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AN INTRODUCTION TO CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN EDUCATION

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2004

LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES, PUBLISHERS
2004 Mahwah, New Jersey London

Chapter 11

Setting an Agenda for Critical Discourse Analysis in Education

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In this volume, James Gee (chap. 2) positions his work as critical discourse analysis (small cda), and Norman Fairclough (chap. 10) addresses CDA, learning, and social transformation. Working between the two frameworks, each of the chapters in this volume demonstrates the intersections between the two theoretical and methodological frameworks. In this last chapter, I comment explicitly on the intersections between the two CDA frameworks, drawing on each of the chapters. Although there is a great deal of synergy between the two frameworks, there is also tension. I demonstrate how this tension is productive because it allows for the theory and method of CDA to be reformulated and applied to important educational issues.

Reflection and Action

What makes each of the chapters a "Critical" Discourse Analysis?

How do each of the authors engage with the construct of "Discourse"?

How do each of the authors explicate their "analysis"?

FORM AND FUNCTION

Gee and Fairclough present complementary methods for analyzing the relationship between linguistic structure and social structure. Figure 11.1 illustrates the relationships among Gee, Fairclough, and Halliday in terms of

A. Halliday (1978)

Contextual Variable	*Metafunction (Meaning)*	*"The Work of Language"*
Mode	Textual	Presenting messages as text iu context
Tenor	Interpersonal	Enacting social relations
Field	Ideational	Representing experience

B. Gee (1996, 1999)

Contextual Variable	*Example*	*Metafunction*	*"The Work of Language"*
'd'iscourse	Language "bits"; assumes all language bits are social and dialogic	Textual	Presenting messages as texts in coutexts
Connection building	Six activity building areas -Meaning and value of material world; Activities; Identities* and Relationships*; Politics; Connections; Semiotics	Textual, Interpersonal, Ideational	Simultaneous construction of "reality"
Discourse	Ways of representing, believing, valuing; includes language bits	Interpersonal, Ideational, Textual	Presenting message as a way of representing and a way of being

C. Fairclough (chap. 10, this volume), Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999)

Contextual Variable	*Example*	*Metafunction*	*"The Work of Language"*
Genre	Interview, sermon, literacy lesson (turn taking, participant structure, theme, topic control)	Textual	Ways of interacting—Presenting messages as texts in context
Discourse	Teacher as authority Student as passive How the perspective is set forth	Interpersonal	Ways of representing—Enacting social relations from a particular perspective
Style	Affiliation within Discourses: modality, transitivity, pronoun use	Ideational	Ways of being—Enacting experiences of reality

FIG. 11.1. Language structure.

their views on language structure. This chart includes the constructs they each use to refer to the unit of language under analysis (contextual variable). It also includes the function of the unit of analysis and the work that is done (or the function) by each unit of analysis.

"d"/"D"iscourse

Gee outlined his social theory of Discourse as consisting of "d" and "D" discourse. Little "d" discourse consists of language bits—or the grammatical packaging of language—what Saussure (1959) referred to as "langue." Big "D" discourse includes the ways of representing, being, believing, valuing, and feeling that are connected with what it means to be a competent user of language in a range of discursive communities—from a bar, to the basketball court, to a conference. Saussure referred to this as "parole." Further distinguishing d/Discourse, Gee conceptualized two discursive spaces, primary and secondary Discourses. The primary Discourses are the sets of values, beliefs, ways of acting, and talking that are connected to a child's primary network including their home, family, and immediate community. The secondary Discourses include the network of social practices including both "d" and "D"iscourse that comprise the institutions children and family interact with, including schools, businesses, churches, government agencies, and so on.

The link among language bits, social languages, and situated meanings can be located in the network of connection-building tasks. Figure 11.1, chart B, illustrates the relationship between "d" and "D." Gee (1999) wrote, "discourse analysis focuses on the thread of language (and related semiotic systems) used in the situation network. Any piece of language, oral or written, is composed of a set of grammatical cues or clues (Gumperz, 1982) that help listeners or readers (in negotiation and collaboration with others in an interaction) to build six things" (p. 85). The six tasks that allow the analyst to construct meaning from a network of Discourse patterns include: semiotic building, world building, activity building, socioculturally situated identity building, political building, and connection building. Gee provided a useful list of questions to ask of each "task." The questions consist of various aspects of grammar. For example, within "semiotic building," Gee asked the question: What sign systems are relevant (and irrelevant) in the situation? In "world building," Gee posed the question, "What are the situated meanings of some of the words and phrases that seem important in the situation?" The work of language at each of these levels roughly corresponds lo Halliday's systemic functional linguistics. Little "d" discourse corresponds to Hallidays' "mode," which is the way in which messages are presented in contexts. Big "D" discourse corresponds to Halliday's field, tenor, and mode because "D"iscourse includes language bits as well as ways of representing and being while using language. Gee provided connection-building tasks to link the grammatical aspects of language with social languages. He did not, however, specifically address which aspects of language structure map onto each of his connection-building tasks.

