be analysed and discussed. The other group is those based on written discourse, ranging from research articles, newspaper articles and magazines addressing medical discourse (e.g. Fløttum, 2006; Leon & Divasson, 2006; Mungra, 2006). The last group deals with spoken discourse, the majority of which are on interactions between doctors/healthcare providers and patients (e.g. Adebite & Odebunmi, 2006; Bowles, 2006; Candlin, 2006).

The second observation is that, as suggested by Adegbite & Odebunma (2006), while a lot more studies of medical discourse have come from Western contexts and elsewhere, the same cannot be said of Nigeria, Ghana and elsewhere in Africa. This makes the present study significant since all the studies have a central goal of informing healthcare delivery and access in specific contexts and situations. What makes it even more important is that none of the studies reviewed so far deals with spoken data on radio, a void that the current study seeks to fill.

3. The Current Study

3.1 Theoretical Approach

According to Gotti & Salager-Meyer (2006), doctor-patient interaction can be analysed using different approaches and different perspectives, ranging from ethical, how it “serves the goals of non-maleficence, beneficence, autonomy and justice”, cross-cultural and -linguistic, gender to interdisciplinary perspectives.

Considering health talk as a genre, this study employs the genre-based approach of analysis (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993), which has been applied variously to both written and spoken discourse in different contexts and settings by different scholars. Examples include: Bhatia (1993) professional settings, (1994) written discourse; Swales (1990, 1996, 2004), academic settings; Swales & Feak (2005) academic writing; Afful & Tekpetey (2011) oral testimonies in religious circles; Medway & Freedman (1994), Devitt (2004) rhetoric; Johns (2002) classroom discourse; Wang (2007) business letters; Frow (2006) linguistics.

In all these studies, the purpose has usually been clear: To examine how discourses in professional settings are broached, structured and developed. Thus, while discourse analysis attempts to examine why members of a speech community use language the way they do (Bhatia, 1993), genre analysis answers the question how a communicative purpose is achieved. According to Aitchison (1992:97), “when we use language, we do not necessarily do so in a random and unconstructed way. Both conversation and written texts have various ways for welding together miscellaneous utterances into a cohesive whole”. It is against this background that the present study attempts to do a genre-based exploration of a health talk by medical doctors to observe how the talk is usually structured.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Research Design

The study employs qualitative research design, which allows an in-depth description, analysis and interpretation of verbal behaviour in a localised setting (Afful & Tekpetey, 2011).

The data for the study were collected from Atlantic (ATL) FM, a campus-based radio station in the University of Cape Coast, Ghana. Initiated by a student in 1989 to entertain students in the Atlantic Hall of the University of Cape Coast, the Station, which transmits on a frequency modulation of 100.5 on a Harris 1000k transmitter, was officially recognised as a campus-based non-commercial radio station by the National Communications Authority in 1997 (personal communication with the Station Manager, 19th June, 2011). However, around 2006, it was recognised and categorised as a Community Radio station.

As a campus-based community radio, ATL FM provides education, entertainment and information to members of the University of Cape Coast community and its environs. However, “Programmes are skewed toward teaching, learning, research and outreach activities to enhance University of Cape Coast statutory mandate” (The Station Manager, 19th June, 2011). The authority of the Station is vested in the University of Cape Coast, and it is managed by a eleven-member Management Board to ensure that the Station’s programmes conform with the rules and regulations governing the media industry in Ghana.

Broadcasting about 70% of its programmes in English, the Station operates 24 hours a day with programmes such as Talk (35%), Music (40%) and News (25%). The Talk programmes usually focus on providing education and information on issues such as health, tourism, governance, economy and education. It is interesting to note that ATL FM has international partnership with the Voice of America (VOA) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to provide global news for the Station’s audience.

‘Health Talk’ is one of the educative programmes of the Station. The programme was designed by the Station in collaboration with the University Health Directorate

to disseminate information on health issues (especially diseases) to the listening public. The programme is aired between 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. on Mondays during which medical doctors from the University of Cape Coast hospital educate listeners on various kinds of diseases, their causes, effects, treatment and prevention.

3.2.2 Data Collection and Treatment

Since 'Health Talk' was a weekly programme, there could be an average of 40 recorded segments per year and because the programme had been airing for over a period of two (2) years, there was so much to sample from. I therefore applied the theory of saturation in data collection, which states that "The size of the sample is determined by the optimum number necessary to enable valid inferences to be made about the population" (Marshall, 1996:522; Thomson, 2011). Thus, after analysing five randomly selected segments (each of which was about 40 minutes on the average), I observed a clear pattern. The data were then transcribed from audio to text files, with a word size of about 22, 676, and coded for easy referencing.

4. Analysis and Discussion

I employed the qualitative approach of analysis, using Swale's (1990) move analysis to analyse the data. For easy referencing, the orthographically-transcribed data were coded and represented as Cancer, Cataract, Diarrhoea, Stress and Pneumonia, representing the various diseases and/or health conditions discussed. To ensure anonymity, I represented the various speakers on the programme with letters or titles. In the analysis, I use the presentations on Cancer and Cataract for illustrations, but all the five are represented on Table 1.

4.1 The Organisational Pattern

The talk-show has three moves, namely: (1) Introduction, which has two steps – Definition and Thesis/Previewing; (2) Problem, with four steps - Definition, Epidemiology, Causes/Risk Factors, and Signs and Symptoms; (3) Solution, with two steps - Prevention, Treatment. The structure is similar to Adegbite & Odebunmi (2006:506) observation that the "overall content structure of the doctor-patient interaction can be summarised into two parts thus: (i) identifying the problem, its

symptoms and sources ... and (ii) attempting to recommend solution(s) to the problem...” A close reading of Adegbite & Odebunmi’s paper reveals an introduction, which they call as “initial prefatory exchanges which contain initiations and replies of greetings and summons” (506). Even though they acknowledge the presence of the introduction (“prefatory exchanges”), they do not consider it as an integral part of the interaction. Thus, there is no major difference between Adegbite & Odebunmi’s identified structure and what has been identified in this paper.

Move 1: Introduction

This move has two steps, namely, Opening and Thesis/Previewing

Step 1: Opening

Normally, the programme is introduced by the Host by announcing the presence of the resource person(s) as, for example: “... I am talking about Dr..., Dr... and Dr...” This is then followed by the mentioning of the disease (or medical condition/topic of the day), which is usually followed by a message from the University Health Directorate by one of the doctors:

Example 1 (on Cancer):

Host: As usual, Dr ... would want us to know what we should hear from the University Health Directorate.

Dr: Thank you listeners. We are so grateful for the opportunity ... As a directorate we are highly privileged to have this opportunity ... to liaise with our clientele. Today we plan talking about the cancer of the breast because this month is actually WHO cancer awareness, breast cancer awareness month and we think that we should not be left out of the global effort to perhaps reach out to the larger audience...

This part of the programme tries to establish a rapport with the audience and to create the awareness that the programme had been officially instituted by an authority (in this case, the University Health Directorate) and that the doctors represent the Health Directorate. The main purpose is thus to raise the credibility of the programme, and also give a reason for choosing to talk about the particular disease/health situation, and thereby appealing to the audience to recognise that the disease/health situation under reference is a major problem. In other words, it gives a background to the programme, conceptualises the discussion, and serves as an attention-getter (Afful & Tekpetey, 2011).

The establishment of rapport is akin to Adegbite & Odebunmi's prefatory exchanges involving greetings and summons, which may also serve as an attention-getter.

Example 2 (on Cataract):

Host: So what about cataract?

Dr: Actually in our bid to perhaps reach out to a lot of people with respect to health conditions we thought that at least eye care and er cataract particularly is a major issue that we need to look at in our bid to reach out to as many people as possible.

Step 2: Thesis/Previewing

This part of the Introduction presents a guide to the listener as to what to expect from the discussion. It previews the structure of the presentation, and serves as a kind of summary of the content of the presentation.

Example 3 (on Cancer):

Dr: So as usual the discussion is going to go through we try to talk about the (i) definitions of the condition ... (ii) the epidemiology ... (iii) clinical features in terms of signs and symptoms ... (iv) some risk factors but our emphasis is usually on (v) trying to prevent if it is preventable . (vi) to be sure that people will not look at breast cancer as if it's a witch hunting somebody ... (vii) definitive treatment...

Example 4 (on Cataract):

Dr: We will about what cataract is. We want to talk about the epidemiology. What are the causes. We want to talk about the distribution. ... We want to look at how cataract manifests in terms of signs and symptoms. How you first could know and how you can make the diagnosis and what are the modalities of treatment. And the way to prevent cataract if there's any.

It also states the objectives/purpose of the presentation, as in:

Example 5 (on Cancer):

Dr: Today at the end of the presentation what we will want listeners to take home if nothing at all is that for both men and women they should learn how to do breast self-examination. And that we should also be aware of breast cancer and let's help in its early detection and treatment...

Example 6 (on Cataract):

Dr: at the end of the presentation we want listeners, including you, to understand what cataract is.

Previewing the presentation is important because it allows the audience an opportunity to follow the discussion in view of the absence of face-to-face interaction. It tells the audience what to expect as it provides a picture of the sequence of ideas to be presented.

The Introduction resembles the introduction of an essay (especially an expository essay), which normally contextualises the topic, engages it and previews the structure of the essay (Afful, 2010; 2006). However, definitions appear in Move 2 unlike Afful's finding that definitions appeared in the Move 1 of the introduction of students' essays. It is also related to Swale's (1990) Move-Step structure in research article introductions as there is usually an attempt at 'claiming centrality' with general health situations. There is normally an attempt to create a space for the discussion that is to follow. The doctors create the sense of a niche (in the form of lack of knowledge of the health condition on the part of the audience) that has to be filled. Thus, Swales' (1990) Create a Research Space model (CARS) applies here (Leon & Divasson, 2006; Mungra, 2006).

Move 2: The Problem

The second move of the presentation involves a discussion of the problem along the lines of issues stated in the Thesis/Preview as seen above. This Move can be considered as the point of elaboration (Mann & Thompson, 1987; 1988). Move 2 makes attempts at occupying the niche that was established in the introduction (Swale, 1990; Leon and Divasson, 2006; Mungra, 2006; Wang, 2007 Jian, 2010), that is, providing the audience with the knowledge that they seem to lack.

Step 1: Definition

This is the first step of Move 2. As indicated in Examples 7 and 8, the doctors usually try to define or explain the problem the disease or health condition, as in:

Example 7 (on Cancer):

Dr: Breast cancer is a cancer of the breast. To put it ... it's an abnormal harmful growth in the breast and this harmful growth has the propensity or has the ability to move out of the breast to other sites. So this growth will occur in the breast and it's harmful ... It will harm the breast. It will harm other parts of the body also.

Example 8 (on Cataract):

Dr: so the eye lens is shifting from transparent to opacity. And the opacity of the eye lens either partial or complete is what is called cataract in the medical terms ... So when we talk of cataract as my director said it's the opacification in the lens or of the lens. That is the transparent nature of the lens in our eye is lost and the lens then becomes opaque.

This step is significant as it describes the disease or health situation that is under discussion. It helps the audience to know the specific kind of disease that is being discussed.

Step 2: Epidemiology

This step talks about Epidemiology (the distribution and determinants of a health condition). Thus, the doctors make attempts at creating a picture of the prevalence of the disease or health situation around the world or a locality.

Example 9 (on Cancer):

Breast cancer is the commonest female cancer in the world. It accounts for close to about 20% of all cancers of women ... In the US alone, about 46,000 people die annually from breast cancer and the figure for the United Kingdom is over 16,000. Ghana, we don't have very good data to show us how many deaths occur because most of those ones do not even come to hospital they end up dying in the community. But in Korle-Bu, every year not less than 200 cases of breast cancers are diagnosed ... Then you can go to Komfo Anokye and the rest. But I must say worldwide breast cancer is on the increase, it's on the rise.

Example 10 (on Cataract):

Dr: We want to classify its distribution. It affects all ages. It can be in a day old baby and in a ninety year old grandfather, so it cuts through all ages such that if you are born with it today then we can describe yours as congenital, that is, you were born with. If it's with somebody who is may be about three years old or something we can describe it as infantile. If it's in the juvenile somebody about fifteen years old then we describe it as juvenile. If it's in somebody who is before about seventy years old we can describe it as pre-senile and if it is in somebody who is about seventy years old and above then we can describe it as senile. So it cuts through all ages, but it is most seen in those who are aged.

As Example 10 indicates, the step also mentions the group of people who are likely to suffer from the problem under reference. It is part of the ways to draw listeners' attention to the need to listen to the programme; it creates a sense of

urgency for the listeners. However, There was no epidemiology of Stress (see Table 1).

Step 3: Causes/Risk Factors

This step states and discusses causes/risk factors of the health situation being discussed as exemplified in Examples 11 and 12.

