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The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

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Introducing key concepts and terms

We start our chapter by introducing the notions of 'critique', 'ideology' and 'power'. These three concepts are constitutive for every approach in CDA, albeit frequently employed with different meanings. Therefore, it is important to clarify how they are conceptualized in the DHA. We then proceed with the delineation of other terms significant for our purposes, such as 'discourse', 'genre', 'text', 'recontextualization', 'intertextuality' and 'interdiscursivity'.

The second section summarizes some analytical tools and general principles of the DHA, while in the third section, we illustrate our methodology step by step by focusing on 'discourses about climate change'. In the final section, we discuss the strengths and limitations of the DHA and point to future challenges for the field.

'Critique', 'ideology' and 'power'

Three concepts figure indispensably in all variants of CDA: critique, power, and ideology.

'Critique' carries many different meanings: some adhere to the Frankfurt School, others to a notion of literary criticism, some to Marxist notions. Adhering to a 'critical' stance should be understood as gaining distance from the data (despite the fact that critique is mostly 'situated critique'), embedding the data in the social context, clarifying the political positioning of discourse participants, and having a focus on continuous self-reflection while undertaking research. Moreover, the application of

results is aspired to, be it in practical seminars for teachers, doctors and bureaucrats, in the writing of expert opinions or in the production of school books.

The DHA adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory.[1] As such, it follows a concept of critique which integrates three related aspects (see Reisigl, 2003: 78–82; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 32–35 for extended discussions):

1. *Text* or *discourse-immanent critique* aims at discovering inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.
2. *Socio-diagnostic critique* is concerned with demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices. Here, we make use of our contextual knowledge and draw on social theories as well as other theoretical models from various disciplines to interpret the discursive events.
3. Future-related *prospective critique* seeks to contribute to the improvement of communication (for example, by elaborating guidelines against sexist language use or by reducing 'language barriers' in hospitals, schools and so forth).

It follows from our understanding of critique that the DHA should make the object under investigation and the analyst's own position transparent and justify theoretically why certain interpretations and readings of discursive events seem more valid than others.

Thompson (1990) discusses the concept of ideology and its relationships to other concepts and especially to aspects of mass communication thoroughly. He points out that the notion of ideology has been given a range of functions and meanings since it first appeared in the late 18th century in France. For Thompson, ideology refers to social forms and processes within which, and by means of which, hegemonic symbolic forms circulate in the social world.

Ideology, for the DHA, is seen as an (often) one-sided perspective or world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group. Ideologies serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations through discourse: for example, by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public spheres ('gate-keeping'). In addition, ideologies also function as a means of transforming power relations more or less radically. Thus, we take a particular interest in the ways in which linguistic and other semiotic practices mediate and reproduce ideology in a variety of social institutions. One of the aims of the DHA is to 'demystify' the hegemony of specific discourses by deciphering the ideologies that establish, perpetuate or fight dominance.

For the DHA, language is not powerful on its own – it is a means to gain and maintain power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why the DHA critically analyses the language use of those in power who have the means and opportunities to improve conditions.

'Power' relates to an asymmetric relationship among social actors who assume different social positions or belong to different social groups. Following Weber (1980: 28), we regard 'power' as the possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interests of others. Some of the ways in which power is implemented

are 'actional power' (physical force and violence), the control of people through threats or promises, an attachment to authority (the exertion of authority and submission to authority) and technical control through objects, such as means of production, means of transportation, weapons, and so on (see Popitz, 1992).

Power is legitimized or de-legitimized in discourses. Texts are often sites of social struggle in that they manifest traces of differing ideological fights for dominance and hegemony. Thus, we focus on the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is discursively exerted not only by grammatical forms, but also by a person's control of the social occasion by means of the genre of a text, or by the regulation of access to certain public spheres.

'Discourse', 'text', 'context'

By employing the DHA, we investigate multifaceted phenomena in our societies. This implies that the study of (oral, written, visual) language necessarily remains only a part of the whole enterprise – hence, our research must be interdisciplinary. Moreover, in order to analyse, understand and explain the complexity of the objects under investigation, we consider many different and accessible sources of data (in respect of external constraints such as time, funding, etc.) from various analytical perspectives. Thus, we follow the *principle of triangulation,* which implies taking a whole range of empirical observations, theories and methods as well as background information into account (see, for example, Heer et al., 2008; Wodak, 2007; Wodak et al., 1999). The specific choices depend on the specific problem – in this chapter, on controversies on climate change.

We consider 'discourse' to be:

- a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action
- socially constituted and socially constitutive
- related to a macro-topic
- linked to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view.

Thus, we regard (a) macro-topic-relatedness, (b) pluri-perspectivity and (c) argumentativity as constitutive elements of a discourse.[2]

The question of delimiting the borders of a 'discourse' and of differentiating it from other 'discourses' is intricate: the boundaries of a 'discourse', such as the one on global warming or climate change, are partly fluid. As an analytical construct, a 'discourse' always depends on the discourse analyst's perspective. As an object of investigation, a discourse is not a closed unit, but a dynamic semiotic entity that is open to reinterpretation and continuation.

Furthermore, we distinguish between 'discourse' and 'text': 'texts' are parts of discourses. They make speech acts durable over time and thus bridge two dilated speech situations, i.e. the situation of speech production and the situation of speech

reception. In other words, texts – be they visualized and written or oral – objectify linguistic actions (Ehlich, 1983).

Texts can be assigned to *genres*. A 'genre' may be characterized as 'a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity' (Fairclough, 1995a: 14). Consequently, a manifesto on combating global warming proposes certain rules and expectations according to social conventions, and has specific social purposes. A discourse on climate change is realized through a range of genres and texts, for example TV debates on the politics of a particular government on climate change, guidelines to reduce energy consumption, speeches or lectures by climatologists.

The DHA considers *intertextual* and *interdiscursive relationships* between utterances, texts, genres and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization or institution, and situational frames. While focusing on all these relationships, we explore how discourses, genres and texts change in relation to sociopolitical change.

Intertextuality means that texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present. Such connections are established in different ways: through explicit reference to a topic or main actor; through references to the same events; by allusions or evocations; by the transfer of main arguments from one text to the next, and so on. The process of transferring given elements to new contexts is labelled *recontextualization:* if an element is taken out of a specific context, we observe the process of de-contextualization; if the respective element is then inserted into a new context, we witness the process of recontextualization. The element (partly) acquires a new meaning, since meanings are formed in use (see Wittgenstein, 1989). Recontextualization can, for instance, be observed when contrasting a political speech with the selective reporting of the speech in various newspapers. A journalist will select specific quotes which best fit the general purpose of the article (e.g. commentary). The quotations are thus de- and re-contextualized, i.e. newly framed. They can partly acquire new meanings in the specific context of press coverage.

Interdiscursivity signifies that discourses are linked to each other in various ways. If we conceive of 'discourse' as primarily topic-related (as 'discourse on x'), we will observe that a discourse on climate change frequently refers to topics or subtopics of other discourses, such as finances or health. Discourses are open and often hybrid; new sub-topics can be created at many points.

'Field of action' (Girnth, 1996) indicates a segment of social reality which constitutes the 'frame' of a discourse. Different fields of action are defined by different functions of discursive practices. For example, in the arena of *political action*, we differentiate among eight different political functions as eight different fields (see Figure 4. 1). A 'discourse' about a specific topic can find its starting point within one field of action and proceed through another one. Discourses then 'spread' to different fields and relate to or overlap with other discourses.