Orders of Discourse

Fairclough (1992) borrowed the term *orders of discourse* from Foucault (1972) as a heuristic for describing the relationship among texts, social practices, and social identities. An order of discourse is not a stable system, according to Fairclough. Rather it is an "open system, which is put at risk by what happens in actual interactions" (p. 69). The grammar of language[1] is put to work within each of the meta-functions. Fairclough referred to these configurations as "orders of discourse," which may be thought of as the linguistic analogy of social structure, include genres, Discourses, and styles, and are represented in each and every utterance[2] (see Fig. 11.1, chart C, for an illustration of orders of discourse).

Fairclough (1992) provided a series of text analytic procedures (e.g., turn taking, exchange structure, topic control, modality, politeness, transitivity, etc.). In chapter 8 of *Discourse and Social Change,* Fairclough (1992) specifically broke the linguistic features into text analysis with a corresponding set of questions and social practice analysis. *Text analysis* refers to the description, interpretation, and explanation of interactional and grammatical aspects texts (spoken and written) that includes: turn taking, cohesion, politeness, ethos, grammar, transitivity, theme, modality, word meaning, wording, and metaphor.

More recently, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) moved closer to Halliday's system of mode, tenor, and field and delineated the analytic procedures within each domain of genre (ways of interacting), Discourse (ways of representing), and style (ways of being). Within each domain of genre, Discourse, and style are specific grammatical or interactional dimensions of texts to look for (see Fairclough, chap. 10, this volume, for definitions of genre, Discourse, and style; see Lewis & Ketter, chap. 6, and Rogers, chap. 1, this volume, for a complete breakdown of the grammatical features that accompany genre, Discourse, and style). Figure 11.1, chart C, demonstrates the relationship among genre, Discourse, and style, and the textual, interpersonal, and ideational functions in Halliday's model.

Fairclough and Gee seem to agree on many of the central elements of a Critical Discourse Analysis. The metafunctions of language for both Gee and Fairclough involve textual, interpersonal, and ideational functions, derivative of systemic functional linguistics (discussed in chap. 1). Further, there is a good deal of overlap between Gee and Fairclough's frameworks in the interpersonal and ideational domains of Discourse. This level of analysis involves the way in which language is represented and the social identities that are carried with such representations.

[1]Grammar may be thought of as "the level of language that maps experiential, interpersonal, and textual meaning onto the structure of the clause and its parts" (Kress, 1993, p. 250).

[2]Wodak (1996, 1999) questioned whether the construct should be orders of discourse or disorders of discourse. In a reflexive CDA, we must also ask the question: What is an alternative order of discourse?

In this volume, Rogers (chap. 3) uses Gee's theory of Discourse and Fairclough's orders of discourse to analyze how adult literacy students represent their literate selves in three distinct discursive contexts. She analyzes the relationship among "ways of interacting," "ways of representing," and "ways of being" within and across three contexts. Lewis and Ketter attend to genre, Discourse, and style over time and argue that, "form and function constructs and is constructed by the situated identities of the speakers" (p. 17). Both Rogers as well as Lewis and Ketter have included appendixes that highlight the linguistic aspects to code for at each domain of analysis.

Peyton Young (chap. 7) uses pieces of Gee's connection-building activities and Fairclough's analytic tools of local, institutional, and societal. She focuses specifically on cultural models and the microlinguistic aspects of cultural models for different participants. She identifies the linguistic and paralinguistic elements of pace of speaking, animation, reported speech, descriptive nominalizations, and frequency of I-statements as constructing the cultural models of Chavo's teacher, his mother, and Chavo. Peyton Young moves beyond the linguistic in her analysis to include aspects of emotion. She examines, "what she said and listened to how she said it . . . the tone of her voice changed as she told stories about Chavo's literacy. Her voice was warm with the memories of Chavo becoming a reader and a good student. When retelling Chavo's middle school years, her voice reflected the anger and the disappointment she felt about Chavo's experiences with some of his teachers" (p. 157). Peyton Young includes aspects of emotion in her Critical Discourse Analysis—an area often neglected by most critical discourse analysis. This neglect of emotion is troublesome because emotions are the stronghold of ideological relationships.