Example 11 (on Cancer):

Dr: there is no known cause of breast cancer ... but they have factors ... Some of the risk factors or some of the major risk factors here are age, increasing age ... then family history. ... And then we have early age of menstruation. ... And then with the delayed age of first pregnancy ... Another big thing that accounts for the high rise globally is our diet as usual. ... Alcohol intake, smoking, they are all risk factors. When people also have developed other breast diseases in their past

Example 12 (on Cataract):

Dr: That's one of the causes is with age ... And another cause is trauma to the eye. ... Diabetes predisposes [one] to cataract development. ... drugs that we use sometimes also may result in us getting cataract. ... Cataract may also be a complication of another eye disease. ... Our pregnant women as we always say there are some infections that have been seen to cause cataract in new born babies that is rubella. When a pregnant mother has rubella infection 50% percent of these babies born will have cataract.

The major aim of the programme is to offer preventive health care. The doctors therefore try to get audience to be preventive instead of curative. It is thus important that the audience are educated on the causes/risk factors associated with diseases. The idea is that if people know what causes a particular kind of health situation, they will be in a better position to avoid catching the disease.

Step 4: Signs and Symptoms

This step talks about the clinical features that indicate the presence of the health condition in question. Examples are:

Example 13 (on Cancer):

Dr: a painless breast swelling. That's the cardinal presentation of breast cancer. ... other presentations include some eczema around the nipple area ... The nipple instead of showing outward

is kind of pulled inside the breast. ... You begin to start to have heavy chest ... you may also see that one of your breast is becoming bigger than the other. ... Another thing is nipple discharge... If it has some stains of blood in it when it's getting late the breast starts developing a sore around it.

Example 14 (on Cataract):

Dr: The main symptom of cataract is progressive loss of vision, progressive. It starts as something oh ok things are a bit blurred or something and then it goes and it progresses from one stage of er visual loss to the other form one stage of visual loss the person will try to adjust er to try and see very well

The issue of signs and symptoms is important in the presentation because it is these factors that will normally make one see whether they have a certain medical/health condition so that they may seek medical attention. Step 4 resembles Adegbite & Odebunmi's established "doctor's initiation move which elicits information about the nature and symptoms of a client's illness..." (506); however, theirs is elicitation while this is provision of information.

Move 3: Solution

Move 3 makes an attempt at offering possible preventive measures, if necessary, and then offers treatment procedures if the disease or health condition is contracted. It has two steps.

Step 1: Prevention

This step focuses on how not to acquire or contract a certain health condition; it tells about precautionary measures.

Example 15 (on Cancer):

Dr: So we have to take precautions ... And if you are between 20 from age 20 at least every 3 years once every 3 years you have to go to the hospital for breast screening. ... you'll be testing for breast swelling and any other which includes cancer itself. ... And they'll also teach you how to do it yourself ... so that you will be able to detect ... bring it to the hospital. That is between age 20 and to about 39. From age 40 there's something call mammogram that every woman has to do at least annually ... to check when any lumps are...

Example 16 (on Cataract):

Dr: err let's let's let's err go for screening. If you are told oh go and see the eye specialist here or there so that they check your eye let's do it especially those people who have diabetes ... We we

should endeavour as much as possible not to get eye drops from a chemical shop and just start putting it on our eye because maybe our eyes are aching or something. For all you know these eye drops could contain steroids and we talked that steroids predispose to the development of cataract. ... If you have the means you can immunise yourself against rubella so that you are assured that the children that you bear will not have any.

The Doctors always emphasise that the main focus of the programme is to help listeners prevent diseases/health conditions, as the following quotation indicates “our emphasis is usually on trying to prevent if it is preventable and that is what our emphasis will be”. This is important as preventive healthcare has become a major focus of healthcare providers. The main purpose of this part of the programme is to initiate behaviour “change, accelerate changes already under way, or reinforce change that has already occurred” (Piotrow et al, 1997:2).

Step 2: Treatment

Treatment talks about how to deal with the disease/health condition if diagnosis indicates the presence of it.

Example 17 (on Cancer):

Dr: There are various modes of treatment. One of them is surgery. ... They also give some what you call chemotherapy. Other times too ... they do what we call radiotherapy...

Example 18 (on Cataract):

Dr: the good news about cataract is that it is something that can be corrected; it can be surgically corrected. There are no known medicines that you take by mouth or you put on the eye that will completely take out the opaque lens or which try to make the opaque lens transparent again so eventually it has to be taken out the lens that lens has to be taken out by a short very short surgical procedure. They take out the lens and then either they leave it that way or they put in another lens. They put in an artificial lens into the eye to correct it or they will give a spectacle or spectacles to correct the defect that will be created

This step states what health professionals/providers do in order to cure a certain kind of disease/health condition. They usually discuss methods and procedures of treatment.

Table 1: The overall move/rhetorical structure of the presentations

No. Of Moves/Steps	Cancer	Cataract	Diarrhoea	Stress	Pneumonia
MOVE 1: INTRODUCTION	+ i	+ i	+ i	+ i	+ i
Step 1: Opening	+ 1	+ 1	+ 1	+ 1	+ 1
Step 2: Thesis/Previewing	+ 2	+ 2	+ 2	+ 2	+ 2
MOVE 2: THE PROBLEM	+ ii	+ ii	+ ii	+ ii	+ ii
Step 1: Definition	+ 3	+ 3	+ 3	+ 3	+ 3
Step 2: Epidemiology	+ 4	+ 4	+ 4	-	+ 4
Step3:Risk Factors/Causes	+ 5	+ 5	+ 5	+ 4	+ 5
Step 4:Signs & Symptoms	+ 6	+ 6	+ 6	+ 5	+ iii 6
MOVE 3: SOLUTION	+ iii	+ iii	+ iii	+ iii	+
Step 1: Prevention	+ 7	+ 8	+ 7	+ 7	+ 8
Step 2: Treatment	+ 8	+ 7	+ 8	+ 6	+ 7
Step xxx: Demystification*/ Misconception	+ 5, 7	+ 8	-	-	+ 5

+ means present; - means absent; i, ii, iii represent Moves; 1, 2, 3 ... represent the order in which steps appear.

Table 1 indicates that all the texts considered had the three-move structure, with the various steps as shown. The steps appeared in almost the same order, except between prevention and treatment, where for Cancer and Diarrhoea prevention came before treatment while for Cataract and Pneumonia, treatment was before prevention. There was no epidemiology of Stress; but this is seen more as an exception rather than a norm.

Step*: Demystification/Misconception

Demystification as a step is not fixed. Where it occurs depends on the specific kind of misconception that the audience appear to have. It can appear immediately

after causes/risk factors, as for instance, in the discussion on Breast Cancer, it appeared twice: after the statement of risk factors and after the statement of treatment, but it appeared after treatment measures for Cataract.

Example 19 (on Cancer):

Dr: Among the risk factors that have been found to be associated with breast cancer, size of the breast has no relationship with whether one would develop breast cancer or not ... if that analogy continues then males shouldn't develop breast cancer

Example 20 (on Cancer):

Dr: for the concern about seeking medical care, it's not actually getting the diagnosis for most of the women we don't have a problem they are coming but then when they see small thing they come. But it's the modality of treatment that they don't they haven't come to terms with or they. So we are using this forum to actually let them know that there are people who are top level executives who are presidents who are big time who have one breast or no breast at all. ... and they are living more resourceful lives.

Example 21 (on Cataract):

Dr: Know that in the various communities, there are people who say they can push the eye ... They look at the eye and put some instrument to grab the dark the white lens out. At the end of it all you see the whole eye leaking liquid and then it collapses ... That they will operate and people could go with about ten years of impaired vision and that in 2 3 days they could see clearly and what a reincarnation you see.

These examples mean that the audience were thought to have some misconceptions relating to causes and treatment of Breast Cancer, while the misconception on Cataract was related to treatment measures. This is so because misconceptions are related to specific issues relating to specific diseases/health conditions.

5. Conclusion/Implications

This study sought to explore the organisational structure of radio health talk-shows held by medical doctors on a local radio station in the University of Cape Coast. Using Swales' (1990) and Bhatia's (1993) Move-Step structural analysis, the

study found three moves: Introduction, Problem and Solution. The Introduction, Move 1, had two steps, which were Opening and Thesis/Previewing. The Problem, Move 2, consisted of four steps, namely, Definition, Epidemiology, Causes/Risk Factors, and Signs/Symptoms. The Solution, Move 3, had two steps, which were Prevention and Treatment. There was Demystification step which was not fixed; its occurrence depended on the specific kind of misconception that the audience appeared to have.

This study has some implications for genre studies; it adds to the existing scholarship on genre studies. It has been observed that Swales move-step analytical tool is applicable to health talk-shows even though there appears to be some subtle differences in terms the specific move and step patterns. This is understood considering that Bhatia (2004) and Afful (2011) admit that, even within the same genre, definable forms will not always recur in the same way.

Given that radio health talk-shows have become part of the social responsibilities of radio stations in Ghana, and elsewhere, the findings have particular implications for presentation formats. In a more general sense, the paper has some implications for healthcare, especially preventive healthcare, delivery in Ghana and elsewhere.

I recommend further studies into health talk-shows in Ghana and other places to explore the extent to which the findings made here can be generalised. Such studies may also consider those presented on television stations. The focus of such studies may be on micro and macro features such as vocabulary and other linguistic choices as well as socio-economic features and implications of such talk shows.

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A NEW SOCIOLINGUISTIC INSIGHT INTO LANGUAGE CONTACT PHENOMENA: EVIDENCE FROM ARABIC/FRENCH LANGUAGES PAIR

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Abstract

The present article is an empirical study of the speakers' attitudes and speakers' use of their languages/varieties of languages in both Algeria and Morocco. In fact, these two neighboring countries share common sociolinguistic and cultural heritage; with a common colonizer (France), common culture, common religion and mutually intelligible dialects. In both countries, we worked with a sample of respondents whose linguistic repertoire includes: the local dialect (Algerian Arabic or Moroccan Arabic), Classical Arabic and French. The basic questions raised in this comparative work are: do Algerian as well as Moroccan speakers use Classical Arabic, French and their local dialects in the same situations and for the same reasons? More importantly, what is the actual role of French in either country?

For this purpose, we elaborated a questionnaire which was filled by informants from either country. The results confirmed that the Algerian as well as the Moroccan speakers use the formal varieties (Classical Arabic and French) and the local dialects in approximately the same situations and contexts but with varying doses. In both countries French is viewed as the language of prestige and high social status, however, it was found omnipresent in the Algerian speech much more than in the Moroccan verbal interactions and this is probably due to socio-historical reasons.

Keywords

Bilingualism, Language contact, Linguistic repertoire, Social context of language use, French, Arabic

1. Introduction

The present article ⁵as its titles indicates focuses on language contact phenomena in both Algeria and Morocco, yielding therefore a new sociolinguistic perspective on central aspects of Arabic/French languages pair. Throughout this work, we will endeavour to highlight the sociolinguistic factors underlying language choice using three basic languages which constitute the linguistic repertoire of the speakers notably the Arabic dialect (Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA) or Moroccan Arabic (here after MA) , Classical Arabic (here after CA) ⁶ and French (here after Fr). A particular interest will be given to the study of the role the French language plays in both speech communities.

As for French language, it is considered as a second language in Algeria and Morocco, and plays a role of a paramount importance in both countries. In Algeria for instance, Fr is regarded as an important medium of communication, it is inevitably used as a functional instrument in all the spheres of public life namely in the administration, government and the mass media. It is also used to display the social status of the speaker. Within this framework, Akila (2001:01) states :

Le Français est devenu une langue élitiste , symbole de la réussite sociale et reste omniprésente dans les secteurs ‘ de la banque , de l’économie et de l’ouverture sur l’universel’. Elle n’en reste pas moins la langue de l’ancien colonisateur
French has become an elitist language , symbol of social success and remains omnipresent in the fields ‘ of the bank , of economy and the opening up on the universal’ . It remains nevertheless the language of the coloniser

Both Algerian and Morocco are diglossic and bilingual speech communities. A diglossic language situation is usually described as consisting of two varieties of the same language, each of which has clearly defined function (Ferguson, 1959). The high variety being used in formal settings such as public speaking, religious texts, education and other prestigious contexts, whereas the low variety is reserved for use

⁵ This article is written in the frame of an investigation led in both Morocco and Algeria thanks to the funding of AIMS (American Institute for Maghrebi Studies- USA) in late 2009.

⁶ In this work Classical Arabic is used to mean the modern version of Arabic or as it is called Modern Standard Arabic.

in more informal and relaxed situations such as at home and in coffees. From a global societal perspective, most of the world's speech communities use more than one language and are therefore bilingual rather than monolingual. As far as Bilingualism is concerned, it entails the use of two or more languages or varieties of languages in situations in which such languages are in free or parallel distribution. Within this framework, Mackey (1984:122)⁷ defines bilingualism as the ability to use more than one language by an individual or a community. When it is considered at the individual level, bilingualism is concerned with issues such as how one acquires two or more languages, when it is viewed as a societal phenomenon; bilingualism is concerned with its institutional dimensions such as the status and roles of the languages in a given society.