We represent the relationship between fields of action, genres and macro-topics in the area of political action as follows (Figure 4.1):[3]

Field of action: Lawmaking procedure	Field of action: Formation of public attitudes, opinion and will	Field of action: Party-internal formation of attitudes, opinions, and will	Field of action: Inter-party formation of attitudes, opinions, and will	Field of action: Organization of international/interstate relations	Field of action: Political advertising	Field of action: Political executive and administration	Field of action: Political control
Political (sub)-genres: law, bill, amendment, parliamentary speech and contribution of MPs (including heckling and questioning of political opponent), minister speech, state of the union address, regulation, recommendation, prescription, guideline, etc.	**Political (sub)-genres:** press release, conference, interview, talk show, president speech, speech of an MP (especially if broadcasted), opening speech, commemorative speech, jubilee speech, radio or TV speech, chancellor speech (e.g. inaugural speech), minister speech, election speech, state of the union address, lecture and contribution to a conference, (press) article, book, etc.	**Political (sub)-genres:** party programme, declaration, speech on a party convention or in a party meeting, speech or statement of principle, party jubilee speech, etc.	**Political (sub)-genres:** coalition negotiation, coalition programme, coalition paper/contract/agreement, speech in an inter-party or government meeting/sitting, inaugural speech (in the case of a coalition government), commemorative speech, etc.	**Political (sub)-genres:** speech on the occasion of a state visit, inaugural address, speech in meetings/sittings/summits of supranational organizations (European Union, United Nations, etc.), war speech, declaration of war, hate speech, peace speech, commemorative speech, note, ultimatum, (international) treaty, etc.	**Political (sub)-genres:** election programme, election slogan, election speech, election brochure, announcement, poster, flier, direct mailing, commemorative speech, speech of an MP, state of the union address, etc.	**Political (sub)-genres:** decision (approval, rejection), chancellor speech (e.g. inaugural speech), minister speech, major speech, speech of resignation, farewell speech, speech of appointment, state of the union address, governmental answer to a parliamentary question, etc.	**Political (sub)-genres:** declaration of an oppositional party, parliamentary question, speech of an MP, heckling, speech of protest, commemorative speech (especially admonitory or blaming speech), election speech, press release, petition for a referendum.

Discourse Topic 1, Discourse Topic 2, Discourse Topic 3, Discourse Topic 4, Discourse Topic 5, Discourse Topic 6, Discourse Topic 7, Discourse Topic 8, Discourse Topic 9, Discourse Topic 10, Discourse Topic 11, Discourse Topic 12
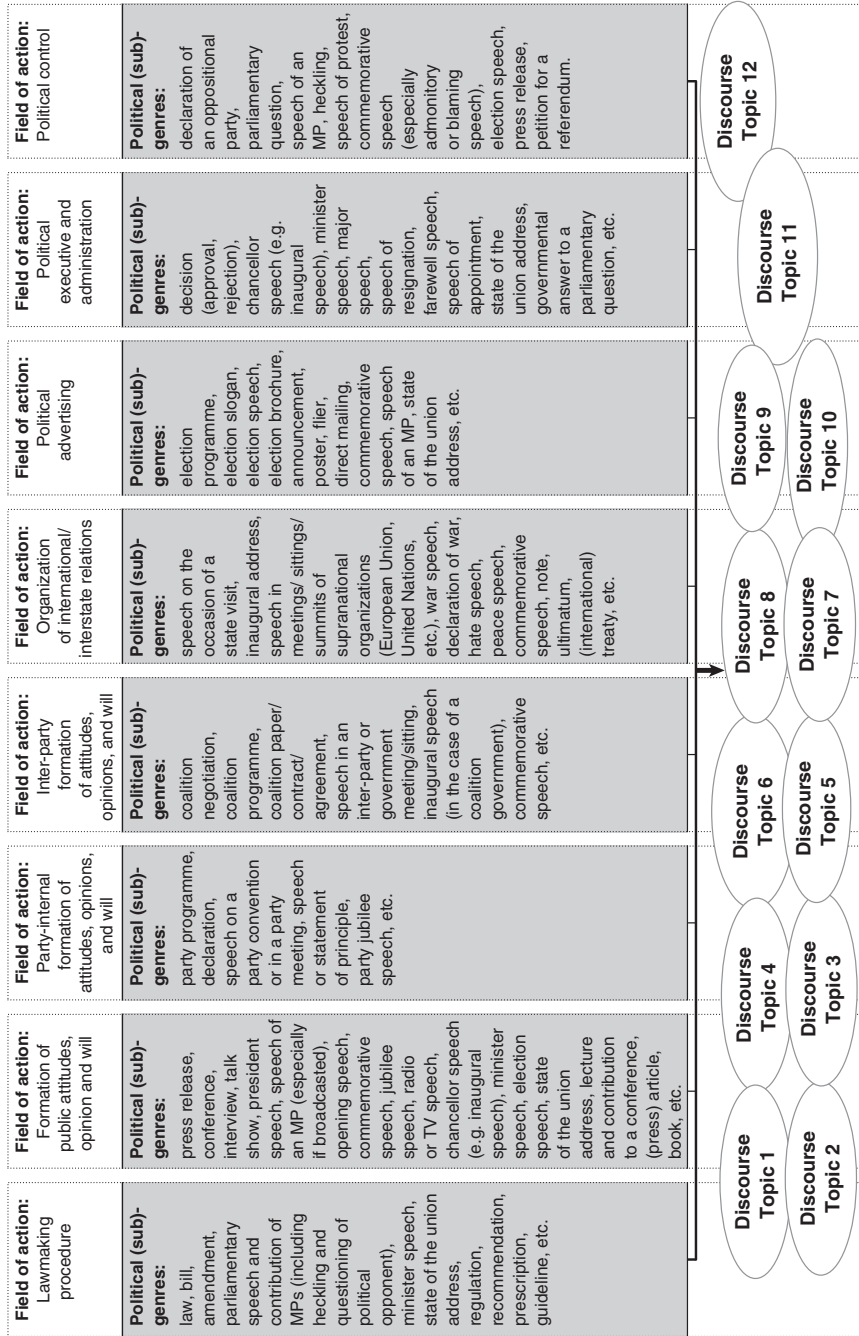
FIGURE 4. 1   *Fields of political action, political genres and discourse topics (see Reisigl, 2007: 34–35)*

Figure 4.2 further illustrates the interdiscursive and intertextual relationships between discourses, discourse topics, genres and texts.
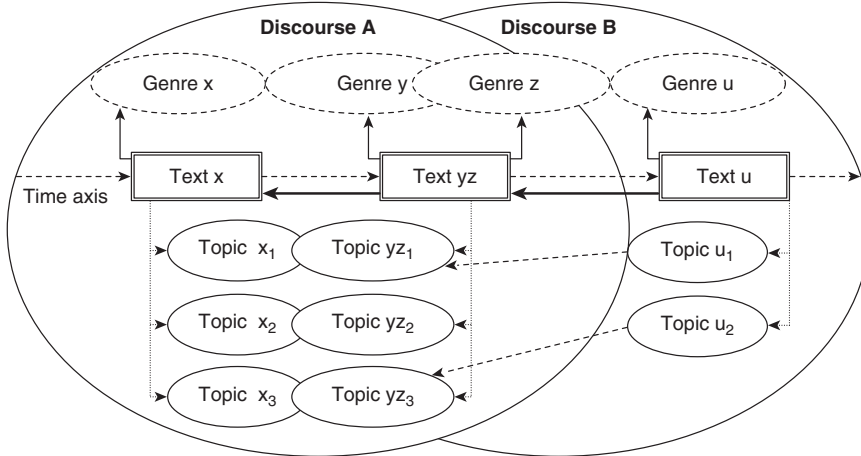

FIGURE 4.2   *Interdiscursive and intertextual relationships between discourses, discourse topics, genres and texts*

In this diagram, interdiscursivity is indicated by the two big overlapping ellipses. Intertextual relationships are represented by dotted double arrows. The assignment of texts to genres is signalled by simple arrows. The topics to which a text refers are indicated by small ellipses with simple dotted arrows; the topical intersection of different texts is indicated by the overlapping small ellipses. Finally, the specific intertextual relationship of the thematic reference of one text to another is indicated by simple broken arrows.

Several of these relationships can be illustrated with respect to our case study, in the three texts of the Czech president Václav Klaus, a fervid opponent of environmentalist warnings on the dangers related to global warming. On 16 March 2007, Klaus gave a speech entitled 'Innsbruck Speech: Three Threats of our Freedom' on the occasion of receiving an honorary doctorate by the University of Innsbruck (= text 1 that belongs to the 'epideictic genre' of speeches of gratitude). This speech is first and foremost a part of the 'discourse about freedom and liberalism' (= discourse A), but to a certain extent also of the 'discourse about climate change' (= discourse B), because climate change and environmentalism are important topics of the speech.