Rowe uses a combination of Gee and Fairclough's discourse theories and methods. He uses Gee's (1999) three-part terminology of activity, subactivity, and action. Rowe argues for the importance of accounting for activity within a Critical Discourse Analysis framework—an aspect of social interaction that is often overlooked in accounting for learning. He offers a new method of transcribing and analyzing the relationship between form and function that includes activity.

On the analysis of form and function, Sarroub (chap. 5, this volume) writes, "Critical Discourse Analysis refers to how and why people talk and interact the way they do in their everyday lives. It means understanding the relationship between talk, interaction, and power" (pp. 98–99). Her analysis focuses on the interactions during one group meeting, focusing on a discursive pattern, reframing, which serves two local functions within the group of participants. It establishes co-patterns of turn taking and sharing, and it promotes changes in participants' social positioning. Important to

note, reframing is characterized by the use of modal verbs when participants in the group attempt to distribute authority and status.

Woodside-Jiron (chap. 8, this volume), in her critical analysis of reading policy in California, uses Fairclough's system of texts, discourses, and social practices at the local, institutional, and societal levels. Like others in the book (e.g., Rogers, Lewis & Ketter, and Fairclough), she argues that we cannot assume the presence of power, but that the details of power need to be documented. Each level of Woodside-Jiron's analysis has an accompanying set of linguistic categories. She argues that the specific analytic tools of CDA have not been explicated clearly and offers Bernstein's framework of regulative and instructive discourses as a solution to this problem. Woodside-Jiron argues that the grammar of policy—the authoritative structuring, vocabulary, determiners, and establishment of facts—needs to be attended to in CDA. She makes the argument for specific links to be made between the levels and across time to understand the intertextual chaining of discourse practices.

Stevens analyzes both her own and the teacher's discourse using genre, discourse, and style (and the accompanying linguistic codes) at the local, institutional, and societal levels of analysis. She makes the argument that the same analytic framework used with participants should be turned on the researcher as well.

Reflection and Action

Reread Peyton Young's analysis of cultural models and Lewis and Ketter's analysis of the Discourses of liberal humanism and critical multiculturalism. What are the similarities and differences between cultural models and Discourses? What aspects of linguistic structure are included in each of their analysis? What others might have been added?

CONTEXT AND DISCOURSE

Both Critical Discourse Analysis models (Gee's and Fairclough's) go beyond describing Discourse practices to explaining the relationship between language and social structure. Based on a synthesis of the two models, the framework in Fig. 11.2 attends to both the context of the analysis and the context in which the analysis is located.

Figure 11.2[3] represents a simplified heuristic of the relationship between contexts at the local, institutional, and societal levels of analysis. These are represented on the left-hand side of the heuristic. To draw on examples

[3]This diagram was collaboratively constructed during a Critical Discourse Analysis doctoral seminar that I taught. It appears in Rogers, Berkes, O'Garro, and Hui (in progress).