At the micro-sociolinguistic level, the Algerian as well as Moroccan speakers may use and eventually switch between two or more languages namely AA , CA, Fr and Berber with varying doses, depending on non-linguistic factors such as the speaker's age ,intelligence, communicative competence in various codes, and his/her attitudes towards different languages. Seemingly, the existence of many languages and varieties of language would reflect to a great extent the sociolinguistic richness and diversity of such countries.

2. Data Collection Procedures

This investigation is meant to study the speaker's use of languages notably AA (or MA), CA and Fr in particular, in different situations and various contexts. Berber as a variety is excluded from the study, since it is not spoken by our respondents in both countries .

For this work, we selected 80 respondents: 40 males and 40 females from different socio-educational backgrounds in either country. The questionnaire was addressed to informants from different regions; in Algeria: from Sidi Bel Abbés, Oran , Tlemcen , Elbayadh and Saida . From Morocco, we mention towns like : Casablanca, Rabat, Marakech, Fés, and Kenitra, and those which were under the Spanish protectorate (1912 –1956) such Tanger and Tetouan . The results of the

⁷ Romaine (1989 :16)

present investigation will certainly draw a new direction in the study of language contact phenomena in the Maghreb, especially in the establishment of the exact role of Fr in either country. So far, the present investigation endeavours to discuss the triangular relationship between Fr, CA and the local dialects with a particular focus on the study of the role and status of Fr, between what is assumed and what is found on the real ground. In other words, between myth and reality. Two major questions are raised in this study, which are: in the same situations and contexts, do the Algerian speakers and their neighbours the Moroccans use the same languages/varieties of languages? What is the real role and status of Fr in either country: is it the language of prestige, modernity, colonialism or something else? The questionnaire is composed of 8 sections: section 1 is meant to describe the socio-educational background as well as the linguistic repertoire of the respondent. Sections 2, 3 & 4 attempt to elicit the speaker's attitudes towards different languages, in particular Fr, while, section 5 deals with the informant's frequency of switching between languages, especially the dialect and Fr. Section 6 endeavours to identify the speaker's choice of languages according to different types of interlocutors namely family, friends and strangers, the relationship varies therefore from formal to a very informal. Section 6 displays the interaction of some factors relevant to language choice, indeed, the integration of the speech variables would create what Fishman and Greenfield (1972)⁸ called *Congruent Situation*, i.e.: situations in which individuals interact in appropriate role relationships with each other, in the appropriate locales for these role relationships and discuss topics appropriate to their role relationship.

Within this framework, five domains were labelled: 'Family', 'Friendship', 'Religion', 'Education' and 'Employment'. Fishman and Greenfield's research (1972) was within the Puerto Rican speech community, where individuals are bilinguals and speak both Spanish and English. Spanish was primarily associated with domains related with family, while English was mainly related to religion, work and education.

Fishman and Greenfield's model helped clarify the construct validity of domains as well as the procedure for their recognition. In what follows I will adopt Fishman and Greenfield's model including four domains cited above (Family, Friendship

⁸ Bouamrane (1986:230)

Education and Employment) in an attempt to know which languages are used in each domain.

Certainly, the outcome of both questionnaires (held in both Algeria and Morocco) will enable us understand to a great extent the triangular relationship between the speaker's mother tongue, CA as well as Fr in both countries.

2.1 The questionnaire

Thank you for having accepted to answer this questionnaire. This questionnaire is anonymous, i.e. you should not include your name. Please answer the following questions by putting a thick when appropriate (you can answer in Arabic or in French).

Section 1

Gender: Male 40 Female 40

Age: Do you have between:

15-25 25

26-35 25

36-50 20

More than 50 10

Educational Background:

Primary Level 11

Middle School level 14

Secondary Level 22

University Level 33

Communities Languages	Algerian speech community	Moroccan speech community
Which languages do you use in speaking?		
Classical Arabic	37.67%	41%
Arabic Dialect	42.33%	47.88%
French	20%	11.12%
Which languages do you use in writing?		
Classical Arabic	34%	42.33%
Arabic Dialect	36%	39.09%
French	30%	18.58%
Which languages do you use in reading		
Classical Arabic	52.86%	68%
Arabic Dialect	8.14%	2%
French	39%	30 %

Table 1 shows the speakers' use of languages at different levels. Seemingly, both Algerian and Moroccan speech communities use the colloquial dialect in their daily interactions with high doses; 42.33% in Algeria as opposed to 47.88% in Morocco. CA is more or less restricted to the written and reading purposes, with a particular tendency of the Moroccan speakers more than the Algerians (41%) against (37.67 %) to use CA at the oral level, mixed with Fr and/or MA.

Section 2

Communities Languages	Algerian speech community	Moroccan speech community
Which languages do you find the most useful in your daily life?		
Classical Arabic	34 %	49.79%
Arabic Dialect	44.58%	31.65%
French	34.25%	18.56%
Which languages do you find less used in your daily life?		
Classical Arabic	47%	35%
Arabic Dialect	25%	24.42%
French	28%	40.58%
Which languages do you find modern?		
Classical Arabic	24%	24.87%
Arabic Dialect	22	21%
French	54%	54.13%
Which languages do you find outdated/old-fashioned?		
Classical Arabic	57%	46%
Arabic Dialect	32.89%	28%
French	10.11%	26%
Which languages do you find prestigious?		
Classical Arabic	39%	43%
Arabic Dialect	20%	44%
French	41%	43%
Which languages do you find nice?		
Classical Arabic	30%	41%
Arabic Dialect	33%	32.42%
French	37%	26.58%
Which languages do you find heavy /complex?		
Classical Arabic	46.55%	42%
Arabic Dialect	23.45%	8%
French	30%	40%

Section 2 discusses the speakers' attitudes towards languages which constitute their basic linguistic repertoire including CA, Fr and colloquial dialect. Within this

framework, Romaine (1989:256) states: “Attitude is too general a concept to be accurately determined from the answer to a specific question or from the responses given by an informant in a carefully controlled experimental situation.”

Virtually, 41% of the Algerian speakers as well as 43% Moroccans regard Fr as the most prestigious form which is used to express their modernity, and /or social and intellectual level. Interestingly enough, the Moroccans more than the Algerian speakers find CA (41% against 30% of Algerian respondents) as nice and as prestigious as Fr. Probably, this is mainly due to the Moroccan’s frequent use of CA more than Algerians in their daily speech.

Section 3

Communities Languages	Algerian speech community	Moroccan speech community
What do you feel when you speak Classical Arabic?		
Shame	10%	1.20%
Pride	45%	38%
Prestige	30%	21%
Nothing	15%	39.80%
What do you feel when you speak Dialect?		
Shame	24%	29.55%
Pride	11.25%	24.45%
Prestige	35.25%	1%
Nothing	48%	45%
What do you feel when you speak French		
Shame	1.22%	12.56%
Pride	21.42%	22.42%
Prestige	46.36%	52.69%
Nothing	31.00%	12.33%
Do you like to improve your level in Classical Arabic?		
Yes	48.56%	56.45%
No	51.44%	43.55%
Do you like to improve your level in French?		
Yes	68%	78%
No	32%	22%
Are you For or against Bilingualism (Arabic and French) in your country?		
For	86%	89.66%
Against	14%	10.34%

The speakers from both countries share the common feeling of pride when speaking CA (45% for Algerians and 38% for Moroccans), prestige with Fr (43.36%

for the Algerian speakers and 52.69% for the Moroccans) and indifference towards their local dialects (48% in Algeria and 45% in Morocco). This is probably linked to the sociolinguistic and political status of languages in their countries. In fact, in both Algeria and Morocco, CA is the language of the national constitution and the holy book 'Coran', Fr is the language of the elite and the local dialects are stigmatized varieties used in daily informal interactions.

Section 4

Communities Languages	Algerian speech community	Moroccan speech community
What do you think of French Language?		
Language of prestige	94%	85.66%
Language of modernity	95.33%	94%
Language of studies	89.66%	79.66%
Language of the colonizer that we should not use	29.55%	37.66%
Useful Language in our daily life	90%	97%
Language that we should get rid of	1%	0.55%

Section 5

Communities Languages	Algerian speech community	Moroccan speech community
Do you switch (mix) between Classical Arabic and French		
Yes	36%	46%
No	64%	54%
Do you switch (mix) between Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic?		
Yes	42%	59%
No	58%	41%
Do you switch (mix) between Dialect and French?		
Yes	89%	85%
No	11%	15%
Do you think Code switching represents :		
A linguistic handicap	23%	39%
A linguistic diversity	77%	61%

The percentages displayed in sections 4 & 5 reflect the status of Fr; being a useful language of modernity, studies and prestige. Algerian and Moroccan speakers favour

CS between the local dialect and Fr and find that CS is a common phenomenon among speakers. Switching is therefore a very common behaviour among the Maghrebi speakers who consider it as a marker of linguistic diversity (77% in Algeria and 61% in Morocco).

Section 6

			Algerian speech community			
The Interlocutor	Locale	Theme of discussion	Classical Arabic	Dialect	French	Mixing between Arabic and French
mother	Home	Summer holidays	12%	85%	19%	81%
Sister/ brother	A chic shop	Choosing a clothe	5%	45%	58%	86%
A friend	Street	Yesterday's film	1%	87%	41%	55%
Waiter	A chic restaurant	Order a meal	0%	12%	86%	51%
A colleague	Work place	Salary raising	9%	59%	28%	83%
A teacher	University	The exam	1%	18%	87%	46%
A doctor	In his cabinet	Health problem	0%	45%	54%	81%
A foreigner	Street	Asking for your way	5%	48%	31%	81%
Clerk	Bank	Creating an account	1%	20%	56%	84%
Your boss	Office	The work problems	6%	81%	23%	46%

			Moroccan speech community			
The interlocutor	Locale	Theme of discussion	Classical Arabic	Dialect	French	Mixing between Arabic and French
mother	Home	Summer holidays	25%	85%	12%	56%
Sister/ brother	A chic shop	Choosing a clothe	12%	15%	64%	55%
A friend	Street	Yesterday's film	8%	85%	16%	59%
Waiter	A chic restaurant	Order a meal	5%	83%	95%	56%
A colleague	Work place	Salary raising	29%	59%	88%	53%
A teacher	University	The exam	14%	23%	47%	58%
A doctor	In his cabinet	Health problem	14%	61%	38%	71%
A foreigner	Street	Asking for your way	19%	85%	34%	61%
Clerk	Bank	Creating an account	5%	21%	81%	61%
Your boss	Office	The work problems	18%	45%	48%	79%

From the above situations, the speaker's relationship with the locutor, topics under discussion as well as the setting play a role of paramount importance in the choice of a variety/language over another. The norm of 'appropriateness' is the general rule for language choice. Accordingly, Fishman (1971:23) points out: "Language choice is much clearer cut and polarised in 'usual' situations governed entirely by sociolinguistic norms of communicative appropriateness".

However, the status of the speaker is also important, in fact, when formality is present, the speaker tends to use Fr or a mixture of Fr and AA, as with doctor (54% of Fr) or teacher at the university (87%)(in the case of the Algerian community). The more the setting is formal; the tendency is for the use of Fr or switching between Fr and other varieties, as in restaurant or a chic shop. Within this perspective, Trudgill (1995:86) states:

A further important feature of the social context is the 'context of the person spoken to, and in particular the role relationships and relative statuses of the participants in a discourse. For example, speech between individuals of unequal rank is likely to be less relaxed and more formal than that between equals

Still, the speaker socio-educational background is also very decisive in language choice, as an example, a layman cannot speak Fr with a doctor. CA is not so frequently used alone ; it is generally mixed with AA and/or Fr. Whether within the Moroccan or the Algerian speech communities, the speaker adopts the same behavior ; the use of the appropriate language/variety when speaking to a particular interlocutor in a specific context . For formality, the option is for the use of Fr which is used with higher doses by the Algerian speech community than the Moroccan community .The local varieties are stigmatized for informal settings and CA is used , generally mixed with the local dialect in either country .

3. Outcomes and Outlooks

As far as the present investigation is concerned, the preliminary results of the investigation revealed that language use among speakers depends on sociolinguistic factors among them: the interlocutor, his/her linguistic background, the place and

topic under discussion, among other factors. Seemingly, the major difference between the questionnaire's findings in both countries lies in the amount of Fr as well as CA use. This is probably due to two main reasons:

1. Algeria was colonized during 132 years as opposed to Morocco with 44 years of French protectorate in towns which were under the French protectorate. Even with the intensive campaigns of Arabisation which were launched in both countries right after independence, Fr is still powerfully omnipresent in Algeria in all domains, at the oral and written levels.
2. The second point involves the short period of investigation, indeed I tried to understand the Moroccan speech behaviour in only four weeks of observation (from 13/12/2009 to 13/01/2010) ; a period during which it is quite impossible for any sociolinguist to discover all the characteristics and entities of any bilingual speech community .