Three days later, on 19 March 2007, Klaus answered five questions from Republican politicians of the House of Representatives of the US Congress, in the Committee on Energy and Commerce, on issues of mankind's contribution to global warming and climate change. This rather formalized pseudo-dialogic text (= text 2) was realized as a written letter (dating from 19 March 2007) that was designated to answer the questions which were formulated in a letter (dating from 6 March 2007) signed by the Ranking

Member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, Joe Barton, and the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Energy and Air Quality, J. Dennis Hastert. This letter shares several topics with text 1, relating to climate change, environmentalism and the threat of freedom, and is also part of various other discourses, for example the discourse on energy economy. Text 2, thus, is a somewhat hybrid genre, as it adopts features of both the (sub)genre of a written expert interview and the (sub)genre of a written letter which resembles the (sub)genre of parliamentary questions and answers.

On 14 June 2007, Václav Klaus published an article in the *Financial Times* entitled 'Freedom, not climate, is at risk'. This text (= text 3) is again part of both discourse A and discourse B. It picks up many of the topics of text 2 but, of course, manifests characteristics of another genre – the newspaper commentary. This text elicited many reactions and questions by readers, some of which were published in the newspaper on 21 June 2007, and also answered by Klaus (see www.klaus.cz/klaus2/asp/–default. asp?lang=EN&CatID=YJrRHRsP).

Our triangulatory approach is based on a concept of 'context' which takes into account four levels:

1. the immediate, language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse
2. the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses
3. the extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation'
4. the broader sociopolitical and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to.

In our analysis, we orient ourselves to all four dimensions of context in a recursive manner (see also Wodak, 2007, 2008a).

Some tools of analysis and principles of DHA

The DHA is three-dimensional: after (1) having identified the specific *contents* or *topics* of a specific discourse, (2) *discursive strategies* are investigated. Then (3), *linguistic means* (as types) and the specific, context-dependent *linguistic realizations* (as tokens) are examined.

There are several strategies which deserve special attention when analysing a specific discourse and related texts (see Step 5 below). Heuristically, we orientate ourselves to five questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?

4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?

5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?

According to these five questions, we elaborate five types of discursive strate-gies. By 'strategy', we generally mean a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal. Discursive strategies are located at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity.[4]

The first study for which the DHA was developed analysed the constitution of anti-semitic stereotyped images, as they emerged in public discourses in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of former UN general secretary Kurt Waldheim, who, for a long time, had kept secret his National Socialist past (Wodak et al., 1990).[5] Four salient characteristics of the DHA emerged in this research project: (1) interdisciplinary and particularly historical aims and interests; (2) team work; (3) triangulation as a methodological principle; and (4) an orientation towards application.

This interdisciplinary study combined linguistic analysis with historical and sociological approaches. Moreover, the researchers prepared and presented an exhibition about 'Post-war antisemitism' at the University of Vienna.

The DHA was further elaborated in a number of studies of, for example, racist discrimination against migrants from Romania and the discourse about nation and national identity in Austria (Matouschek et al., 1995; Reisigl, 2007; Wodak et al., 1999). The research centre 'Discourse, Politics, Identity' (DPI) in Vienna, established by the second author of this article (thanks to the Wittgenstein Prize awarded to her in 1996; see www.wittgenstein-club.at), allowed for a shift to comparative interdisciplinary and transnational projects relating to research on European identities and the European politics of memory (Heer et al., 2008; Kovács and Wodak, 2003; Muntigl et al., 2000).

Various principles characterizing the approach have evolved over time since the study on Austrian post-war antisemitism. Here, we summarize ten of the most important principles:

1. The approach is interdisciplinary. Interdisciplinarity involves theory, methods, methodology, research practice and practical application.

2. The approach is problem-oriented.

3. Various theories and methods are combined, wherever integration leads to an ade-quate understanding and explanation of the research object.

4. The research incorporates fieldwork and ethnography (study from 'inside'), where required for a thorough analysis and theorizing of the object under investigation.

5. The research necessarily moves recursively between theory and empirical data.

6. Numerous genres and public spaces as well as intertextual and interdiscursive rela-tionships are studied.

TABLE 4.1   *A selection of discursive strategies*

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena/ events and processes/ actions	• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. • tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches (*pars pro toto, totum pro parte*) • verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.
predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events/ processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) • explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns • collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures, etc.
argumentation	justification and quest-ioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	• topoi (formal or more content-related) • fallacies
perspectivization, framing or discourse representation	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	• deictics • direct, indirect or free indirect speech • quotation marks, discourse markers/ particles • metaphors • animating prosody, etc.
intensification, mitigation	modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocut-ionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	• diminutives or augmentatives • (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. • hyperboles, litotes • indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion) • verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.

7. The historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time.

8. Categories and tools are not fixed once and for all. They must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation.
9. 'Grand theories' often serve as a foundation. In the specific analyses, however, 'middle-range theories' frequently supply a better theoretical basis.
10. The application of results is an important target. Results should be made available to and applied by experts and be communicated to the public.

Approaching the analysis of 'discourses about climate change'

The DHA in eight steps

A thorough discourse-historical analysis ideally follows an eight-stage programme. Typically, the eight steps are implemented recursively:

1. **Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge** (i.e. recollection, reading and discussion of previous research).
2. **Systematic collection of data and context information** (depending on the research question, various discourses and discursive events, social fields as well as actors, semiotic media, genres and texts are focused on).
3. **Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses** (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.).
4. **Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions** (on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data).
5. **Qualitative pilot analysis** (allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions).
6. **Detailed case studies** (of a whole range of data, primarily qualitative, but in part also quantitative).
7. **Formulation of critique** (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique).
8. **Application of the detailed analytical results** (if possible, the results might be applied or proposed for application).

This ideal-typical list is best realized in a big interdisciplinary project with enough resources of time, personnel and money. Depending on the funding, time and other constraints, smaller studies are, of course, useful and legitimate. Nevertheless, we believe that it makes sense to be aware of the overall research design, and thus to make explicit choices when devising one's own project such as a PhD thesis. In the latter case, one can certainly conduct only a few case studies and must restrict the range of the data collection (to very few genres). Sometimes, a pilot study can be extended to more comprehensive case studies, and, occasionally, case studies planned at the very beginning must be left for a follow-up project.

Because of space restrictions, we only elaborate on a few of the research stages (1, 2, 4 and especially 5) in this chapter. We have decided to focus on *argumentation*

analysis in our pilot study, since other strategies such as nomination and predication strategies (which we also take into consideration) are subordinated under the persuasive aims of the text we want to analyse.

Analysing discourses on climate change and global warming

Step 1: Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge

The overarching research question on 'global warming' can be approached in various ways:

(a)   What does 'climate change' mean according to the existing (scientific) literature?
(b)   What does the relevant literature convey about the relationship between 'climate change' and modern societies, i.e. the influence of human beings on the global climate?

A first consultation of the relevant literature supplies us with the following answers:

(a) 'Climate change' in ordinary language use predominantly means 'global warming', although other meanings can also be detected: 'climate change' sometimes denotes 'global cooling towards a new ice age' and sometimes relates to a 'natural climatic variation which temporarily leads to a warming or cooling'. In scientific terms, 'climate change' refers to the change of the medial annual temperature, but also to various climatic alterations including precipitation change, sea-level rise, the increase of extreme weather events, ozone depletion and so on. A historical semantic reconstruction further reveals that the scientific and political meaning of the phrase has been extended more recently: whereas now '[i]t refers to any change in climate over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity', in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) of 1992, 'climate change' had exclusively been related 'to a change of climate that is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity […] in addition to natural climate variability' (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2007a, p. 1, downloaded from www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr_topic1.pdf on 9 February 2008).

(b) Most scientists consider the relationship between 'climate change' and modern societies to be a causal one in the sense that nature becomes more and more dependent on human civilization, global warming being the anthropogenic consequence of the greenhouse effect caused by the worldwide increase in the output of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.[6]

After this first orientation, we are now able to formulate a more general discourse-related research question: what does 'climate change' mean in the specific public discourse we focus on and how are human influences on climate represented and discussed in this discourse?