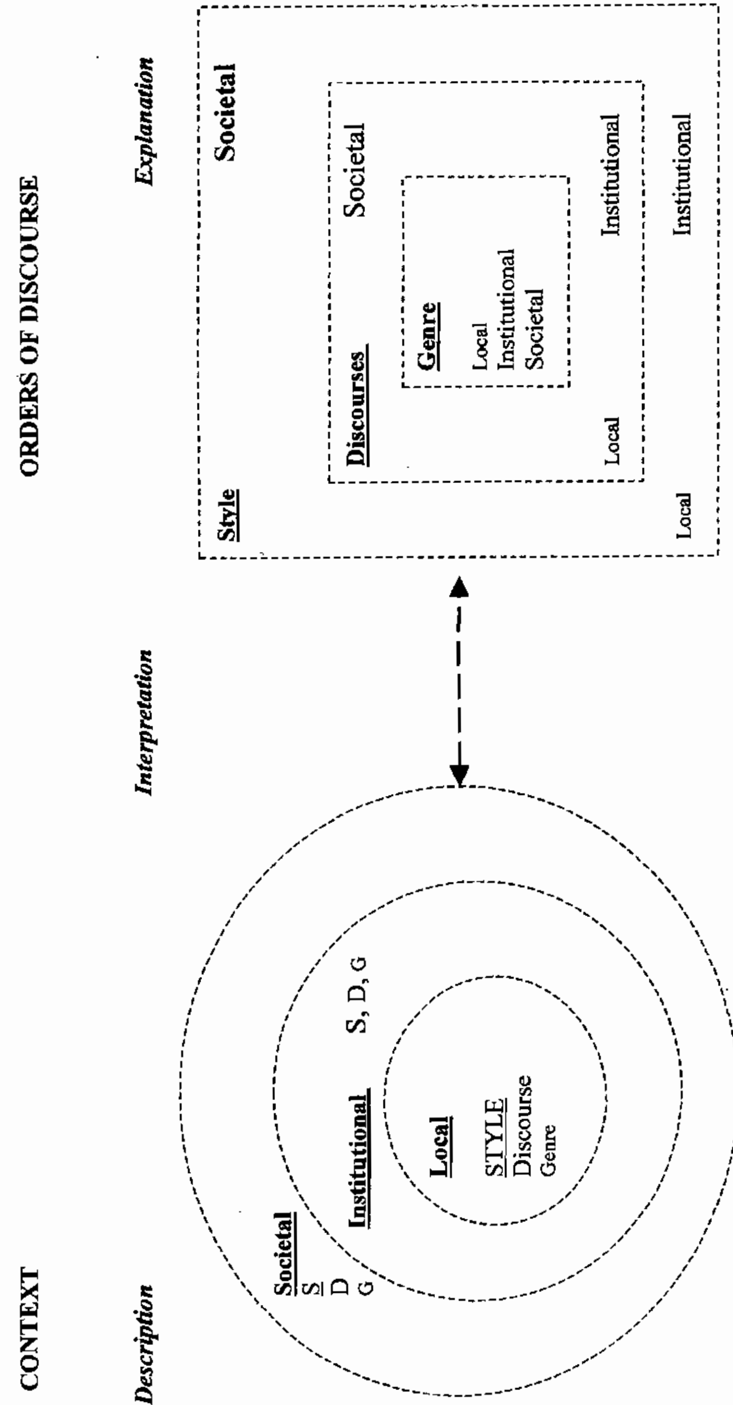

FIG. 11.2. Critical Discourse Analysis heuristic.

from the book, the local context may be thought of as the "Great Gravity Race" by Rowe (chap. 4, this volume), the teacher-research meeting by Lewis and Ketter (chap. 6, this volume), or the decision-making meeting by Sarroub (chap. 5, this volume). The institutional context is the social and political institutions that frame the local context. For Rowe it is the science center, for both Lewis and Sarroub it is the schools in which their participating teachers and university researchers work. The societal context is the larger governing bodies, including policies, mandates, and political climates that influence the local and institutional contexts. Each of these contexts is embedded within and informs the other. Further, the language bits and social languages in Gee's terms, and the genre, Discourse, and styles in Fairclough's terms, are embedded within each level of context.

On the right side of the heuristic are orders of discourse. Orders of discourse are the network of Discourse practices that include genre, Discourse, and style that occur within local, institutional, and societal contexts (in Halliday's terms, this would be the *mode*, *tenor*, and *field*). Genre, Discourse, and style are always linked together in discourse events. The local context of a math lesson, for example, may include the genre of a transmission model math lesson, the discourse of individualism, and a style of negative ability. The institutional context linked to such a math lesson may have similar parameters for the genre (e.g., teacher-proof textbooks and curriculum), but a different Discourse and accompanying style for the teachers. There are many possibilities for how the genre, Discourse, and style might be networked together. There are even more when we add local, institutional, and societal contexts.

Balancing ethnographic contexts and discourse analysis is an ongoing tension played out in each chapter of this book. In Rowe's chapter, context is not only talk, but talk and actions and how they shape each other. Peyton Young includes an analysis of the local (the interview), institutional (school and family), and societal contexts (discourses of schooled literacy and masculinity) in her chapter. Stevens explores the interactions surrounding her ongoing analysis with her participants—turning the CDA frame back on herself as a researcher. Rogers defines context as the three discursive domains (history with schooling, experiences with children's education, and family and community literacy practices) she constructed as part of her in-depth interviews with adult literacy students. Lewis and Ketter provide an exemplary demonstration of balancing Critical Discourse Analysis within a larger ethnographic context. Of their ethnographic context they write, "the ethnographic context included a careful analysis of our own positions within the study group and community related to status, affiliation, and ideological stances" (p. 122). They draw from previous analyses to inform this chapter and argue that this larger context is important because part of how they arrived at interpretations of the changing genres, Discourses, and

styles of their middle school teachers and themselves was based on their understanding of them over the course of 4 years. They write, "as we have read and reread Sarah's words, placing them in the context of our historical understanding of Sarah and her position in our group, we have come to see her contribution differently" (p. 136).