4. Conclusion

Our visit to Morocco was very instructive and informative; indeed, we discovered the nature and the main characteristics of the Moroccan speech community, with its sociolinguistic diversity and richness. We could visit many towns notably Tanger , we seized the opportunity to visit many francophone towns namely Casablanca , Rabat , Fés and Marrakech in order to observe the respondents speech behaviour. Unlike Algeria which was wholly colonized by France (1830 –1962) , northern and southern Morocco (like Tétouan, Larach , Nador and the Great Sahara) were under the Spanish protectorate (1912 –1956) whereas , the internal towns like Casablanca , Rabat, Marakech, Fés, and Kenitra were under the French protectorate (1912-1956). Tanger was declared as an international Zone in 1912 and freed in 1956. But , what we have noticed during my stay in Tanger is that comparing with the first time we visited it in 2004 , there have been considerable linguistic changes characterized by the use of more Fr , either in public life (panels in particular) and at the oral level . This can be probably explained by the influence of new waves of comers from francophone areas especially Casablanca and its surroundings to settle there, especially after the economic boom of the area.

The comparative study on language use among Algerians vs. Moroccans revealed that regardless of the different situations and contexts, the Algerian speakers have a tendency to use more Fr than the Moroccans. This is probably related to historical reasons; French colonialism in Algeria vs. French protectorate in Morocco, but also to the human sample used in this investigation. In fact, the Moroccan speakers of Casablanca use Fr more often than those living in other towns, and we may find some Algerian speakers who do not speak Fr correctly or rarely switch between Fr and other languages. The findings are therefore significant and representative of only a given sample.

This investigation put into evidence that the Maghrebi linguistic map with its regions notably Algeria and Moroccans holds a heavy socio-historical and cultural heritage partly due to the French occupation. The result is the formation of linguistic repertoire mainly composed of local dialects, Fr, CA and Berber, used in both regions with varying degrees. But, it seems that regardless of the differences in the amount and frequency of uses, both the Algerians as well as Moroccans have positive attitudes towards all languages; they feel pride when speaking Fr and/or CA and are actually becoming aware of the importance the local dialects which are now less considered as stigmatized varieties but rather a radius linguistic print in their idiolect.

The linguistic map of the Maghreb is very informative, and this work should be strengthened by other investigations in other Maghrebi countries like Tunisia and Libya , in order to put under the spotlight the linguistic differences and similarities among the Maghrebi speakers .

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PROMOTING BRAZIL AT THE UN: DILMA ROUSSEFF'S LEGITIMATION STRATEGIES OF AUTHORITY AND MORALITY

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Abstract:

For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a woman opens the General Debate, the honor falling to President Dilma Rousseff of Brazil on September 21, 2011. Her principal objective is to argue for the inclusion of Brazil as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, proposing enlargement rather than substitution. This article analyzes the legitimation strategies of authority and morality she employs to that purpose. The analysis of specific strategies is made possible through the application of van Leeuwen's (2007) legitimation strategies framework, Suchman's (1995) organizational perspective on legitimation and Castelló and Lozano's (2011) categories for analyzing Corporate Social Responsibility rhetoric. A macro-level approach is undertaken using Eriksen and Fossum's (2004) discussion of debates in the European Union prior to its enlargement in 2004. The analyses indicate a complex argumentation structure in which the emerging nations and women share a cognitive frame with Brazil; consequently, arguments from any of the three can be used to advance Brazil's case to the UN.

Keywords:

legitimation, authority, morality, discourse analysis, corporate social responsibility rhetoric

1. Introduction

On September 21, 2011, Brazil's president, Dilma Rousseff, opened the general debate of the 66th Session of the United Nations (UN), marking the first time in UN history that a woman had the honor of doing so. Naturally she acknowledged the honor, but her principal aim was to argue for Brazil assuming greater responsibility within the UN, notably serving as permanent member of the UN Security Council. Rousseff legitimizes Brazil's proposal by laying out several areas of responsibility in which Brazil has proven itself worthy of authority status: fiscal affairs, political stability, environmental controls, the harmonious integration of immigrant groups, peaceful relations with its neighbors and domestic economic development. She also advances legitimization strategies of morality, arguing for inclusivity, for instance, which is the "right thing to do" (Suchman, 1995: 579). Moral legitimacy also underlies Rousseff's general argument for Brazil's expanded presence on UN councils in the sense that recognition of Brazil's new status and authority is the morally appropriate action to take. Our central argument is that Rousseff uses legitimization strategies of commendation authority in line with van Leeuwen's (2007) legitimization strategies framework and consequential and procedural legitimization strategies of morality as described by Suchman (1995), presenting them within a general strategy that suggests familiarity with Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) rhetoric (e.g., Castelló and Lozano, 2011). After analyzing the overt strategies used to promote Brazil, we will examine how Rousseff integrates comments about women not only as a congratulatory measure to recognize their national and international contributions, but also to further advance Rousseff's main agenda in promoting Brazil. We will conclude by shifting our focus from discursive approaches to political science, noting that Rousseff's arguments for promoting the expansion of the UN Security Council also parallel those raised in the debate within the European Union (EU) prior to its enlargement in 2004 (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004).

2. Theoretical approaches

Theoretical approaches from the fields of organizational sociology, discourse analysis, management and political science have been selected to assess the

comprehensiveness of Rouseff's legitimation strategies. The sociological and discourse analytical perspectives provide a general sense of elements in play as well as a methodological framework for the analysis. An examination of Corporate Social Responsibility rhetoric allows us to consider in what ways the governance and opportunities for Brazil are played out through a corporate management lens. Finally, the political science perspective provides an analytical framework derived from diplomats' conceptions of the basis for EU legitimacy. To the extent that we can consider similar the underlying vision of legitimacy of the EU and of the UN, we can assess the degree to which Rouseff's legitimation strategies are appropriate for the proponents of each vision.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (van Leeuwen, 2007)

Van Leeuwen (2007) offers a framework for analyzing the ways legitimacy is constructed through discourse, identifying four categories of legitimation: *authorization*, *moral evaluation*, *rationalization* and *mythopoesis*, or legitimation through narratives (van Leeuwen 2007:92). The framework provides a solid starting point for linguistic analysis; in fact, the approaches he advocates for analyzing moral evaluation and rationalization are too finely grained for the Rouseff data. As Rouseff mentions just one or two moments from her personal history, not enough data is available for a *mythopoesis* analysis. Of the four categories, then, the authorization strategies described by van Leeuwen are the most relevant.

In van Leeuwen's framework authorization may result from any of several types of authority. An individual's status or role may confer *personal authority*; expertise gained, whether or not the credentials are explicitly communicated, confers *expert authority*; and authority in the ability to shape other's actions due to status as a role model confers *role model* authority (van Leeuwen, 2007: 94-95). While his examples involve individuals whose accomplishments or behavior leads them to be considered role models, nothing in the formulation of the category would exclude institutions from consideration. These categories contrast with the remaining three: *impersonal authority*, *tradition* and *conformity*. Van Leeuwen refers to laws and regulations as conferring *impersonal authority*, and the weight of customary ways of doing things as *the authority of tradition* (van Leeuwen, 2007: 96). Authority conferred on the basis of *conformity* (van Leeuwen, 2007: 96-97) suggests that the numbers of people engaging in a particular action or having a belief system creates its own weight (i.e.,

“if everyone is doing it, it must be OK”). For van Leeuwen, the difference between *tradition* and *conformity* rests in who the agents are, with the authority of *tradition* being based on “our” actions and that of *conformity* based on the actions of others. We note another difference: *tradition* is built up over time, providing diachronic depth, while *conformity* may be fleeting, reflecting a synchronic view of authority. Obviously, conformity over time leads to tradition.

1.2 Organizational Analysis (Suchman, 1995)

Suchman (1995) presents the state of the field of legitimation for the three decades preceding the publication date. From the point of view of organizational management, the most salient distinction is between *institutional* perspectives, which are “constitutive beliefs,” and *strategic* approaches, in which management is viewed as constructing a belief system through discourse. Suchman then classifies legitimation strategies as *pragmatic* (focused on self-interests), *cognitive* (reflecting common ground) or *moral* (doing what is “right”; Suchman, 1995: 577-583). From a critical discourse perspective we would argue that Rouseff’s speech, the opening salvo for a discussion on the enlargement of the governing bodies of the UN, not only *is* strategic, but that when discourse aims to effect change in the *status quo*, it *must* be strategic to be effective. An analysis of that distinction, in this context, seems superfluous. Likewise, the tripartite distinction between self-interest, values (common ground) and morality may not be entirely useful, as the argument can be made that even the decision to focus on values or morality ultimately reflects the self-interest of the “speaker” (person or institution).

In contrast, Suchman’s nuanced discussion of legitimation strategies of morality is particularly useful for our analysis. For Suchman morality legitimation takes in four parameters: an assessment of a person’s or an organization’s accomplishments (*consequential legitimation*); an evaluation as to whether the person or organization has employed sound practices and done things the “right” way (*procedural legitimation*); a demonstration of one’s “rightness” for the “job” (*structural legitimation*); and the existence of role models, designated *personal legitimation* (Suchman, 1995: 580-581). As we will demonstrate in the analyses below, Rouseff has pointed out the progress Brazil has made in solving its problems in a number of areas; she has enumerated specific practices that Brazil has implemented to meet its goals. As the problems Rouseff mentions are global, achieving success can confer

expertise, or *structural legitimation*. Dilma Rousseff makes scant mention of herself, but does suggest ways Brazil could serve as a role model.

1.3 Corporate Social Responsibility Rhetoric (Castelló and Lozano, 2011)

Palazzo and Sherer (2006) argue that Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), while not a new area within management research, needs to be viewed from a discourse (i.e., communicative) perspective, particularly in light of recent environmental and financial crises in the particular, and globalization in general (Palazzo and Sherer, 2006: 71). Two years later Vaara and Tienari (2008) note that the number of discourse-based studies conducted on multinational corporations is still limited (Vaara and Tienari, 2008: 985). While Palazzo and Scherer (2006) argue for a communicative approach to the study of corporate legitimation strategies, their study does not examine specific strategies. Castelló and Lozano (2011), on the other hand, take a discourse analysis approach to the legitimation strategies actually employed. They analyze 93 annual, sustainability and shareholder reports from 31 companies, noting that through qualitative analysis 17 themes have emerged from the data (Castelló and Lozano, 2011: 15-17). Following Suchman’s footsteps, Castelló and Lozano find the distinction between institutional and strategic approaches the most salient in their analysis of corporate texts of various types. As our analysis centers on legitimation strategies of authority and morality, we have classified their themes with that in mind and will examine the 14 themes categorized accordingly. The remaining themes have been placed into a category they refer to as *dialogic*, referring to the overt communication between the company and the stockholders, but they are not discussed substantively in this article.

Table 1. Categorization of Castelló and Lozano’s CSR themes

AUTHORITY	MORALITY	DIALOGIC/ META-DISCURSIVE
Accountability	Citizenship	Focus on the issue
Global Agenda	CSR	Stakeholder dialogue
Global Standards	Inclusivity	Strategic link between CSR & firm
Governance	Partnership	
Innovation	Philanthropy	
Operationalization	Social contributions to humanity	
Reputation		
Sustainability		

For reasons of space, working definitions of these themes are not presented here; rather, they are integrated with the analysis of the data.

1.4 Legitimation strategies through political integration (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004)

Eriksen and Fossum present a political science/public policy perspective on legitimation. Prior to the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004, a series of debates were held under the designation *Convention of the Future of Europe*, which met between February 2002 and June/July 2003. Three different visions of how EU legitimacy might be framed are presented as possible strategies or ways forward: a) the EU as primarily a *problem-solving entity* (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004: 439); b) the EU as a *value-based community* (2004: 441); and c) the EU as a *rights-based* institution (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004: 445). Although an analysis of debates (and in that sense, discourse) led them to conceptualize these categories, their aim was not to view how the debate developed discursively. On the other hand, Rousseff's principal aim was not to create a speech that would be an interesting object of discourse analysis, but rather to fulfill specific political goals. The UN and the EU share some similarities (e.g., member states, considerations of enlargement). We aim to demonstrate the degree to which Rousseff has developed an argumentation strategy that could be effective independently of the type of underlying vision that the members of the UN have of this body.

2. Macrostructure of the speech

Both visually and audibly can one discern ten distinct parts of Rousseff's speech, as each is opened with a salutation and most signal a clear change in topic. The first section, on the advancement of women and the values of the UN, opens with the greetings to the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General of the UN, fellow heads of State and the general public. Each of the following seven sections of the speech is introduced by the address form *Mr. President*, as she highlights different types of responsibility that Brazil has successfully assumed, its readiness in participating more fully on the international stage and its economic, environmental, political, social and diplomatic qualifications. In the ninth section, introduced by the

words *Mr. President and my fellow women from around the world*, she talks about ways that women have been involved in Brazil's hardship and successes. In the final section, initiated with the words *Mr. President*, she paints women as victims/survivors and recalls the importance of the values of justice, human rights and freedom at the UN.