Assumptions related to this question are that the discourse will comprise different and maybe contradicting interpretations of the 'nature' of climate change (of its existence, origins and consequences), of the relationship between climate and civilization, and of

possible measures against climate change. If this should be the case, we assume that such differing discursive representations and positions make it difficult to achieve a political compromise as a basis for political decisions. Viewed from a historical perspective, we assume that the discourse (or some facets of the discourse) will have changed over time, depending on a range of factors to be identified in our analyses.

Step 2: Systematic collection of data and context information

Depending on what data are accessible (by observation, audio-visual recording, interview, research in archives) and on how much data can be analysed within the respective research project, a range of empirical data could be collected, considering the following criteria:

- *specific political units* (e.g. region, nation state, international union) or 'language communities'
- *specific periods of time* relating to *important discursive events,* which are connected with the issue in question, for instance, climate summits or publications of reports issued by the IPCC and their discussion in public
- *specific social and especially political and scientific actors* (individual and 'collective' actors or organizations, for example, politicians with different party-political affiliations, environmentalists, climatologists, national and international councils on climate change, oil companies, car companies and so forth)
- *specific discourses* – in our case, discourses about climate change and particularly about global warming
- *specific fields of political action*, especially the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will (e.g. relating to media coverage), the management of international relations (e.g. relating to international summits and agreements), the fields of political control (e.g. relating to environmentalist actions), political advertising (e.g. relating to the promotion of the energy business), the inter-party formation of attitudes, opinions and will (e.g. relating to the inter-party coordination of environmental policy), the law-making procedure (e.g. relating to tax laws on carbon emissions), and *specific policy fields*, such as environmental policy, energy policy, economic policy, health policy or migration policy
- *specific semiotic media* and *genres* related to environmental policy (expert reports, election programmes, political debates inside and outside parliament, press articles, TV interviews and TV discussion, leaflets, car advertisements and popular scientific texts).

In the present case, we focus on one single *discourse fragment*: Václav Klaus's 'Answers to questions from the House of Representatives of the US Congress, Committee on Energy and Commerce, on the issue of mankind's contribution to global warming and climate change' (19 March 2007; www.klaus.cz/klaus2/asp/default.-asp?lang=EN& CatID=YJrRHRsP). We chose this text because it is rather brief, easily accessible on the internet, has been published in several languages (thus guaranteeing a remarkable communicative scope), and because it relates both to Europe and the United States. In Step 5, we will have a closer look at this text.

Step 3: Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses
When preparing the corpus for analysis, the collected data are downsized according
to specific criteria such as frequency, representativity, (proto)typicality, intertextual or
interdiscursive scope/influence, salience, uniqueness and redundancy. If it proves
necessary, oral data have to be transcribed according to the conventions determined
by the research question. As we now focus on a single text example, there is no need
to continue the discussion of this step.

**Step 4: Specification of the research question and formulation of
assumptions**
The research question could now be specified with regard to the question of
whether:

- global warming is perceived as being undisputed by the discourse participants
  or not
- climate change is seen as a natural process or as co-caused by human beings.

Moreover, the research question has to consider opposing political accusations
of abuse and manipulation, and alternative appeals for action (see, for instance,
Al Gore, 2007, p. 268 ff. in contrast to Klaus, 2007: 79, 95, 97 ff.). Hence, a possi-
ble point of departure for the further elaboration of our research question could be
the analysis of controversial positions. As critical discourse analysts, we describe and
assess such contradictory positions and their persuasive character on the basis of
principles of rational argumentation and with regard to underlying manipulative
strategies.

A second point of departure could be the analysis of media coverage and of the
relationship between the reporting of scientific statements about global warming
and the media recipients' knowledge. Allan Bell (1994) has already focused on such
issues two decades ago. In his case study of the discourse about climate change in
New Zealand, he analysed the relationship between the media coverage of scientific
explanations and laypersons' understanding of this coverage. Bell's research, which
led to the insight that the knowledge about climate change is greater among the
socially advantaged than among socially disadvantaged media users (Bell, 1994: 59),
could be compared with today's situation. The DHA pays special attention to such
diachronic comparisons.

On the basis of all these concerns, our research question could be divided into the
following detailed questions:

- What social (political, scientific, environmentalist, media) actors participate in the
  specific discourse on climate change? What scientific, political, environmentalist
  and other positions are adopted in the different fields of political action relating to
  the discourse? (*We assume that different actors pursue different and often conflicting
  interests.*)

- What role do scientists play in the triangle of science, policy/politics and the mass-mediated public sphere? How do they 'translate' their expert knowledge for laypeople? How reliable are statements of scientists as epistemic and deontic authorities? How are scientists 'controlled' in modern democratic societies? On the basis of what criteria do laypeople judge scientific statements? (*Here, we assume that scientists play an important role as experts both in processes of political decision-making and in the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will.*)

- What role do the mass media play in the 'translation' of expert knowledge for laypeople? How are the media controlled in democratic societies? Is it difficult to understand mass-media texts on climate change? (*We assume that the media play a crucial role in the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will as well as in the field of political control.*)

- What validity claims of truth and normative rightness are explicitly made or presupposed in the discourse in question? How are these claims related to party-political and – in a wider sense – ideological alignments? (*We assume that different discourse participants will make different and often contradicting, ideology-dependent claims on climate change.*)

- What are the main topics of the discourse? How is the influence of human beings on the global climate represented and discussed? In more linguistic terms: what descriptions, explanations, argumentations and narratives about the genesis, diagnosis, prognosis and avoidance of climate change are presented or reported in order to support the validity claims in question? What semiotic (especially linguistic and visual) means are employed to persuade recipients? What contradictions are constructed in the discourse? (*Here, a basic assumption is that we will not find a single and homogeneous depiction, but a wide range of differing representations and argumentations.*)

- What aspects of the discourse change over time? What are the reasons for change? (*This question presupposes that there is a diachronic change involving partial continuities and new developments.*)

- What other discourses does the discourse intersect with and relate to? (*We assume that the discourse in question has interdiscursive links with other discourses.*)

Of course, we cannot respond to any of these questions exhaustively in this chapter. Only large-scale interdisciplinary research projects would be able to investigate the above-mentioned complexities adequately. Smaller projects and pilot studies will necessarily only focus on some of these aspects.

Step 5: Qualitative pilot analysis

Our pilot study seeks to improve and differentiate the analytical instruments and to elaborate the assumptions mentioned above. Accordingly, we restrict this qualitative pilot investigation to one single text (which resembles the parliamentary genre of 'question time') from a prominent Czech politician (President Václav Klaus) who participates very actively in the American, Czech and German debates on climate change and global warming from a strictly (neo-)liberal, anti-communist as well as anti-environmentalist point of view. The text is a hybrid mix of a written expert interview and the written version of parliamentary questions and answers. It is

constructed as a formalized, quasi-dialogic question–answer sequence composed of five questions and the respective answers to representatives of the US Congress in the Committee on Energy and Commerce. The text was originally published in English, but was reproduced in Czech and German in Klaus's book: *Modrá, nikoli zelená planeta* (Czech) and *Blauer Planet in grünen Fesseln! Was ist bedroht: Klima oder Freiheit?* (German)[7.]