The context of Woodside-Jiron's analysis is the 2 years of documents—both spoken and written—that comprise the changes in reading policy in the state of California. She argues that to know not only what changes took place, but how these changes are embedded in the subtleties of linguistic practices, the analyst must look over time and across contexts. Her ethnographic analysis is embedded within her analysis of the history of changes in the documents that unfolded around CA reading policy from 1995 to 1997. To this end, she includes an analysis of policies, speeches, and media documents that constructs the context of the reading policy mandates in California. Woodside-Jiron's chapter contributes significantly to analysis of written documents using CDA. Unlike other analyses of written texts (Downing, 1990; Hastings, 1998; Johnson & Avery, 1999), she asserts that there is an interaction between the text and reader. That is, that neither the text nor the reader is responsihle for the cultural models that are constructed.

In her chapter, Sarroub calls CDA an interdisciplinary endeavor and argues for a return to interactional sociolinguistics. Her analysis demonstrates how attention to the "ways of interacting," or what Goffman referred to as "footing," gives us insight into the ways of representing and ways of being embedded in the decision-making process. She demonstrates, making interdisciplinary links between interactional sociolinguistics and contemporary approaches to discourse analysis, including CDA, that concepts such as *footing* and *positioning* fit within a CDA framework. Part of being critical, Sarroub argues, is in the questions one asks. She argues that CDA offers educators insights into learning by providing a lens or frame from which to view change at the personal and institutional levels. Sarroub does not overtly focus on matters of power and privilege. Like others in this volume, she attends closely to linguistic analysis, the cultural models of the participants, and the contexts in which their relationship emerges. She includes herself as a researcher into the analysis and describes and interprets how academic discourse is not always powerful. Sarroub's contribution to CDA is an exemplification of what Gee refers to as the "framing problem." Sarroub identifies and locates her frame at the level of discourse within a 12-minute meeting. She does not make broad interpretations and explanations of how this decision making reinforces or subverts commonsense understandings about power in educational settings. Instead she offers an ethnographic description of the transformation and shifts in ways of interacting, representing, and being inherent in social practices. Her findings reveal that people are using ways of interacting, representing, and heing in ways that are subverting and transforming

power relations in local ways. Such transformation or learning might be missed without the type of analysis Sarroub provides.

Reflection and Action

What do you see as the relationships between ethnography and CDA in each of the chapters?

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND LEARNING IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Educational research sets out to study what views of learning are important, what counts as important knowledge, what methodologies are worth pursuing, the relationship between the researchers and the researched, and how education is positioned with other disciplines. Lagemann (2001) pointed out how the scientific study of education in the early 20th century was led by psychology and what counted as researchable questions and appropriate methodologies. Indeed Thorndike viewed the scientific study of education as necessary outside of schools in areas of relative specialization. Dewey, in contrast, believed that educational research could become a science only if and when schools as they existed were transformed into communities built on freedom of action and freedom of thought—against the hierarchy that developed between universities and schools. The study of education in the late 20th century focused on asking complex questions that needed qualitative methods to answer research questions that arose from the inside of educational sites. Lagemann (2001) pointed out that, although there have been shifts in the nature of educational study over the past century, the preferred methodology has remained rather stable. However, she also pointed out that educational questions driving diverse methodologies, including CDA, are coming from inside of educational communities and, therefore, hold the possibility to change the face of educational research.

In this volume, we argue that CDA contributes to an understanding of learning, a primary issue in educational research, in two ways. First, analyzing discourse from a critical perspective allows one to understand the processes of learning in more complex ways. Indeed the close analysis of the networking of language allows the analyst insight into aspects of learning that other theories and methods might have missed. Second, in the process of conducting CDA, researchers and participants' learning is shaped (also an aspect of reflexivity addressed later), thus offering possibilities not only for critique, but for social transformation that arises from critique. From a science museum (Rowe) to professional development for inservice middle school teachers (Lewis & Ketter), to interviews with adult literacy students

(Rogers), to an analysis of state policies (Woodside-Jiron), each of the chapters focuses on CDA in various formal and informal educational settings.

In each of these settings, it is clear that matters of learning are closely related to discourse and identity. The authors seem to concur with what Resnick, Saljo, Pontecorvo, and Burge (1991) stated:

> Inherently (and throughout the life space) social activities in which talk and social interactions are not just a means by which people learn to think, but also how they engage in thinking. They might say that discourse is cognition is discourse . . . one is unimaginable without the other. (p. 2)

Learning involves changes in participation and the subsequent shifts in identity. Such changes construct and are constructed by social change or social transformation. In this volume, Fairclough further articulates the relationship between social transformation and learning. He writes, "[l]earning can be seen as a form of social transformation in itself, but as a necessary but not sufficient condition of social transformation on a broader scale" (p. 233). In other words, it is necessary to contextualize the shifts in ways of interacting, representing, and being within the broader institutional and global contexts in which they occur.