If one were to look no further, two assumptions about the inclusion of gender remarks would be in play: either gender is the central focus of the speech, or Dilma Rousseff merely wishes to acknowledge the progress women have made in terms of international recognition. In this article we will develop a third view, that gender is part of an argumentative strategy designed to promote changes in United Nations policies that are ostensibly unrelated to gender, more specifically, that the emerging nations be given a larger, and permanent, role in the major committees of the U.N. Before examining the issue of gender, however, we will examine the evidence which more clearly places Brazil in focus.

3. Legitimation strategies promoting Brazil's expanded role within the UN

3.1 *Macrostructure of the speech: Focus on Brazil*

As noted above, parts II through IX of the ten-part speech revolve around Brazil having acquired the necessary experience and expertise to assume a more central role in the governance of the UN. In part II Rousseff speaks of the current crisis, noting that the gravity of the crisis is one which demands a larger group to find solutions (lines 23-26⁹). Although she sets up a dichotomy between the traditional "have" and "have not" nations, she does so indirectly by allowing for temporal distance between the two groups: she notes that "the leaders of the developed countries have not yet found a solution to the crisis", tying the problem to lack of political ideas rather than financial resources (lines 27-29), but the term "emerging countries" only appears later, when she claims, "It is significant that it is a president from an emerging country who comes to speak" (lines 42-43, the opening of part III). In the intervening time (space) the developed countries are reframed as "old world" and the

⁹ All references to line numbers refer to the transcript of Dilma Rousseff's speech, in the original Portuguese, a version of which is appended to this article, with line numbers indicated. All translations are mine. The official versions, in English and Portuguese, are listed in the references, with hyperlinks.

emerging ones as “new world”, as she cites unemployment statistics in the “old” centers of power (the U.S. and Europe).

In part III she notes the fiscal health of the emerging nations and claims that for the international governing bodies to regain the “trust” (specific parties are unspecified), the governing bodies of the major international organizations need to be more representative (lines 53-57). The rest of the section is devoted to the need for financial reform and measures proposed to be taken. Section IV presents some of the actions Brazil has taken to “do its part” (lines 82-90) and presents its framework for action that joins *development, peace* and *security*. Part V applies this framework to a discussion of the popular demonstrations of the Arab Spring and elsewhere, suggesting it is instrumental in helping ensure the success of the efforts of the UN Security Council (lines 188-122), mentioned by name for the first time on line 120. Part VI (lines 124-142) is devoted to a direct appeal for Brazil to be included as a permanent member of this Council.

At first glance part VII appears to be a departure from the rest of the speech, as Rousseff welcomes Southern Sudan to “our family of nations” (line 144) and then laments that Palestine was not granted full membership in the UN and argues for its inclusion, professing the belief that it will be an essential step towards peace in the Middle East (lines 147-155). However, as she then pivots to a statement that in Brazil “descendants of Arabs and Jews are compatriots and live in harmony, as it should be” (lines 156-157), it becomes clear that this is part of Brazil’s legitimation as a diplomatic partner. In part VIII Rousseff pivots again, this time to the environment, citing its credentials in this arena (lines 159-170).

Section IX is a hybrid, as Rousseff notes that women have been instrumental in Brazil’s success in politics, the economy and in social development; it will be discussed along with parts I and X, below, in the section on strategies promoting women’s role in Brazil’s successes.

3.2 *Strategies of authority*

Of the 17 themes identified by Castelló and Lozano, we identify eight as conferring authority, four of which are relatively narrow in focus (*governance, innovation, operationalization* and *sustainability*); the remaining four are broader in scope (*accountability, global agenda and standards* and *reputation*).

Scant attention is paid to the first four categories. Rousseff mentions good *governance* and the need for new models (e.g., lines 33-34), *innovation* (e.g., line 88), and ways to *operationalize*, for example, a return to financial equilibrium (lines 68-70). *Sustainability* is not mentioned, except in the context of sustainable peace (line 93), part of a larger framework in which economic and social development, peace and security are viewed as an integrated unit (line 91) and viewed as a means of ensuring the sustainability of all three elements.

But if these four narrow areas receive relatively little attention, the same cannot be said for the areas of *accountability, global agenda and standards* and *reputation*, which are at the heart of Rousseff's argumentation strategy. She starts with the *global agenda* of the United Nations, which Castelló and Lozano clearly define as comprising issues taken up by international institutions such as the United Nations (Castelló and Lozano, 2011: 19). Rousseff's presents the UN's global agenda as being "committed to being the most representation [institution] in the world" (lines 2-3). She notes the interest in cooperation between the member countries of the United Nations and other international organizations (lines 53-55), the prevention of conflicts (lines 112-113) and the importance of fighting climate change (lines 159-160). She also reminds the Assembly that Brazil will be heading the UN Summit on Sustainable Development and issues an invitation for all to attend (lines 167-168). Near the end of the speech she salutes the creation of UN Woman and the selection of its head (lines 188-189), former Chilean president Michelle Bachelet. Naturally it is not enough to merely mention them; at each moment she states or implies that measures have been taken in Brazil to further these ends, as discussed below.

Rousseff reminds the UN Assembly that debates over the expansion of the UN Security Council have been ongoing for 18 years, according to the president of the preceding General Assembly (lines 125-127). Although Brazil has been a frequent member of the Security Council, it has never secured a permanent position there. That Rousseff attributes this to Brazil's not having enjoyed "developed nation" status is evidenced by the arguments she advances. While the UN does not have

specific criteria for designating particular countries as “developed” or has not generated a list of specific standards (*global standards*) to be met by potential new members (United Nations, 2011), Rouseff is convinced, or at least argues, that political, economic, financial and social stability, along with concern for the environment, cooperation with neighbors and acts of solidarity with the less fortunate, all play an important role in qualifying for new status.

Traditionally power struggles between “have” and “have not” nations presume that the developed countries are in the former group and the emerging countries in the latter. At no point does Rouseff state that Brazil should be considered a developed country—she still frames Brazil as “emerging;” however, she uses legitimation strategies to demonstrate that Brazil has been able to act like a developed nation. Perhaps more interesting is her proposal that there be a paradigm shift in how we define the “have” nations—one that validates the successes of the emerging nations—and suggests it is time to rethink the international cooperation agreements (lines 48-50) along new ways of thinking. She intersperses her legitimation strategies based on expertise and experience with appeals or demands for broader participation in international institutions (the UN and others).

When discussing the current financial crisis, she says that a lack of ideas, rather than money, is at the heart of the issue (lines 27-29) and notes that Brazil and other emerging countries are *ready and willing to help* (lines 46-47). She offers financial advice to the developed countries (stimulate the economy) and again reiterates that “*the emerging countries can help*” (lines 64-67); after urging the reform of the international financial system (lines 71-75), she states even more firmly that the emerging nations “*must, without a shadow of a doubt,*” include more emerging nations in these institutions (lines 76-78). Thus ends part III of Rouseff’s speech, and the last time that the emerging countries are directly mentioned in her speech.

Rouseff now turns her focus to Brazil and after mentioning that “Brazil is doing its part” (line 82), she zeroes in on specific accomplishments:

- Government expenses are under control (lines 82-85)
- Domestic markets are being developed (lines 86-88)
- International humanitarian measures have been taken in Haiti and Guinea-Bissau (lines 94-96)

These arguments set up another readiness argument: that Brazil is in a position to help developing countries around the world with food safety, agricultural technology, clean energy and efforts to combat poverty and hunger (lines 98-100). In other words, once again Brazil proposes actions expected of developed countries.

The next section of the speech intertwines the fight for human rights with issues of security and prepares the first part of the argument regarding the expansion of the UN Security Council. Rousseff mentions the “Arab Spring” (line 103). In this instance the expertise that Brazil offers is not based on experience in the Arab countries (i.e., interventions). Rather, Brazil offers the experience of having created an environment within Brazil in which cultural groups which in other areas of the world have been at war live in peace and harmony in Brazil; however, this evidence comes later (lines 135-136). Instead, after mentioning the Arab Spring she begins the argument that the *legitimate* way of helping societies seeking reform without denying them their civil rights is through a balanced project of development, peace and security, made possible through a UN Security Council that is *legitimized* through a representative composition; this argument is not a single statement but a carefully woven tapestry (lines 106-122).

In section VI Rousseff again presents a series of legitimizing arguments, this time after the direct statement, “Brazil is ready to assume its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Council” (lines 131-132). It is important to note that use of the word “ready” presupposes that Brazil’s inclusion was already contemplated and approved, merely requiring “readiness” on the part of Brazil in order to make permanent its membership on the Council. It also sets up a narrative such that, at least theoretically, the UN would need to address Brazil’s readiness. If Brazil is not considered to be ready, what would constitute “readiness” (i.e., what is needed for acceptance as a permanent member)? Brazil’s readiness “arguments” read more as a shopping list, in that few details are provided:

- Peace with its neighbors for more than 140 years (line 132)
- Constitutionally decreed ban of nuclear energy for non-peaceful purposes (lines 133-134)
- Reputation for peace, stability and prosperity in the region and beyond (lines 135-136)

- A move beyond past transgressions in the area of human rights, while still acknowledging its past (lines 137-142)

In the next section Rouseff appears to have moved off the topic of the UN Security Council. She welcomes the newest member of the UN, Southern Sudan, and takes the opportunity to regret that Palestine was not granted full membership, tying lasting peace in the Middle East to the recognition of Palestine (lines 147-155). However, this, too, is an opportunity for presenting Brazil's credentials, as she notes that in Brazil descendants of Arabs and Jews "live in harmony, as it should be" (lines 156-157).

Moving on to climate (section VIII), Rouseff presents Brazil as a country at the forefront of change—not only making proposals (e.g., in Copenhagen), but actually fulfilling its commitments (lines 162-166). Despite ostensibly speaking of climate, she makes a clear statement about responsibility that has more general applications: "[I]t's necessary that countries assume their respective responsibilities" (lines 160-161). With this statement the overall strategy becomes clear:

The UN should be the most representative body in the world (lines 2-3).

All countries have the right to participate in the governing bodies (lines 25-26).

Brazil is doing "its part" in acting responsibly (line 82)

Brazil is ready to participate in the UN Security Council (lines 131-132).

And therefore:

.... Brazil has the right to be a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Despite having already provided all of the elements necessary to make her argument, Rouseff offers one more legitimization argument while addressing "fellow women from around the world" (line 171): that Brazil found that taking a comprehensive approach to development by attacking social and economic equality was the path to achieving the development goals set for 2015 by 2011 (lines 172-179).

Throughout this discussion we have seen Rouseff present a number of parameters in which Brazil has earned a solid *reputation*, despite her not having used the word even once. The members of the UN know of Brazil's successes; therefore,

the simple enumeration of Brazil's achievements brings to mind the reputation that Brazil now enjoys as one of the BRIC nations. The final concept of Castelló and Lozano that we have placed in this category is *accountability*, again, not explicitly referred to by Rousseff. However, it is not a stretch to affirm that the continual listing of achievements also serves as an invitation for the world to assess Brazil's accountability to its own people and to the international community.

3.3 *Strategies of morality*

Of Castelló and Lozano's themes, six fall into the category of legitimation strategies of morality: *citizenship*, *CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility)*, *inclusivity*, *partnership*, *philanthropy* and *social contributions (to humanity)*. They provide no working definition for "citizenship"; however, good citizenship is often associated with responsibility and respect towards others and involves a sense that the good citizen will be sensitive to the needs of others, lending a helping hand when needed. Referring to a corporation as a citizen is a metaphor for social responsibility; in the current context, talk of citizenship may refer to the actions and goals of a nation's citizens, but it can also be used metaphorically to refer to the member nations of the UN, acting as good citizens within that body. Thus, *citizenship* and *CSR* overlap in this context. Castelló and Lozano use the term *inclusivity* to refer to products and services that are made widely available, independent of a party's ability to pay, or actions that promote an inclusive society. At the UN, *inclusivity* refers to representational parity. *Partnership* refers to the collaborative efforts between the company/country and others to work together to accomplish the same goals. *Philanthropy* refers to the giving of donations or other type of aid to an external recipient with no expectation that the money or its value in goods will be returned. For corporations this may come in the form of grants, scholarships, or donations, while in international relations it may be foreign aid from one country to another. The category *social contributions* is used by Castelló and Lozano to refer to "any explicit mention of the importance of the firm contributing to social improvement, benefits to humanity or positive change" (Castelló and Lozano, 2011: 19).

While Rousseff does not speak directly of *citizenship* or *social responsibility*, the picture she presents of Brazil is one of responsibility to its people, its neighbors, to the world community and the planet. This care for socioeconomic equilibrium,

democracy and human rights, the environment and equality of opportunity gives Brazil legitimacy as a citizen-nation of the world. The *social contributions*, actions benefitting humanity, include not only humanitarian aid itself, but can also be seen in the integrated framework (development, security and peace) Rouseff presents for creating the conditions in which all may prosper. She states actions taken, such as the aforementioned ban on nuclear weapons (lines 134-135), but does not explicitly make the claim that Brazil is acting for the benefit of humanity, nor would her audience likely think it appropriate if she did so.