The questioners to whom Klaus is replying remain anonymous in the books. However, a closer look at the political and historical context shows that Klaus's text, from 19 March 2007, was submitted on 21 March 2007 by the Republican J. Dennis Hastert, Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Energy and Air Quality, in the Hearing of the US House of Representatives on 'Perspectives on Climate' before the Subcommittee on Energy and Air Quality of the Committee on Energy and Commerce and the Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment of the Committee on Science and Technology. In the official protocol of the Hearing (p. 137, downloaded from frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=110_ house_hearings&docid=f:37579.pdf on 10 April 2008), we read that Klaus's text has the form of a 'letter'. On pages 141–146 of the protocol, we learn that Klaus's letter answers questions posed in another letter addressed to Klaus on 6 March 2007. This first letter was signed by the two Republicans Joe Barton and J. Dennis Hastert, who seem to be responsible for the five questions. The two conservatives invited the Czech president as well the political scientist and statistician Bjørn Lomborg from the Copenhagen Business School, as a counterpart to the Democrat and environmentalist Al Gore. Both Gore and Lomborg – the latter is often referred to by anti-environmentalists, because he criticizes Gore for exaggerating the possible consequences of global warming – were personally present and questioned at the Hearing on 21 March 2007, whereas Klaus's letter was only submitted and accepted, without any objection. In their letter, the two Republicans state the following reasons for inviting Klaus to respond to their questions:

> Over the past several decades, as an economist and political leader, you have developed an important perspective on the forces that effect individual freedom and economic progress and abundance, especially as you have helped to lead the Czech Republic out of the deadly stagnation of the former Soviet regime to become one of the fastest growing vibrant economies in Europe. You have also taken public positions regarding the climate change debate. We believe your perspective on the political, economic, and moral aspects of the climate change debate can be useful as we seek to assess the potential impacts of proposed US climate-related regulations on the economic well-being of its citizens and their ability to contribute to future economic vitality and innovation here and abroad.

The Republican Barton is well known as a vehement sceptic of the anthropogenic thesis on global warming. During the hearing, Barton attacked Gore for being 'totally wrong' (p. 24) with regard to the depiction of the causal relationship of the change of CO_2 levels and the increase in temperature. Thus, it is understandable why Barton invited the sceptic Klaus to tell the US Congress his viewpoint. In Table 4.2,

the right column next to the text lists the themes ('T' stands for 'theme') contained in the five questions and Klaus's first answer (we list the themes only for the first question; readers may attempt to generate respective lists for the remaining questions). The third column points to plausible argumentation schemes (i.e. *topoi*) and fallacious argumentation schemes (i.e. *fallacies*).

Within argumentation theory, 'topoi' can be described as parts of argumentation which belong to the required premises. They are the formal or content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument(s) with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument(s) to the conclusion (Kienpointner, 1992: 194). Topoi are not always expressed explicitly, but can always be made explicit as conditional or causal paraphrases such as 'if x, then y' or 'y, because x' (for more details, see Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 69–80).

Argumentation schemes are reasonable or fallacious. If the latter is the case, we label them *fallacies*. There are rules for rational disputes and constructive arguing which allow discerning reasonable topoi from fallacies (see the pragma-dialectical approach of van Eeemeren and Grootendorst, 1992). These rules include the freedom of arguing, the obligation to give reasons, the correct reference to the previous discourse by the antagonist, the obligation to 'matter-of-factness', the correct reference to implicit premises, the respect of shared starting points, the use of plausible arguments and schemes of argumentation, logical validity, the acceptance of the discussion's results, and the clarity of expression and correct interpretation. If these rules are flouted, fallacies occur. However, we must admit, it is not always easy to distinguish precisely without context knowledge whether an argumentation scheme has been employed as reasonable topos or as fallacy.

We analyse this text by focusing on three aspects according to the three dimensions of the DHA and the five strategies presented in Table 4.1:

1. First, we identify the main discourse topics of the text, extrapolating them from the themes (listed in the second column).
2. Then, we focus on the main nomination and predication strategies to be found in Klaus's answers.
3. Third, we focus on the argumentation and more specifically on the principal claims as well as on topoi and fallacies employed to justify these claims (listed in the third column).

Before starting this analysis, however, we provide an overview of the basic analytical tools for the specific analysis of discourses about climate change by adapting the heuristic questions and strategies presented above. They are summarized in Table 4.3 (the right column contains some examples of the text from Table 4.2).

Identifying the main discourse topics is based on generalizing the established list of themes from Table 4.2. Figure 4.3 presents the main discourse topics and the three fields of political action in which our text is primarily located:

The diagram represents the complex topical intersections in the text. It allows for a first impression of the fact that neo-liberal and policy-related topics dominate, whereas scientific topics are backgrounded by Klaus.
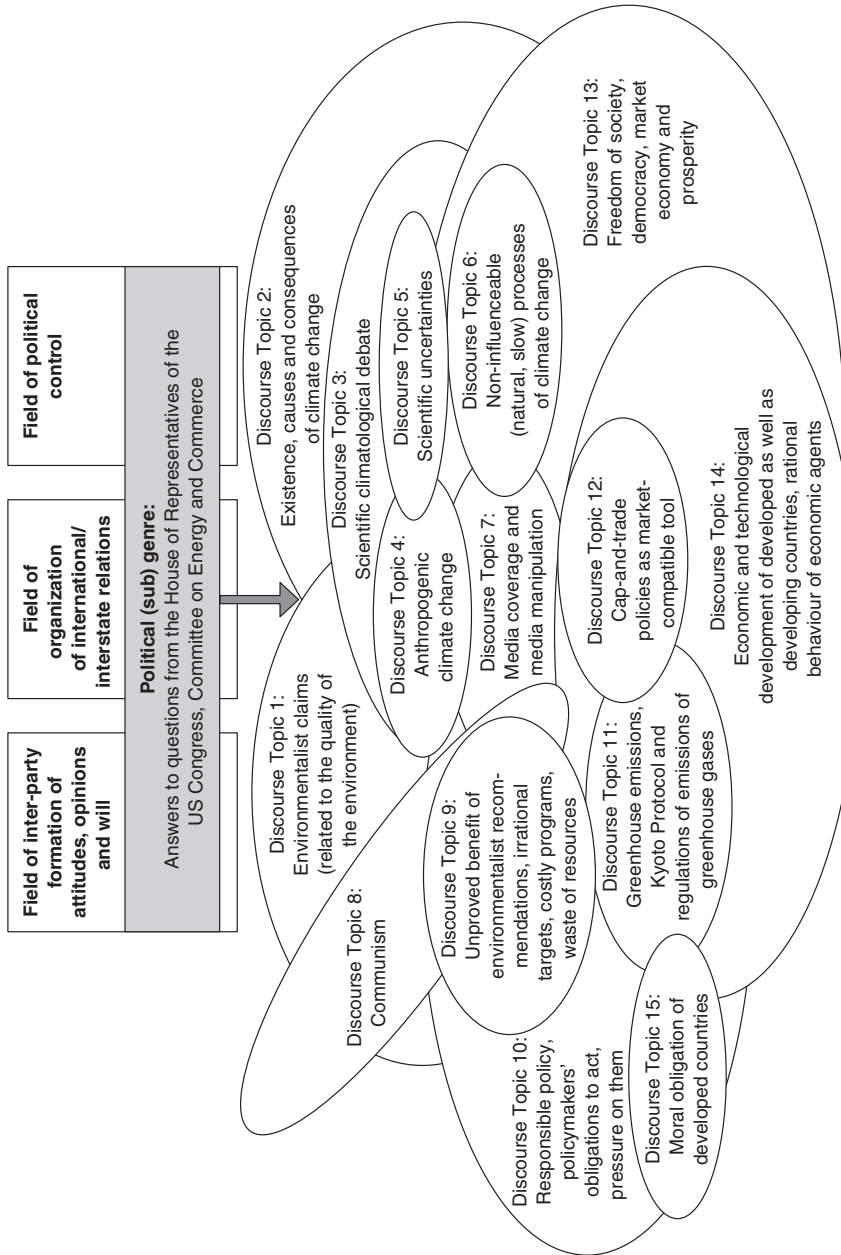
FIGURE 4.3   *Selected discourse topics in the questions to, and answers of, Václav Klaus*

TABLE 4.2   *Klaus's answers to questions from the House of Representatives of the US Congress (text, macrostructure topics and argumentation)*