Fairclough writes, "I shall approach the question of learning indirectly, in terms of the more general and in a sense more fundamental question of the performativity of texts or, in critical realist terms . . . their causal effects on nonsemiotic elements of the material, social, and mental worlds, and the conditions of possibility for the performativity of texts" (p. 225). For Fairclough, texts refers to, "semiotic elements of social events, be they written, spoken, or combine different semiotic modes" (p. 226). Texts comprise social events that, in turn, construct and are constructed by social practices such as the practices of teaching or the practices of management in an educational institution. As people interact with the texts of social practices, they are involved in a process of meaning making. Fairclough writes,

> . . . texts can bring about changes in our knowledge, our beliefs, our attitudes, values, experience, and so forth. We learn from our involvement with and in texts, and texturing (the process of making texts as a facet of social action and interaction) is integral to learning. Yet texts also have causal effects of a less immediate sort—one might, for instance, argue that prolonged experience of advertising and other commercial texts contributes to shaping people's identities as consumers or their gendered identities. (p. 229)

In other words, as we interact with texts, we acquire the ideological positions associated with such texts. Fairclough continues, "what people learn in and through texts and talk in and through the process of texturing as we might put it . . . is not merely (new) ways of texturing, but also new ways of

acting, relating, being, and intervening in the material world" (p. 231). This process involves the reconfiguration of social practices through ways of interacting, ways of representing, and ways of being (genre, Discourse, and style) and construct the basis for what Fairclough refers to as "semiotic emergence"—or the making of new meanings.

Learning, combined with discourse theories, can be seen as a network of social practices that changes over time and varies from place to place. Analyzing the configuration of social practices and the shifts across time and context can help educators describe, interpret, and explain the ways of interacting, representing, and being that accompanies learning. Such configurations of practice often rub up against one another and are not mutually exclusive. Gee (1996) discussed this patterning in terms of "boundary crossing," and Fairclough (1995) showed it in terms of manifest and constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity.

The authors in this volume present various perspectives on learning. For example, a central concern Stevens (chap. 9) raises is, "the exploration of what theory of learning can be applied to the interactions between a critical discourse analyst and participants in an educational setting must first be cautioned with who is doing the learning" (p. 220). Rogers views learning as shifts in ways of interacting, representing, and being across contexts and over time. She demonstrates how adult literacy students' sense of literate self shifts across contexts and documents the way in which orders of discourse are configured within each sphere of practice. Rowe defines learning as, "the appropriation of culturally valued mediational means or members' resources as part of participation in active, distributed meaning making" (p. 91). Lewis and Ketter view learning as a social act that involves identities in practice. They define learning as, "the appropriation and reconstruction of one's social world" and as interdiscursivity" (p. 140). As they explain, "Carol did not simply appropriate a way of thinking more associated with Cynthia or Jean. Instead, she reconstructed this world view in her own way, one that centered as much on the individual as it don on the social constitution of the individual" (p. 134). Woodside-Jiron views learning as an interaction between the text and reader. Unlike other analyses of written texts, Woodside-Jiron does not assume that the reader or text has the power to construct cultural models. Rather, it is an interaction between the two. Peyton Young conceptualizes how literacy practices shape and are shaped by the Discourses of masculinity and how a critical discourse frame accounts for the acquisition of problematic gender identities. Sarroub illustrates how discourse analysis can help educators understand the process of teacher decision making that would "eventually transform not only their practice, but also the ways in which they understood themselves in the process" (p. 98). Finally, Fairclough provides a discussion of how learning, seen as social transformation, can be combined with a critical discourse framework.

Reflection and Action

How might teachers and students use CDA as a learning tool in classrooms?

What are other critiques of CDA based on your reading of these chapters?

REFLEXIVITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS OF CDA

Reflexive intentions vary from building rigor in the research to questioning the authenticity of the researcher (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). The intention of reflexivity depends on whether researchers view their aim as strengthening the rigor of social science research or questioning the epistemological and ontological foundations of the knowledge claims we make. There are varying degrees by which aims are made at increasing the strength or assaulting the strength of social science research as being more or less "scientific." For example, Myerhoff and Ruby (1982) defined *reflexivity* as "structuring communicative products so that the audience assumes the producer, process and product are a coherent whole . . . scientists have also been engaged in reflexive activities . . . scientists continuously test their own assumptions and procedures" (pp. 6–9). This statement implies that being reflexive is synonymous with being scientific. Similarly, for Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), reflexivity is not a reflection on the subject, but rather entails, "the systematic exploration of the unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine thought" (p. 40). Although Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) called into question the ideological nature of monitoring one's own thoughts and actions, their reflexive intention is to "strengthen the epistemological moorings" of the research (p. 46). This intention might be viewed in much the same way as traditional claims to validity that often safeguard researchers from a self-reflexive research paradigm. That is, if we triangulate our data, member check with participants, and establish and maintain a paper trail of our theorizing and analytic moves, we can claim that our CDA is valid or an accurate representation of "reality." Such a view is problematic especially within a CDA framework, which rejects the view of an objective and neutral science.