In arguing for the expansion of international governing bodies to include the emerging countries, Rouseff ties *partnership* and *inclusivity* together. When she states that the current financial crisis is too much for a small number of countries to resolve (line 23), she is arguing that the emerging countries be made partners in the solution-finding process. The claim that “all have the right to participate in the solutions,” is an argument based on morality, as is her appeal to the President of the Assembly that after 18 years of debate on whether the UN Security Council should be expanded and how, the decision “cannot be put off longer” (lines 125-127).

Nearly all of these elements come together in a single sentence: “A new type of cooperation between emerging and developed countries is the historic opportunity to redefine, in a solidary and responsible manner, the commitments that govern international relations” (lines 48-50): partnership, inclusivity, responsibility (social and otherwise) and (good) citizenship.

4. Women’s supporting role in the legitimation of Brazil

The legitimation strategies used to support Brazil’s case, as demonstrated above, need no reinforcement in the form of references to gender equality or advancement. Thus, Rouseff’s references to women need not fulfill any function beyond that of acknowledging women’s advancement and general contributions to society. Our contention, however, is that these references do serve a purpose: they set up a cognitive framework that allows Rouseff to make arguments on Brazil’s behalf that would otherwise not be as smooth. The examination of values and the closing gender gap set the stage for a broader discussion of the proposed change in the balance of power.

4.1 Macrostructure of the speech: Women

With one exception, references to women occur either at the beginning (part I, 90 seconds) or at the end (parts IX, 120 seconds; and X, 90 seconds) of the speech, leading to some ambiguity as to the main thrust of the speech. While at least one reporter presumes the main message is about women, others share our contention that the promotion of Brazil is the core message (compare Margolis' "Dilma thumps for women"¹⁰ in *The Daily Beast*, to Sreeharsha's "Brazil eyes larger role at the UN" in *The Miami Herald* or the BBC News article, "Brazil's President Dilma Rousseff urges reform at UN," all articles written on the speech's delivery date).

4.2 Framing of women's role in Brazil and the world

While the legitimation strategies used to promote Brazil are generally straightforward and comprehensive, the same cannot be said for those relating to women. ; here we examine women's authority as gained from the closing gender gap, the association of values with feminine gender, and authority women possess as a consequence of having been victimized.

Authority and the gender gap. In merely three sentences in part IX of her speech, Rousseff manages to name the importance of women in three of the four parameters tracked in the World Economic Forum reports on the global gender gap (2005, 2011), namely economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and well-being, and political empowerment.

In my country, women have been fundamental in overcoming social inequalities. Mothers play a central role in our income distribution programs. It is they who manage the resources that allow families to invest in the health and education of their children (lines 180-182).

¹⁰ As a sidenote, Margolis further describes Rousseff as "defiant"; the article includes a video clip in which only the voice of the male English-speaking interpreter can be heard. Given his awkward intonation pattern, he sounds slightly belligerent, whereas Rousseff does not.

In noting the creation of UN Woman the year before and recognizing UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's priority given to women in the administration of the UN, the final parameter, political empowerment, is included.

Female gender and positive values. Dilma's first words note hers as the first "feminine voice" to open the UN General Assembly. The word *voice* is feminine in Portuguese, and she goes on to remark on the feminine gender of several other words: *democracy and equality* (line 2); and *life, soul, hope, courage* and *sincerity* (lines 9-11), although of the words in the second group only *hope* is mentioned after part I of the speech. However, after noting that she will be speaking with *courage* and *sincerity*, she never again mentions these characteristics. Nor is there further mention of *soul*, although she talks about values. *Life* is mentioned as part of the terms *professional life, family life* and *professional life* in her closing paragraphs as she acknowledges the achievements of women, but these are not woven into the fabric of her speech generally.

The words noted above represent positive qualities or values, as do other words of feminine gender she might have mentioned, but they fell outside part I of her speech; they include *tenacity* (line 7), *cooperation* (line 48), *trust* (line 53), *innovation* (line 88), *peace* and *security* (line 91), *harmony* (line 157). In this first few minutes of her speech she makes perhaps her strongest statements about the power of women, noting that women represent more than half the world's population (line 6) and this will be "the century of women" (line 8).

By drawing attention to the gender of specific words in a way that suggests that one can associate word gender with women's qualities, she seems to be inviting similar comparisons throughout the speech, at least to those in the audience who can discern the gender of Portuguese words, a task that speakers of Romance languages would likely be able to do, if so inclined. For every positive word one can find another whose association is detrimental to "the feminist cause", as she speaks of *crisis* (e.g., line 28); *violence* and *pain* (line 40); *xenophobia, misery, capital punishment*, and *discrimination* (line 139); *inequality* (line 173); *hunger, illness* and *poverty* (lines 193-194); and *torture* (line 199).

Women as victims / survivors. After providing unemployment statistics in Europe and the U.S., with comparisons to the healthier emerging countries, Rousseff states

that it is “vital to fight this scourge and keep it from spreading to other regions of the planet” (lines 36-37). The next sentence abruptly shifts to mention of women: “We women know better than anyone that unemployment is not just a statistic. It strikes at families, at our children, and at our husbands. It snatches away hope and leaves behind violence and pain” (lines 38-40). This statement has added impact, in that it is the only time that Rousseff mentions women outside the invisible boundaries of parts I, IX and X of her speech. Thus, more than 15 minutes pass between the end of this statement (time mark 5:42) and the next reference to women, beginning of part IX (line 171, time mark 21:02).

In part IX, directed to “fellow women from around the world”, she notes the role that women have played, as the central figure of the family, in managing the family resources and taking care that the needs of the children are being met (lines 180-183). This is an affirming statement. However, in the final part of the speech she presents herself as a voice for women who have been victimized by hunger, disease, violence, unemployment and discrimination in all sectors of life (lines 191-195). She includes her own suffering of imprisonment and torture (line 199), which gives her the authority to speak on the “importance of the values of democracy, justice human rights and liberty” (lines 199-200). Sandwiched between the two is a presentation of women as survivors, as she salutes

those who have dared to fight, those who have dared to participate in both the political arena and professional life, who have conquered the space of power that grants me the possibility of being here today
(lines 196-198).

Hearing the speech the first time, this author was led to wonder why Rousseff chose to give equal or greater attention to women as victims, or survivors of tragedy, particularly in light of her choice to present Brazil as a survivor and forward-looking leader. While part of the answer may lie in how Dilma Rousseff identifies herself as a feminist, we contend that through a discussion of balance-of-power arguments we may find an explanation for the way women are framed in this speech, considered in the next section.

4.3 Redressing the balance of power

From the analyses in which Brazil is in focus we can claim that Rousseff acknowledges ongoing “have not” status for her country and the other emerging nations. By presenting women as victims, she clearly places them in the “have not” category. Thus, while members in each category have had success (Brazil, Rousseff herself as president of Brazil, Michelle Bachelet as head of UN Women), the group to which they belong retains its “have not” status.

In terms of argumentation strategies, once a connection is established in the mind linking the history and fate of Brazil (as representative of the emerging countries) and women, then arguments relating to any of the three may serve as arguments for all or, more specifically in this case, as arguments in support of the same cause: Brazil’s permanent membership in the UN Security Council. When Rousseff says that as a woman she represents more than half of the people on the planet and, like those with “tenacity”, have come to “occupy the place they deserve in the world”, she sets up a cognitive frame that makes possible the reflection that more than half of the population resides in an emerging country. As a result, when she then claims that the 21st century will belong to women (lines 6-8), the thought that the “have nots” will own the 21st century is activated. It is impossible to know the reaction of her audience to her claim about women’s role in this century, but it was not likely considered highly contentious or shocking. On the other hand, had she claimed instead that the century would belong to the emerging countries, it would probably be viewed as not only confrontational but possibly incendiary. Further consideration of an expanded role for Brazil within the UN might come to a standstill.

With the same logic, we can interpret the overt mention of the victimization of women as a frame for viewing the exploitation of the emerging countries, evidence for which is plentiful, if Rousseff wished to make the argument. However, as in the previous case, doing so would have been counterproductive in the fight for greater inclusivity; after all, the woman-as-victim scenario is not as threatening as an entire nation or group of nations claiming victim status. A question still remains: why create a situation in which Brazil can be viewed a victim? An answer can be found in Rousseff’s personal story: despite having previously been imprisoned and tortured, she not only survived but now holds the highest office in her country. Thus, in the victim/survivor paradigm it is the survivor portion that she aims to activate. The authority she has gained from her *personal* experience and that Brazil

has gained from its *expertise* give them the credentials to be credible partners in the international arena.

5. Mapping Rousseff's UN strategies onto visions of EU legitimacy

In contrast to the analytical frameworks of van Leeuwen, Suchman and Castelló and Lozano, which have provided tools for analyzing how legitimation strategies are conceived, Eriksen and Fossum's (2004) examination of legitimacy at the EU provides a framework for analyzing an analogous situation. While the EU was considering the enlargement of its entire body, Rousseff is focused on a specific body within the UN. Eriksen and Fossum describe three options for the EU to work through its "alleged legitimacy deficit" (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004: 436), each with its own logic: a) *problem-solving*; b) *rights-based*; and c) *values-based*.

Underlying the *problem-solving* logic or perspective is the notion that the traditionally powerful are the most adept at solving problems (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004: 439). Thus, in order to make a strong case for inclusion, one would have to argue greater competence than that displayed by existing parties. Rousseff implies this when she notes that "[a] part of the world still has not found the equilibrium between the appropriate financial adjustments and correct fiscal stimuli" (lines 30-31). That she is referring to the developed countries is clear from the foregoing, when she specifies "the developed countries" as those who have not yet found a solution (lines 27-28), as well as noting that the emerging countries, including Brazil, have not been as severely affected by the crisis (lines 45-46).

The *rights-based* notion of legitimacy implies, in Eriksen and Fossum's words, a "recognized need for continuing the process of institution building at the political level" (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004: 445). As this happens in the public sphere, they draw on Habermas' claim that the debate must be free and open (Habermas, 1996: 107, as cited in Eriksen and Fossum, 2004: 446). They state that the "generic set of conditions are freedom, inclusion, equality, participation, and an open agenda" (Eriksen and Fossum, 2004: 446). Dilma cites each of these in her appeal on the basis of rights: freedom (line 105), inclusion (in the guise of "help", line 47, and cooperation, line 48), equality (line 2) and participation (line 26).

A natural difference exists in the *value-based community* logic at the EU as opposed to the UN, as the EU has a natural geopolitical boundary and therefore a contiguous group that can be referred to as “we”. Still, one of the challenges facing the EU is defining a common European identity and even determining whether it is ultimately desirable. A recent article on forging a common European identity (Darnstädt, Schult and Zuber, 2011) notes people’s expressions of fear that in defining a European identity, national identities and, by extension, national rights, are weakened. This is not a problem that the UN faces, given its representation of countries around the world. Therefore, the values of the UN are shared human values, as opposed to ones that may arise through geographic connections (Brazil) or socioeconomic status (emerging countries). Rousseff is skillful in that her identification of values is done with comparisons to women (who represent more than half of humanity and are not bound to any particular region or class), which she then points out as UN values. Mentioned in the discussion above on women as victims/survivors is Rousseff’s comment about how her own suffering of jail and torture gives her the authority to speak about the importance of the values she has named. In the following lines she ties this back to the UN: “It is with the hope that these values continue inspiring the work of this House of Nations, that I have the honor of opening the General Debate...” (lines 201-202).

These analyses indicate that Rousseff’s overall argumentation strategy can effectively counter arguments based on any of these logical perspectives.

6. Conclusions

The assessment of the strength and internal coherence of Rousseff’s historic speech must rest on the force of its arguments, as Rousseff does not offer brilliant oratory; there are no instances in which phrases or sentences are repeated providing a lilting cadence, nor do we find evidence that any effort was made to select words that will sound melodic to the ears. Instead, the success of the speech rests entirely on the force of its arguments. Our conclusion is that her arguments have been carefully crafted and are skillfully argued.

As Brazil's prospects are her central focus, the majority of arguments present Brazil's successes, although at times she argues on behalf of the emerging nations generally. Rousseff also creates a cognitive frame that links Brazilian successes to those of other emerging countries and to the successes of women, making it possible to advance arguments that benefit her central argument without being overly confrontational or casting Brazil in a less appealing light (e.g., women as victims, the emerging countries as representing more than half of the world's population).

Rousseff lays out a number of areas in which Brazil has shown itself to have developed expertise and therefore should, *rationally and morally*, be viewed as a responsible partner for the fellow nations at the UN. Rather than viewing *authority, rationalization and morality* as distinct strategies, as van Leeuwen (2007) does, Rousseff's arguments suggest that the legitimation strategies are intertwined. This complexity may be attributable, at least in part, to the fact that Rousseff is arguing for a change in the *status quo*. She is asking that the "traditional" voices of authority cede some ground (i.e., power) to newer ones which have gained expertise, the "coin" of authority traditionally used to separate the "haves" and "have nots." In reminding the General Assembly of the long-held values of the UN towards democracy and representativity, she connects expertise and morality. Thus, maintenance of the *status quo* would be immoral.