	Macro- and mesostructure: Turn-taking and discourse topics	Argumentation: Claims, topoi and fallacies
Václav Klaus, 19 March 2007	**Date**	
Answers to questions from the House of Representatives of the US Congress, Committee on Energy and Commerce, on the issue of mankind's contribution to global warming and climate change	**Parliamentary (sub)genre**	
Concerning mankind's contribution to climate change and in keeping with obligations towards the welfare of our citizens: what, in your view, should policymakers consider when addressing climate change?	**Question 1:** **Topic:** anthropogenic climate change **T:** policymakers 'obligations towards citizens' welfare	
The – so called – climate change and especially man-made climate change has become one of the most dangerous arguments aimed at distorting human efforts and public policies in the whole world.	**Answer 1 by Klaus:** **T:** anthropogenic climate change	***Claim 1:*** *Anthropogenic climate change as dangerous argument (topos or fallacies of threat of freedom)*
My ambition is not to bring additional arguments to the scientific climatological debate about this phenomenon. I am convinced, however, that up to now this scientific debate has not been deep and serious enough and has not provided sufficient basis for the policymakers' reaction.	**T:** scientific climatological debate	
What I am really concerned about is the way the	**T:** policymakers' reaction	*Fallacy of superficiality and lack of scientific seriousness*
environmental topics have been misused by certain political pressure groups to attack fundamental principles underlying free society. It becomes evident that while discussing	**T:** misuse of environmental topics by political pressure groups	*Topos or fallacy of abuse* *Topos or fallacy of danger for threat of freedom and free society*
climate we are not witnessing a clash of views about the environment but a clash of views about human freedom.	**T:** attack on freedom and free society	

TABLE 4.2   *(Continued)*

	Macro- and mesostructure: Turn-taking and discourse topics	**Argumentation:** Claims, topos and fallacies
As someone who lived under communism for most of my life I feel obliged to say that the biggest threat to freedom, democracy, the market economy and prosperity at the beginning of the 21st century is not communism or its various softer variants. Communism was replaced by the threat of ambitious environmentalism. This ideology preaches earth and nature and under the slogans of their protection – similarly to the old Marxists – wants to replace the free and spontaneous evolution of mankind by a sort of central (now global) planning of the whole world.	**T:** victim of communism **T:** threat of freedom, democracy market economy and prosperity by environmentalism **T:** environmentalist centralism similar to old Marxism	*Fallacy of threat of freedom, democracy and market economy (formally: fallacy of comparison of communism and environmentalism [threat of centralism])*
The environmentalists consider their ideas and arguments to be an undisputable truth and use sophisticated methods of media manipulation and PR campaigns to exert pressure on policymakers to achieve their goals. Their argumentation is based on the spreading of fear and panic by declaring the future of the world to be under serious threat. In such an atmosphere they continue pushing policymakers to adopt illiberal measures, impose arbitrary limits, regulations, prohibitions, and restrictions on everyday human activities and make people subject to omnipotent bureaucratic decision-making. To use the words of Friedrich Hayek, they try to stop free, spontaneous human action and replace it by their own, very doubtful human design.	**T:** belief in undisputable truth **T:** media manipulation **T:** pressure on policymakers **T:** spreading of fear and panic **T:** pressure on policymakers to adopt illiberal measures **T:** arbitrary restrictions of freedom	*Topos or fallacy of abuse (of media manipulation)* *Topos or fallacy of pressure/compulsion* *Topos or fallacy of frightening* *Topos or fallacy of pressure/compulsion* *Topos or fallacy of threat combined with the topos or fallacy of authority ('Hayek')*
The environmentalist paradigm of thinking is absolutely static.	**T:** static environmentalist thinking	

(Continued)

TABLE 4.2   *(Continued)*

	Macro- and mesostructure: **Turn-taking and discourse topics**	**Argumentation:** **Claims, topos and fallacies**
They neglect the fact that both nature and human society are in a process of permanent change, that there is and has been no ideal state of the world as regards natural conditions, climate, distribution of species on earth, etc. They neglect the fact that the climate has been changing fundamentally throughout the existence of our planet and that there are proofs of substantial climate fluctuations even in known and documented history. Their reasoning is based on historically short and incomplete observations and data series which cannot justify the catastrophic conclusions they draw. They neglect the complexity of factors that determine the evolution of the climate and blame contemporary mankind and the whole industrial civilization for being the decisive factors responsible for climate change and other environmental risks.	**T:** permanent change of nature (including climate) and society **T:** neglecting proofs of substantial climate fluctuations **T:** historically short and incomplete environmental observations **T:** unjustified catastrophic conclusions **T:** neglecting complexity of climatic factors **T:** human contribution to climate change	*Topos or fallacy of nature* *Topos or fallacy of simplifying complexity* *Topos or fallacy of history*
By concentrating on the human contribution to the climate change the environmentalists ask for immediate political action based on limiting economic growth, consumption, or human behavior they consider hazardous. They do not believe in the future economic expansion of the society, they ignore the technological progress the future generations will enjoy, and they ignore the proven fact that the higher the wealth of society is, the higher is the quality of the environment.	**T:** appeal to immediate political action **T:** enviromentalist distrust in economic and technological development and in the direct relationship between wealth and the quality of the environment **T:** accusing industrial civilization for climate change	*Topos of technological progress* *Topos or fallacy of (pos) consequences of wealth to environment*
The policymakers are pushed to follow this media-driven hysteria based on speculative and hard evidence lacking theories, and to adopt enormously costly programs which would waste scarce resources in order to stop the probably	**T:** pressure on policymakers by media-driven hysteria **T:** speculative evidence **T:** costly programmes **T:** waste of scarce resources	*Topos or fallacy of pressure* *Topos of costs* *Topos or fallacy of wasting*

TABLE 4.2 *(Continued)*

	Macro- and mesostructure: Turn-taking and discourse topics	Argumentation: Claims, topos and fallacies
unstoppable climate changes, caused not by human behavior but by various exogenous and endogenous natural processes (such as fluctuating solar activity).	**T:** unstoppable (natural) climatic processes	*Fallacy of nature* ***Claim 2:*** *Topos or fallacy of freedom*
My answer to your first question, i.e. what should policymakers consider when addressing climate change, is that policymakers should under all circumstances stick to the principles free society is based on, that they should not transfer the right to choose and decide from the people to any advocacy group	**T:** answer to the first question **T:** sticking to principles of free society	
claiming that it knows better than the rest of the people what is good for them. Policymakers should protect taxpayers' money and avoid wasting it on doubtful projects which cannot bring positive results.	**T:** protection of taxpayers' money and avoidance of wasting it **T:** doubtful projects	*Topos or fallacy of thrift* *Topos of uncertainty*
How should policies address the rate and consequences of climate change and to what extent should regulation of emissions of greenhouse gases be a focus of any such policies?	**Question 2:** **T:** speed and consequences of climate change **T:** extent of regulations of emissions of greenhouse gases	

TABLE 4.2   *(Continued)*

Macro- and mesostructure: Turn-taking and discourse topics	Argumentation: Claims, topos and fallacies
Answer 2 by Klaus	*Topos of realism*
	Topos of nature
Policies should realistically evaluate the potential our civilization has, as compared with the power of natural forces influencing climate. It is an evident waste of society's resources to try to combat an increase of solar activity or the movement of ocean currents. No government action can stop the world and nature from changing. **Therefore,** I disagree with plans such as the Kyoto Protocol or similar initiatives, which set arbitrary targets requiring enormous costs without realistic prospects for the success of these measures. If we accept global warming as a real phenomenon, I believe we should address it in an absolutely different way. Instead of hopeless attempts to fight it, we should prepare ourselves for its consequences. If the atmosphere warms up, the effects do not have to be predominantly negative. While some deserts may get larger and some ocean shores flooded, enormous parts of the earth – up until now empty because of their severe, cold climate – may become fertile areas able to accommodate millions of people. It is also important to realize that no planetary change comes overnight.	*Topos or fallacy of waste* *Topos or fallacy of nature* ***Claim 3:*** *Refusal of Kyoto Protocol or similar initiatives* *Top. or fall. of arbitrariness and* *Topos of costs and* *Topos or fall. of uncertainty of success* *Topos of realism* *Topos or fallacy of (pos.) consequences* *Topos of time (slow change)* ***Claim 4:*** *Refusal of regulations based on precautionary principle* *Fallacy of uncertainty (lack of proof)*
Therefore, I warn against adopting regulations based on the so-called precautionary principle which the environmentalists use to justify their recommendations, the clear benefit of which they are not able to prove. Responsible politics should take into account the opportunity costs of such proposals and be aware of the fact that the wasteful environmentalist policies are adopted to the detriment of other policies, thus neglecting many other important needs of millions of people all over the world. Each policy measure must be based on a cost-benefit analysis.	*Topos or fall. of responsibility and* *Topos of costs and* *Fallacy of waste* *Topos or fallacy of neglect of other needs*