Reflexivity within a CDA framework arises from a concern about the stabilization of knowledge claims and the slipperiness of language. That is, the fundamental nature of language hinders empirical research that is aimed at establishing the truth. Indeed Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) asserted that reflexivity is caught up in social struggle and reflexivity assumes a discursive element—that researchers are part of the language practices they study. Gee concurred and stated, "at one and the same time, an utterance

influences what we take the context to be and context influences what we take the utterance to mean." This is further complicated when there is a linguistic and subsequent cultural gap between the researcher and the participants (as was the case in Rogers' chapter or in Young's study of masculinity). The intention of reflexivity is to problematize the epistemological and ontological foundations of the research. The intention of the reflexive stance depends on the claims to knowledge and reality of the researcher and the extent by which they turn these frameworks on themselves either methodologically or theoretically.

Reflexivity is a term often conflated with reflection. Although sharing similar roots, the concepts have marked differences in their intentions. Reflexivity describes the capacity of any system of signification to turn back on itself, to make itself its own object by referring to itself—so that object and subject blur. Reflexivity assumes not just a reflection of self in the research, but a turning inward toward the process of knowledge construction to acknowledge what researchers are positioned to know given their location in the research (see also Stevens, chap. 9, for a clarification of the difference between reflection and reflexivity).

Reflexivity assumes that the self does not merely reflect the social structure, but embodies it through the constitutive nature of language. On the difference between reflexivity and reflection, Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) wrote, "[S]elf-reflection . . . is more about trying to present research from contributing to dominance and less about directly overcoming it" (p. 129). Reflexivity implies more than introspection. It implies an acknowledgment that the person producing the theory is included in the subject matter she is trying to understand.

If we understand reflexivity to mean not only a reflection, but also a turning inward, then we need to be able to point—through our own constructs—back to ourselves and our locations as researchers. Assuming that the researcher is part of the empirical data gathering, the framework, and the method of analysis, there are consequently different intentions, positions, and reflexive locations. Reflexivity, as it has been outlined here, is crucial in research agendas involving CDA in educational research. Educational researchers are often researchers of familiar educational settings. As members and ex-members of the school communities we study, we bring with us histories of participation within these institutions as students, teachers, and parents. We often bring with us histories of participation with these institutions that have been successful. Thus, we have embodied what Fairclough (1992) referred to as "members resources,"[4] or what Gee (1999) refers to as "cultural models"[5] around our participation in school, but particular sorts of beliefs, assumptions, and values within these discursive contexts. Thus, the classic tension between distance and closeness in the research setting are often blurry in the educational research we conduct. I suggest this is because we have acquired a set of assumptions that are largely invisible in the work we do—concerning our personhood in relation to texts (Rogers, 2002; see Lewis & Ketter, chap. 6, this volume, for a discussion of their negotiation of boundaries in their teacher-research group).

[4]Fairclough (1992) referred to such scripts as member resources (MR). He likened members' resources to the social resources individuals bring with them to interpret, consume, produce, and distribute texts. These resources include the internalized social structures, norms, and conventions, including orders of discourse that people bring with them into each discursive domain. Members' resources shape how texts are produced, consumed, and distributed—both for research participants and researchers. Thus, MR are essential in reflexivity in discourse analysis.

A reflexive stance in this paradigm assumes working on researching issues that are mutually defined by both the researcher and participants—an ongoing cycle of feedback with the participants and critical workshops around issues that may be ideological and not recognized by the participants. The worth of research in this project is often gauged on the nature of catalytic validity. Each of the chapters have provided a set of action-oriented questions as a means to push their CDA into the public realm.

Reflection and Action

Take the analytic framework used by Stevens (chap. 9) and apply it to the researchers in Sarroub's chapter (chap. 5).