Through the construction of her speech, Rousseff demonstrates her own preparedness to counter any arguments that may be raised against her proposal. In fact, so similar are her statements on gender to the World Economic Forum's, so well do her relevant themes fit those of Corporate Social Responsibility rhetoric, and so well do her macro-level argumentation strategies respond to Eriksen and Fossum, that we have at times been left with the impression that we are merely tracing her footsteps.

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Discurso da Presidenta da República, Dilma Rousseff, na abertura do Debate Geral da 66ª Assembleia Geral das Nações Unidas - Nova York/EUA

21/09/2011 às 11h20

Nova York-EUA, 21 de setembro de 2011

Senhor presidente da Assembleia Geral, Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser,

Senhor secretário-geral das Nações Unidas, Ban Ki-moon,

Senhoras e senhores chefes de Estado e de Governo,

Senhoras e senhores,

1 Pela primeira vez, na história das Nações Unidas, uma voz feminina inaugura o Debate
2 Geral. É a voz da democracia e da igualdade se ampliando nesta tribuna, que tem o
3 compromisso de ser a mais representativa do mundo.

4 É com humildade pessoal, mas com justificado orgulho de mulher, que vivo este momento
5 histórico.

6 Divido esta emoção com mais da metade dos seres humanos deste Planeta, que, como eu,
7 nasceram mulher, e que, com tenacidade, estão ocupando o lugar que merecem no mundo.
8 Tenho certeza, senhoras e senhores, de que este será o século das mulheres.

9 Na língua portuguesa, palavras como vida, alma e esperança pertencem ao gênero
10 feminino, e são também femininas duas outras palavras muito especiais para mim:
11 coragem e sinceridade. Pois é com coragem e sinceridade que quero lhes falar no dia de
12 hoje.

13 Senhor Presidente,

14 O mundo vive um momento extremamente delicado e, ao mesmo tempo, uma grande
15 oportunidade histórica. Enfrentamos uma crise econômica que, se não debelada, pode se
16 transformar em uma grave ruptura política e social. Uma ruptura sem precedentes, capaz
17 de provocar sérios desequilíbrios na convivência entre as pessoas e as nações.

18 Mais que nunca, o destino do mundo está nas mãos de todos os seus governantes, sem
19 exceção. Ou nos unimos todos e saímos, juntos, vencedores ou sairemos todos derrotados.

20 Agora, menos importante é saber quais foram os causadores da situação que enfrentamos,
21 até porque isto já está suficientemente claro. Importa, sim, encontrarmos soluções
22 coletivas, rápidas e verdadeiras.

23 Essa crise é séria demais para que seja administrada apenas por uns poucos países. Seus
24 governos e bancos centrais continuam com a responsabilidade maior na condução do
25 processo, mas como todos os países sofrem as consequências da crise, todos têm o direito
26 de participar das soluções.

27 Não é por falta de recursos financeiros que os líderes dos países desenvolvidos ainda não
28 encontraram uma solução para a crise. É – permitam-me dizer – por falta de recursos
29 políticos e, algumas vezes, de clareza de ideias.

30 Uma parte do mundo não encontrou ainda o equilíbrio entre ajustes fiscais apropriados e
31 estímulos fiscais corretos e precisos para a demanda e o crescimento. Ficam presos na
32 armadilha que não separa interesses partidários daqueles interesses legítimos da sociedade.

33 O desafio colocado pela crise é substituir teorias defasadas, de um mundo velho, por novas
34 formulações para um mundo novo. Enquanto muitos governos se encolhem, a face mais
35 amarga da crise – a do desemprego – se amplia. Já temos 205 milhões de desempregados
36 no mundo – 44 milhões na Europa, 14 milhões nos Estados Unidos. É vital combater essa
37 praga e impedir que se alastre para outras regiões do Planeta.

38 Nós, mulheres, sabemos – mais que ninguém – que o desemprego não é apenas uma
39 estatística. Golpeia as famílias, nossos filhos e nossos maridos. Tira a esperança e deixa a
40 violência e a dor.

41 Senhor Presidente,

42 É significativo que seja a presidenta de um país emergente – um país que vive
43 praticamente um ambiente de pleno emprego – que venha falar, aqui, hoje, com cores tão
44 vívidas, dessa tragédia que assola, em especial, os países desenvolvidos.

45 Como outros países emergentes, o Brasil tem sido, até agora, menos afetado pela crise
46 mundial. Mas sabemos que nossa capacidade de resistência não é ilimitada. Queremos – e
47 podemos – ajudar, enquanto há tempo, os países onde a crise já é aguda.

48 Um novo tipo de cooperação, entre países emergentes e países desenvolvidos, é a
49 oportunidade histórica para redefinir, de forma solidária e responsável, os compromissos
50 que regem as relações internacionais.

51 O mundo se defronta com uma crise que é, ao mesmo tempo, econômica, de governança e
52 de coordenação política.

53 Não haverá a retomada da confiança e do crescimento enquanto não se intensificarem os
54 esforços de coordenação entre os países integrantes da ONU e as demais instituições
55 multilaterais, como o G-20, o Fundo Monetário, o Banco Mundial e outros organismos. A
56 ONU e essas organizações precisam emitir, com a máxima urgência, sinais claros de
57 coesão política e de coordenação macroeconômica.

58 As políticas fiscais e monetárias, por exemplo, devem ser objeto de avaliação mútua, de
59 forma a impedir efeitos indesejáveis sobre os outros países, evitando reações defensivas
60 que, por sua vez, levam a um círculo vicioso.

61 Já a solução do problema da dívida deve ser combinada com o crescimento econômico. Há
62 sinais evidentes de que várias economias avançadas se encontram no limiar da recessão, o
63 que dificultará, sobremaneira, a resolução dos problemas fiscais.

64 Está claro que a prioridade da economia mundial, neste momento, deve ser solucionar o
65 problema dos países em crise de dívida soberana e reverter o presente quadro recessivo. Os
66 países mais desenvolvidos precisam praticar políticas coordenadas de estímulo às
67 economias extremamente debilitadas pela crise. Os países emergentes podem ajudar.

68 Países altamente superavitários devem estimular seus mercados internos e, quando for o
69 caso, flexibilizar suas políticas cambiais, de maneira a cooperar para o reequilíbrio da
70 demanda global.

71 Urge aprofundar a regulamentação do sistema financeiro e controlar essa fonte inesgotável
72 de instabilidade. É preciso impor controles à guerra cambial, com a adoção de regimes de
73 câmbio flutuante. Trata-se, senhoras e senhores, de impedir a manipulação do câmbio tanto
74 por políticas monetárias excessivamente expansionistas como pelo artifício do câmbio
75 fixo.

76 A reforma das instituições financeiras multilaterais deve, sem sombra de dúvida,
77 prosseguir, aumentando a participação dos países emergentes, principais responsáveis pelo
78 crescimento da economia mundial.

79 O protecionismo e todas as formas de manipulação comercial devem ser combatidos, pois
80 conferem maior competitividade, de maneira espúria e fraudulenta.

81 Senhor Presidente,

82 O Brasil está fazendo a sua parte. Com sacrifício, mas com discernimento, mantemos os
83 gastos do governo sob rigoroso controle, a ponto de gerar vultoso superávit nas contas
84 públicas, sem que isso comprometa o êxito das políticas sociais, nem nosso ritmo de
85 investimento e de crescimento.

86 Estamos tomando precauções adicionais para reforçar nossa capacidade de resistência à
87 crise, fortalecendo nosso mercado interno com políticas de distribuição de renda e
88 inovação tecnológica.

89 Há pelo menos três anos, senhor Presidente, o Brasil repete, nesta mesma tribuna, que é
90 preciso combater as causas, e não só as consequências da instabilidade global.

91 Temos insistido na interrelação entre desenvolvimento, paz e segurança, e que as políticas
92 de desenvolvimento sejam, cada vez mais, associadas às estratégias do Conselho de
93 Segurança na busca por uma paz sustentável.

94 É assim que agimos em nosso compromisso com o Haiti e com a Guiné-Bissau. Na
95 liderança da Minustah temos promovido, desde 2004, no Haiti, projetos humanitários, que

96 integram segurança e desenvolvimento. Com profundo respeito à soberania haitiana, o
97 Brasil tem o orgulho de cooperar para a consolidação da democracia naquele país.

98 Estamos aptos a prestar também uma contribuição solidária, aos países irmãos do mundo
99 em desenvolvimento, em matéria de segurança alimentar, tecnologia agrícola, geração de
100 energia limpa e renovável e no combate à pobreza e à fome.

101 Senhor Presidente,

102 Desde o final de 2010 assistimos a uma sucessão de manifestações populares, que se
103 convencionou denominar “Primavera Árabe”. O Brasil é pátria de adoção de muitos
104 imigrantes daquela parte do mundo. Os brasileiros se solidarizam com a busca de um ideal
105 que não pertence a nenhuma cultura, porque é universal: a liberdade.

106 É preciso que as nações aqui reunidas encontrem uma forma legítima e eficaz de ajudar as
107 sociedades que clamam por reforma, sem retirar de seus cidadãos a condução do processo.

108 Repudiamos com veemência as repressões brutais que vitimam populações civis. Estamos
109 convencidos de que, para a comunidade internacional, o recurso à força deve ser sempre a
110 última alternativa. A busca da paz e da segurança no mundo não pode limitar-se a
111 intervenções em situações extremas.

112 Apoiamos o Secretário-Geral no seu esforço de engajar as Nações Unidas na prevenção de
113 conflitos, por meio do exercício incansável da democracia e da promoção do
114 desenvolvimento.

115 O mundo sofre, hoje, as dolorosas consequências de intervenções que agravaram os
116 conflitos, possibilitando a infiltração do terrorismo onde ele não existia, inaugurando
117 novos ciclos de violência, multiplicando os números de vítimas civis.

118 Muito se fala sobre a responsabilidade de proteger, pouco se fala sobre a responsabilidade
119 ao proteger. São conceitos que precisamos amadurecer juntos. Para isso, a atuação do
120 Conselho de Segurança é essencial, e ela será tão mais acertada quanto mais legítimas
121 forem suas decisões, e a legitimidade do próprio Conselho depende, cada dia mais, de sua
122 reforma.

123 Senhor Presidente,

124 A cada ano que passa, mais urgente se faz uma solução para a falta de representatividade
125 do Conselho de Segurança, o que corrói sua eficácia. O ex-presidente Joseph Deiss
126 recordou-me um fato impressionante: o debate em torno da reforma do Conselho já entra
127 em seu 18º ano. Não é possível, senhor Presidente, protelar mais.

128 O mundo precisa de um Conselho de Segurança que venha a refletir a realidade
129 contemporânea, um Conselho que incorpore novos membros permanentes e não
130 permanentes, em especial representantes dos países em desenvolvimento.

131 O Brasil está pronto a assumir suas responsabilidades como membro permanente do
132 Conselho. Vivemos em paz com nossos vizinhos há mais de 140 anos. Temos promovido
133 com eles bem-sucedidos processos de integração e de cooperação. Abdicamos, por

134 compromisso constitucional, do uso da energia nuclear para fins que não sejam pacíficos.
135 Tenho orgulho de dizer que o Brasil é um vetor de paz, estabilidade e prosperidade em sua
136 região, e até mesmo fora dela.

137 No Conselho de Direitos Humanos, atuamos inspirados por nossa própria história de
138 superação. Queremos para os outros países o que queremos para nós mesmos.

139 O autoritarismo, a xenofobia, a miséria, a pena capital, a discriminação, todos são algozes
140 dos direitos humanos. Há violações em todos os países, sem exceção. Reconheçamos esta
141 realidade e aceitemos, todos, as críticas. Devemos nos beneficiar delas e criticar, sem
142 meias-palavras, os casos flagrantes de violação, onde quer que ocorram.

143 Senhor Presidente,

144 Quero estender ao Sudão do Sul as boas vindas à nossa família de nações. O Brasil está
145 pronto a cooperar com o mais jovem membro das Nações Unidas e contribuir para seu
146 desenvolvimento soberano.

147 Mas lamento ainda não poder saudar, desta tribuna, o ingresso pleno da Palestina na
148 Organização das Nações Unidas. O Brasil já reconhece o Estado palestino como tal, nas
149 fronteiras de 1967, de forma consistente com as resoluções das Nações Unidas. Assim
150 como a maioria dos países nesta Assembleia, acreditamos que é chegado o momento de
151 termos a Palestina aqui representada a pleno título.

152 O reconhecimento ao direito legítimo do povo palestino à soberania e à autodeterminação
153 amplia as possibilidades de uma paz duradoura no Oriente Médio. Apenas uma Palestina
154 livre e soberana poderá atender aos legítimos anseios de Israel por paz com seus vizinhos,
155 segurança em suas fronteiras e estabilidade política em seu entorno regional.

156 Venho de um país onde descendentes de árabes e judeus são compatriotas e convivem em
157 harmonia, como deve ser.

158 Senhor Presidente,

159 O Brasil defende um acordo global, abrangente e ambicioso para combater a mudança do
160 clima no marco das Nações Unidas. Para tanto, é preciso que os países assumam as
161 responsabilidades que lhes cabem.