CONCLUSIONS AND WAYS FORWARD

Throughout this book we have argued for a research agenda that focuses on three themes: form and function, context, and learning. In each of the chapters, the authors demonstrated how they see these aspects of CDA in their empirical work. Future research should be conducted with attention to these three themes. Much of the CDA conducted over the past 20 years

[5]Indeed reflexivity draws on what Gee (1999) referred to as "cultural models." Cultural models serve to define people's beliefs, values, and stances based on achieving desirable outcomes in work, family, relationships, school, and so on (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Holland & Quinn, 1987). Gee (1999) referred to cultural models as the storylines or scripts that people hold in their minds as they participate in situated meaning-making activities. Gee stated, "a cultural model is usually a totally or partially unconscious explanatory theory or "storyline" connected to a word—bits and pieces of which are distributed across different people in a social group—that helps to explain why the word has the different situated meanings and possibilities for the specific social and cultural groups of people it does (p. 44). Cultural models include the social and cultural resources individuals and groups of individuals (this includes both participants and researchers) bring to bear on their understanding or their reading of social situations.

has demonstrated the relationship among power, ideology, and discourse and how people are enabled and constrained by particular sets of discursive arrangements. Working from this empirical basis, part of the agenda for critical discourse analysts is continuing to document such relationships while acknowledging the changing nature of such relationships. This is important because as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) pointed out, it is harder to pinpoint power in texts because of the increasing conversationalization of Discourse. They also argued that we should look for discourses where there is the greatest amount of heterogeneity because these discourse practices are less stable and, thus, more easily changed than those discourse practices that are homogeneous and stable.

CDA represents an interdisciplinary theory and method and, consequently, will continue to be critiqued from various angles. Linguists will critique CDA for not being linguistically oriented enough. Educational researchers may critique CDA for spending too much time on one interaction. This plays out in specific ways in different disciplines depending on which type of CDA is being used. Foucault's work, within the French discourse analytic tradition, foregrounds power–knowledge relationships, but does not attend closely to the linguistic construction of texts. Put to work within a social work perspective that recognizes power imbalances between people and institutions, but not necessarily the linguistic construction of such power imbalances, CDA may be critiqued for not focusing enough on language. When a critical linguistics approach is applied within a second language classroom and analyzes the form and function of code switching and relates this to identity and solidarity in the classroom, the methodology may be critiqued for being too linguistically focused and not attending enough to the social and political contexts in which code switching emerges. The point is that neither the linguistic nor the critical turn in the social sciences has been nor should expected to be equally distributed in all disciplines.

The goal of CDA is to denaturalize ideologies that have been naturalized. However, a great deal of work across disciplines has demonstrated that linguistic interactions (process) and linguistic realizations (meaning) are structured in ways that reproduce dominant ideologies. The future of CDA may mean spending less analytic time on proving that the content and structure of discourse is ideologically laden and more time on how the meaning, structure, and identity are linked together in dynamic ways. Demonstrating that people who hold power make decisions is rather easy. However, it is much more difficult to demonstrate how the decisions made today are a product of a complex chain of Discourse practices that are historically situated. What we want to avoid is a set of loosely grounded analyses of Discourse that are used to support a finding arrived at before any analysis. In other words, future analyses should

let ideologies emerge from the data, rather than imposing ideologies onto the data.

Although there are no set rules for conducting CDA, it is important for the analyst to consider each aspect of CDA—the "critical," "discourse," and "analysis." People doing CDA and those interested in CDA might continue to ask, "What is critical about this Critical Discourse Analysis?" This is especially important in educational research because as Threadgold pointed out in an interview with Kamler (1997), educational researchers are not often trained as linguists and often emphasize the critical aspects of research over the linguistic analysis. However, to avoid critiques that CDA is a loosely grounded methodology where the analyst knows his or her conclusions before conducting the analysis, researchers must be committed to studying the relationship between linguistic form and function. For educational researchers, this also means committing to learning more about language structure and analysis.

Educational research is always embedded in a context—whether it is a classroom, an after-school program, or a policy meeting. Further educational research always occurs within a social, political, and cultural context. Researchers using CDA that focuses on different aspects of the local, institutional, and societal domains of analysis might collaborate to bring together research that foregrounds different aspects of CDA with similar research questions and research sites. Little CDA has been conducted on interactional data with different stakeholders in the educational process. The research in this volume is among the exceptions. Further, future work in CDA should attend to the nonlinguistic aspects of ideology such as emotion. Arguably, emotions are the stronghold of ideology, and yet little CDA has described, interpreted, and explained the relationship between affect and ideology. Finally, researchers drawn to CDA are often interested not only in conducting educational research, but in social change stemming from their educational research (either in the process or through the findings). We need to continue to think through the myriad of ways CDA can contribute to social change.

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