162 Apresentamos uma proposta concreta, voluntária e significativa de redução [de emissões],
163 durante a Cúpula de Copenhague, em 2009. Esperamos poder avançar, já na reunião de
164 Durban, apoiando os países em desenvolvimento nos seus esforços de redução de emissões
165 e garantindo que os países desenvolvidos cumprirão suas obrigações – com novas metas no
166 Protocolo de Quioto – para além de 2012.

167 Teremos a honra de sediar a Conferência das Nações Unidas sobre Desenvolvimento
168 Sustentável, a Rio+20, em junho do ano que vem. Juntamente com o secretário-geral Ban
169 Ki-moon, reitero aqui o convite para que todos os chefes de Estado e de Governo
170 compareçam.

171 Senhor Presidente e minhas companheiras mulheres de todo mundo,

172 O Brasil descobriu que a melhor política de desenvolvimento é o combate à pobreza, e que
173 uma verdadeira política de direitos humanos tem por base a diminuição da desigualdade e
174 da discriminação entre as pessoas, entre as regiões e entre os gêneros.

175 O Brasil avançou política, econômica e socialmente sem comprometer sequer uma das
176 liberdades democráticas. Cumprimos quase todos os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento do
177 Milênio, antes de 2015. Saíram da pobreza e ascenderam para a classe média quase 40
178 milhões de brasileiras e brasileiros. Tenho plena convicção de que cumpriremos nossa
179 meta de, até o final do meu governo, erradicar a pobreza extrema no Brasil.

180 No meu país, a mulher tem sido fundamental na superação das desigualdades sociais.
181 Nossos programas de distribuição de renda têm, nas mães, a figura central. São elas que
182 cuidam dos recursos que permitem às famílias investir na saúde e na educação de seus
183 filhos.

184 Mas o meu país, como todos os países do mundo, ainda precisa fazer muito mais pela
185 valorização e afirmação da mulher. Ao falar disso, cumprimento o secretário-geral Ban
186 Ki-moon pela prioridade que tem conferido às mulheres em sua gestão à frente das
187 Nações Unidas.

188 Saúdo, em especial, a criação da ONU Mulher e sua diretora-executiva, Michelle
189 Bachelet.

190 Senhor Presidente,

191 Além do meu querido Brasil, sinto-me aqui também representando todas as mulheres do
192 mundo. As mulheres anônimas, aquelas que passam fome e não podem dar de comer
193 aos seus filhos; aquelas que padecem de doenças e não podem se tratar; aquelas que
194 sofrem violência e são discriminadas no emprego, na sociedade e na vida familiar;
195 aquelas cujo trabalho no lar cria as gerações futuras.

196 Junto minha voz às vozes das mulheres que ousaram lutar, que ousaram participar da
197 vida política e da vida profissional, e conquistaram o espaço de poder que me permite
198 estar aqui hoje.

199 Como mulher que sofreu tortura no cárcere, sei como são importantes os valores da
200 democracia, da justiça, dos direitos humanos e da liberdade.

201 E é com a esperança de que estes valores continuem inspirando o trabalho desta Casa das
202 Nações, que tenho a honra de iniciar o Debate Geral da 66ª Assembleia Geral da ONU

203 Muito obrigada.

Ouça a íntegra do [discurso](#) (23min49s) da Presidenta Dilma

The author:

Sandi Michele de Oliveira is an associate professor of Luso-Brazilian Studies at the University of Copenhagen. The core areas of her research include identity construction, political discourse, politeness and address. She was President of RC25 from 2002 – 2006 and co-President from 2006 – 2010.

BOOK REVIEW: HERMAN M. BABITO'S LANGUAGE, DECLINE AND DEATH IN AFRICA: CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND CHALLENGES

The book, *Language, Decline and Death in Africa: Causes, Consequences and Challenges*, is written by Herman M. Babito, a professor of African Linguistics, who has extensive experience with language issues in the continent. The book provides scholars interested in language endangerment in general and in the decline of African languages in particular an overview of the complicated and complex language situation in Africa. Babito provides readers a fascinating insight to the state of the 2,000 languages spoken in 50 countries in Africa through the presentation of the relevant theoretical framework and facts. The book is divided into eight substantive chapters.

In the first chapter, the author provides an overview of the complex linguistic situation in Africa. The author does not attempt to provide a definite figure for the number of languages in Africa but instead describes the four major language families, sub-families and the countries where these languages are spoken. Ethnic groups in Africa are easily identified through their language and the author argues that it becomes increasingly important to preserve the linguistic and cultural identity of the various ethnic groups in the continent. In addition, he explains that movements, marriage and inter-marriages which promote language contact among the languages results in “complex dominance patterns and linguistic marginalization” (Babito, 2005: 15). The author argues that this plurilingualism phenomenon in Africa is indeed a challenge for the governments and that it has a considerable impact on decisions that affects the nations. The author ends this chapter with a call for a new model, such as one that embraces plurilingualism, and a new approach to language issues in Africa. The impact of this unique language phenomenon is further explored in the next chapter. In chapter 2 entitled ‘Patterns of language use in Africa’ the author describes how most multilingual Africans use language. Factors such as domains and relationship with the interlocutor determine what language is used in a specific situation. Babito introduces the triglossic structure model in explaining the language use patterns. He describes the status and function certain languages such as ex-colonial, dominant and minority languages have in the society. Some languages are more prestigious than others and therefore used in domains that are more public

and formal. As a result of this hierarchical structure, dominant and minority languages are marginalized.

The author explains in chapter 3 that contact between languages in Africa results in the differing patterns of language choice among Africans. He reiterates that the role and function each language plays in the community are important factors in language choice among most Africans. However, Africans are shifting their language use from their mother tongue languages to dominant languages because these languages are socially and economically more attractive. While the cultural and artistic wealth of African languages is undeniable, the author argues that minority languages can also serve as a vehicle for national development. He calls for the African governments to examine the language situation in their countries and establish policies that will allow for the development of the minority languages. In chapter 4 the author explains the disadvantaged position many minority languages have in Africa communities and explains that because these languages are ‘inferior’ Africans tend to use them only for family and village communication. This marginalization and limited public functions are factors that characterizes a minority language. Because of the lack of status and prestige, speakers of minority languages are disadvantaged culturally and socially. More importantly, the minority language-speaking children are disadvantaged in the unfamiliar linguistic environment of school where the medium of instruction is the chosen national language or the ex-colonial language.

Babito’s focus in chapter 5 is the state of the endangered African languages. He first provides a generally accepted view of what make a language endangered and then describes the factors that are likely to cause language extinction. Babito provides country-by-country case studies in this chapter to reveal the extent of language endangerment and language death in the African continent. He concludes that the 1,623 African languages that are regarded ‘relatively safe’ are facing challenges that may not ensure its survival. Chapter 6 begins with definitions of terminology often used in language maintenance and language shift literature. He then presents two major theoretical approaches that have been used in the literature to explain how a language becomes endangered and eventually die and the reasons speakers of a language shift to another language. The causality-based model emphasizes the external setting of the language, the speech behavior of the speakers and structural changes of the language that contributes to the slow abandonment of a

language. The process-based model involves five phrases that explain how a language loses its viability and is replaced by another more dominant language. These two models are relevant in the African context because they explain the causes, effects and processes involved in language shift and death. According to Babito, pressures caused by demographic superiority, socio-economic attractions and political predominance result in speakers of a weaker African language shifting language use and abandoning their mother tongue.

Apart from positive language attitudes of the speakers, there are other factors that can help the maintenance of a language. These aspects of language maintenance are examined in chapter seven. When there is enough use of a language in various domains, Babito posits that stable diglossia happens. The well defined function for each language made by a bilingual or multilingual African helps the maintenance of the minority language. Other factors that are equally important in maintaining a minority language is a written mode, strong emotional attachment by the speakers, a normal intertransmission of the language and the regular reinforcement of language use by in-migration. Auburger's theory of language maintenance is used by Babito to examine the state of African languages and he emphasizes that speakers' attitudes towards their language is vital in language maintenance in Africa.

In the final chapter, the author advocates 'empowering' minority languages. He believes this would ensure the survival of the minority languages. He calls for governments to institutionalize measures to raise the social status of the languages which would make the languages more 'viable in handling public domains' (Babito, 2005: 115). He continues to argue that African governments must have a systematic language plan that addresses languages questions that exists in the individual countries. While there are many external organizations and foundations that are providing support to preserve the minority languages in Africa, Babito believes that speakers of these minority languages must be involved in the maintenance and revitalization programs. In the end, the author argues, the fate of a minority language remains in the hands of the speakers and communities concerned.

The Babito's insights and experience drawn from his previous studies provide readers with a glimpse of the grave language situation in the African continent. While there are language revival programs sponsored by non-governmental agencies currently underway in many African countries, the complexities of reviving and maintaining a minority language are undeniable. African governments must make it

a national priority to intervene and work on a more comprehensive language policy. Babito's book also serves as a wakeup call for governments around the world to preserve their indigenous and heritage languages and to address the problem of language shift among the minority languages before it is too late.

Reference:

Babito, H.M. (2005). *Language, Decline and Death in Africa: Causes, Consequences and Challenges*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

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ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AWARD & GRADUATE STUDENT AWARD

from: Stéphanie Cassilde, Chair of the RC25 Award Committee

Dear members, I am pleased to announce the creation of two RC 25 awards. The « Language & Society Graduate Student Award » is dedicated to promising researcher. The « Language & Society Academic Award » is devoted to active scholars in the field. Both awards are linked to *Language, Discourse & Society*, which is the new e-journal of RC 25. These awards were defined in accordance with the full board and we exchange a lot to create all steps of the selection process. The first edition of RC 25 awards will take place in Buenos Aires with a ceremony at RC 25's reception. I am looking forward to read your work in *Language, Discourse & Society* and to see you there.

Purpose

The purpose of the award for Academic Excellence is to promote scholarship and to recognize academic excellence in the field of language and society.

The purpose of the Graduate Students Awards is to promote graduate student scholarship and to recognize academic excellence in the field of language and society.

Recognition

Both the winner the Award for Academic Excellence and the winner of the Graduate Student Award will be recognized with an engraved plaque at the RC25 reception. Awards will also be announced in the RC25 newsletter.

Eligibility

All articles written and published in the new RC 25 journal, *Language, Discourse & Society* are eligible. *Language, Discourse & Society* publishes articles written in the official languages of the ISA: English, French and Spanish. All articles published since the past Interim Conference or World Congress and at least three months in advance of the next Interim conference or the World Congress will be considered for the Award.

1) Awards for Academic Excellence

All articles published in the new RC 25 journal, *Language, Discourse & Society* that are written by scholars holding a Ph.D. at the time of submission are eligible. *Language, Discourse & Society* publishes articles written in the official languages of the ISA: English, French and Spanish. All articles published since the past Interim Conference or World Congress and at least three months in advance of the next Interim conference or the World Congress will be considered for the Award.

In case of multiple-author submissions, the highest degree of the co-authors will be taken into account. Thus, if one of the authors holds a Ph.D., the article is eligible

for the Language & Society Award for Academic Excellence. Members of the editorial board and of the award committee are not eligible. Submissions from scholars who are members of the ISA and RC25 are encouraged, but membership is not necessary to be eligible for this award.

2) Graduate Students Awards

To be eligible for this award, the author must be registered for a graduate degree but cannot hold a Ph.D. at the time of submission (copy of the student card should be provided together with the application). In case of multiple-author submissions, the highest degree of the co-authors will be taken into account. Thus, if one of the authors holds a Ph.D., the article is not eligible for the Language & Society Graduate Student Award. Members of the editorial board and of the award committee are not eligible. Submissions from scholars who are members of the ISA and RC25 are encouraged, but membership is not necessary to be eligible for this award.

Nomination & Selection Process

The RC25 journal is peer-reviewed. All reviewers will submit a short evaluation of articles during the blind peer-review process for submission to the journal editor. The editor will forward a selection of published articles recommended by the peer-reviewers to the Award Committee. All articles recommended for the award will undergo an independent review by the Awards Committee. The Awards Committee consists of three scholars and a chair; it will evaluate articles in English, French and Spanish.

The RC 25 Executive Board appoints the chair of the Award Committee for a period of four years. She or he is responsible solely for administering the award process. This includes but is not limited to establishing the composition of the Awards Committee, and the call for papers. The full Executive Board must approve all decisions by the chair before they can be implemented. The Committee members must be scholars with demonstrated expertise in the field and appropriate language skills. Members of the RC25 Executive Committee and of the editorial board of Language Discourse and Society are not eligible to sit on the Awards Committee.

The chair does not vote but oversees the process and to the extent possible maintains the anonymity of the authors and of the rankings provided by journal reviewers. Since these are all published articles, it is impossible to maintain complete anonymity in the review process. The chair of the Award Committee will submit a list of winners and documentation of the award process to the Executive Board for approval and formal announcement.

Timetable

Award will be made at RC 25 reception every two years at the World Congress and at the Interim Conferences.