TABLE 4.2   *(Continued)*

Macro- and mesostructure: Turn-taking and discourse topics	Argumentation: Claims, topos and fallacies
Mankind has already accumulated tragic experience with one very proud intellectual stream that claimed that it knew how to manage society better that spontaneous market forces. It was communism and it failed, leaving behind millions of victims.	*Fallacy of history (experience of communism; formally a fallacy of comparison)*
Now, a new-ism has emerged that claims to be able to manage even nature and, through it, people. This excessive human pride – just as the previous attempts – cannot but fail.	
The world is a complex and complicated system that cannot be organized according to an environmentalist human design, without repeating the tragic experience of wasting resources, suppressing people's freedom, and destroying the prosperity of the whole human society.	*Topos of complexity*
	Topos or fallacy of negative consequence (waste, suppression and destruction of prosperity)
My recommendation, **therefore**, is to pay attention to the thousands of small things that negatively influence the quality of the environment. And to protect and foster fundamental systemic factors without which the economy and society cannot operate efficiently – i.e. to guarantee human freedom and basic economic principles such as the free market, a functioning price system and clearly defined ownership rights.	*Claim 5: Attention to many small environmentally harmful things (instead of Kyoto Protocol or similar initiatives) and protection of freedom as well as free market etc.*
They motivate economic agents to behave rationally. Without them, no policies can protect either the citizens or the environment.	*Topos or fallacy of freedom (motivating rational economy)*
	Fallacy of (scientific) uncertainty
Policymakers should resist environmentalist calls for new policies because there are too many uncertainties in scientific debates on climate change. It is impossible to control natural factors causing climate change. The negative impact of the proposed regulation on economic growth is to the detriment of all other possible risks, including the environmental ones.	*Topos or fallacy of nature*
	Topos or fallacy of neg. consequences (on economy)

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TABLE 4.2   *(Continued)*

	Macro- and mesostructure: Turn-taking and discourse topics	Argumentation: Claims, topos and fallacies
What will be the effect on national economies, consumer well-being, job creation, and future innovation under various climate change policy scenarios that have come to your attention?	**Question 3:** **T:** effect of various climate change policy scenarios	
If the policymakers accept the maximalistic environmental demands, the effects on national economies will be devastating. It would stimulate some, very small parts of the economy while leaving a bigger part of it choked by artificial limits, regulations, and restrictions. The rate of growth would decline and the competitiveness of the firms on international markets would be seriously affected. It would have a negative impact on employment and job creation. Only rational policies, making spontaneous adjustments possible, can justify government intervention.	**Answer 3 by Klaus**	***Claim 6:*** *Topos or fallacy of negative consequence of maximalist environmental demands on national economies*
What impact and effectiveness will so-called cap-and-trade policies have upon the reduction of climate change threats and our ability to address these threats in the future?	**Question 4:** **T:** impact and effectiveness of 'cap-and-trade policies' on climate change threats	
Cap-and-trade policies are a technical tool to achieve pollution reduction goals by more market compatible means. They can help if the general idea behind the scheme is rational. I do not believe the whole idea to combat climate change by emission limits is rational and I, **therefore,** consider the technicalities of its eventual implementation to be of secondary importance.	**Answer 4 by Klaus**	*Topos of consequence of cap-and-trade policies* *Topos or fallacy of irrationality* ***Claim 7:*** *Topos or fallacy of secondariness (= priority of free market over cap-&-trade policies)*
What is the moral obligation of developed countries to the developing countries of the world? Should developed countries embark on large emissions reduction schemes while developing countries are allowed to continue to increase emissions unabated?	**Question 5:** **T:** moral obligation of developed countries to developing countries **T:** emission reduction and increase	

TABLE 4.2   *(Continued)*

Macro- and mesostructure: Turn-taking and discourse topics	Argumentation: Claims, topos and fallacies
Answer 5 by Klaus	*Topos or fallacy of moral duty*
The moral obligation of developed countries to the developing countries is to create such an environment which guarantees free exchange of goods, services, and capital flows, enables utilization of comparative advantages of individual countries and thus stimulates economic development of the less developed countries. Artificial administrative barriers, limits and regulations imposed by developed countries discriminate the developing world, affect its economic growth, and prolong poverty and underdevelopment. The environmentalist proposals are an exact example of such illiberal policies that are so harmful for the developing countries. They will not be able to cope with the limits and standards imposed on the world by irrational environmental policies, they will not be able to absorb new technological standards required by the anti-greenhouse religion, their products will have difficult access to the developed markets, and as a result the gap between them and the developed world will widen. It is an illusion to believe that severe anti-climate change policies could be limited to developed countries only. If the policies of the environmentalists are adopted by developed countries, sooner or later their ambitions to control and manage the whole planet will spread the emissions reduction requirements worldwide. The developing countries will be forced to accept irrational targets and limitations because 'earth is first' and their needs are secondary. The environmentalist argumentation gives ammunition to protectionists of all colors who try to eliminate competition coming from newly industrialized countries. **Therefore,** the moral obligation of the developed countries is not to introduce large emissions reduction schemes.	*Topos or fallacy of free market combined with topos or fallacy of advantages/positive consequence on economy of developing countries* *Topos or fallacy of neg. consequences of regulations on economy* *Topos or fallacy of unsuccessfulness (of environmentalist proposals combined with topos or fallacy of irrationality)* *Topos or fallacy of neg. consequences (gap)* *Topos or fallacy of neg. consequences (worldwide regulations = topos or fallacy of centralism)* *Topos or fallacy of compulsion (as specific Topos or fallacy of consequence) combined with the Topos or fallacy of irrationality* ***Claim 8:*** *Topos or fallacy of moral duty not to introduce large emissions reduction schemes*

TABLE 4.3   *Important categories to analyse discourses about climate change*

Questions	Discursive Strategies	Purpose

How are persons, objects, phenomena/
 	
events, processes and actions related to climate change named and referred to linguistically?
	nomination strategies	**discursive construction of social actors:**
		• *proper names*:
		  Friedrich Hayek
		• *deictics and phoric expressions*:
		  I, we, you; they
		• *professional anthroponyms*:
		  policymakers
		• *ideological anthroponyms*:
		  environmentalists, old Marxists, protectionists of all kinds
		• *collectives, including metonymic toponyms*:
		  (the) people, future generations, (developed, developing) countries
		• *economic anthroponyms*:
		  taxpayers
		
		discursive construction of objects/ phenomena/events:
		• *concrete*:
		  world/planet, desert, ocean, country
		• *abstract*:
		  o *natural/environmental:*
		    nature, climate
		  o *mental object/feelings*:
		    ambition, fear, panic
		  o *economic matters*:
		    economy, money, waste, resource, poverty, market forces, wealth, prosperity, product
		  o *political matters*:
		    cap-and-trade policies, measure, precautionary principle, emission reduction scheme, welfare
		  o *ideological matters*:
		    freedom, communism, ideology, anti-greenhouse religion, media manipulation
		
		discursive construction of processes and actions:
		• *material*:
		  o *natural/environmental*:
		    climate change, global warming, effect, emissions
		  o *economic*:
		    economic growth, consumption
		• *mental*:
		  ambition, reasoning, thinking
		• *verbal*:
		  scientific climatology debate, environmentalist proposals/ recommendations, argumentation

TABLE 4.3   *(Continued)*

Questions	Discursive strategies	Purpose
What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?	**predication strategies**	**discursive characterization/qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events processes and actions** (more or less positively or negatively) • *social actors*, e.g. environmentalists: irrational, arbitrary, similar to old Marxists, illiberal, centralist, protectionist, wasteful, detrimental to economy • *natural/environmental processes*, e.g. climate change: uncertain, slow, natural, permanent, unstoppable
Which arguments are employed in discourses about climate change?	**argumentation strategies**	**persuading addressees of the truth and normative rightness of claims** (the text contains eight central claims) • *claims of truth* regarding the existence, causes, effects and avoidance of climate change • *claims of rightness* regarding human action related to climate change
From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?	**perspectivization strategies**	**positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance** • *ideological perspectives*: neo-liberal and anticommunist versus environmentalist–protectionist

Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated?	**mitigation and intensification strategies**	**modifying the illocutionary force of utterances in respect of their epistemic or deontic status**
		• *epistemic*:
		  ○ *mitigation*: fallacy of scientific uncertainty, 'so-called climate change'
		  ○ *intensification*: fallacy of equating communism and environmentalism, tri-partite parallelism asserting the environmentalist distrust in economic and technological development, etc.
		• *deontic*:
		  ○ *mitigation*: topos or fallacy of backgrounding cap-and-trade policies
		  ○ *intensification*: topos or fallacy of moral duty not to introduce large emissions reduction schemes (in addition to the economic duty)

Only a few aspects of nomination and predication can be addressed in this pilot study: the six most important *social actors* who are discursively constructed in this text are 'I', 'we', 'policymakers', 'environmentalists', 'developing countries' and '(the) people'. The most salient *predications* relating to these actors are listed in Table 4.4.

As Table 4.4 illustrates, Klaus constructs environmentalists only by means of negative predications. Policymakers, on the one hand, appear as dependent agents wherever they adopt environmentalist claims and, on the other, as social actors who are requested to resist environmentalist recommendations in order to protect and foster (neo-)liberal principles under all circumstances. The 'I' propagates (neo-)liberal beliefs and convictions as well. The 'we-group', which does not play an important role in the text, oscillates between a 'we of politicians' ('our citizens'), a vague addressee-inclusive we, a 'we of perceivers', a 'we of civilization', and a 'we of all terrestrials'. The 'developing countries' appear as completely dependent on the 'developed countries' and as potential victims of environmentalist regulations. 'The people', finally, are represented as being both endowed with liberal rights and in danger of being deprived of these rights by environmentalist policies, and, furthermore, as potential beneficiaries of global warming.

In addition to the (neo-)liberal patterns,[8] it is worth looking at who is absent in the text, i.e. *not* represented by nomination. Klaus does not name scientists as social actors. They are only represented indirectly through the adjective 'scientific' that is attributed to 'debate'. Thus, scientists are backgrounded.

The most important phenomenon in the text is 'climate change'. It is primarily qualified with predications such as being 'uncertain', 'slow', 'natural', 'permanent', and 'probably unstoppable […], caused not by human behaviour but by various exogenous and endogenous natural processes (such as fluctuating solar activity)'.[9] As we will see, this representation of climate change as a possibly permanent natural process is salient in Klaus's argumentation, since it forms the basis on which the fallacies of nature and uncertainty are grounded, with which Klaus attempts to justify his rejection of the Kyoto Protocol and other similar initiatives.

Various predications and nominations are relevant elements of the text's argumentation structure. Klaus's answers are highly persuasive. They contain many argumentative devices; on the meta-linguistic level, words such as 'argument', 'argumentation', 'debate', 'justify', 'conclusion' and 'disagree' explicitly indicate the persuasive character of the text. Hence, we recommend a focus on argumentation and particularly on content-related argumentation schemes (topoi and fallacies) for the analysis of this text, in addition to the analysis of nominations and predications (which are linked to and form the basis for the argumentation schemes).

The analysis of typical content-related topoi and fallacies depends on the macro-topics of a discourse. There is an impressive amount of literature dealing with field- and content-related argumentation schemes in various discourses (see, for example, Kienpointner, 1996; Kienpointner and Kindt, 1997; Kindt, 1992; Reeves, 1989; Wengeler, 2003). In the present context, we refer to several topoi which are mentioned in the literature, but we also coin new names for topoi and fallacies which occur in our specific data.

TABLE 4.4   *Main social actors and predications*

Social Actors	Predications
I	• someone who lived under communism for most of his life • not ambitious to bring additional arguments to the specific climatological debate • concerned about the misuse of environmental topics • convinced that the scientific debate has not been serious enough • feeling obliged to warn against the environmentalist threat of freedom • warning from adopting regulations based on the so-called precautionary principle and disagreeing with plans such as the Kyoto Protocol and similar initiatives • recommending higher attention to many small things that negatively influence the environment and recommending the protection of freedom • considering emission limits to be irrational and cap-and-trade policies to be of secondary importance
we	• in 'possess' of citizens ('our citizens') • witnesses of a clash of views about human freedom • in 'possess' of the planet • in 'possess' of a civilization with a potential • required to address global warming differently, to prepare ourselves for its consequences
environmentalists	• political pressure groups misusing environmental topics to attack free society • a centralist threat of human freedom similar to communism/old Marxists • stubborn truth-fiends, presumptuous wiseacres and static thinkers • sophisticated media manipulators • spreaders of fear and panic • historically narrow thinkers • neglecters of the complexity of climatic factors • accusers of contemporary mankind and the whole industrial civilization for being responsible for climate change and other environmental risks • askers for immediate political action and illiberal policies that harm developing countries • non-believers in the future economic expansion of the society • ignorers of technological progress and the positive relationship between wealth and the quality of the environment • justifiers of doubtful and wasteful protectionist recommendations by the so-called precautionary principle • neglecters of many other needs of millions of people all over the world • claimants of being able to manage even nature • proposers of arbitrary and irrational regulations on economic growth to the detriment of economy and all other possible risks, including the environmental ones

(Continued)

TABLE 4.4   *(Continued)*

Social Actors	Predications
policymakers	• pressured by environmentalists • pushed by environmentalists to adopt illiberal measures, impose arbitrary restrictions on everyday human activities and make people subject to omnipotent bureaucracy • pushed to follow a media-driven hysteria and to adopt costly, wasteful programs • asked to stick under all circumstances to the principles of free society • asked to protect taxpayers' money • asked to realistically evaluate the potential of our civilization • not able to stop the world and nature from changing • asked to act responsibly • asked to pay attention to the many small things that negatively influence the environment, and to protect and foster economy and society • asked to resist environmentalist appeals for new policies • asked to implement rational policies • morally obliged to create an environment for developing countries which guarantees free market, and not to introduce large emissions reduction schemes
developing countries	• not able to cope with the limits and standards imposed on the world by irrational environmental policies • not able to absorb new technological standards required by the anti-greenhouse religion • producers of products which will have difficult access to developed markets • victims of the widening gap between them and the developed world
the people	• subject to omnipotent bureaucratic decision-making • endowed with the right of choice that should not be taken from them and transferred to any advocacy group • millions of people that may get fertile areas • millions of people all over the world with many other important needs • allegedly managed by the newism • endangered of being deprived of their freedom

Topoi and fallacies in Klaus's text are listed in the right column of Table 4.2. They possess the function of justifying Klaus's main claims. These claims – most of which are normative proposals of how policymakers and people in developed countries should act – are formulated from a strictly (neo-)liberal perspective:

• Claim 1: Anthropogenic climate change is a dangerous argument (*claim of truth*).
• Claim 2: If policymakers address climate change, they must and should always stick to the principles of free society (*claim of normative rightness*, realized as topos or fallacy of freedom*).

- Claim 3: The Kyoto Protocol or similar initiatives should be rejected (*claim of normative rightness*).
- Claim 4: Regulations based on the so-called precautionary principle should be rejected (*claim of normative rightness*).
- Claim 5: Instead of the Kyoto Protocol or similar initiatives, many small ecologically harmful things should be avoided; in all cases, freedom and the free market have to be protected (*claim of normative rightness*).
- Claim 6: If policymakers accept the (maximalist) ecological demands, this will have negative consequences for national economies (*claim of truth*; topos or fallacy of negative consequence).
- Claim 7: If we have to choose between free market and cap-and-trade policies, cap-and-trade policies are less important in the context of an irrational fight against global warming (*claim of truth*; fallacy of secondary importance as fallacy of the priority of free market over cap-and-trade policies).
- Claim 8: Since developed countries have moral obligations towards developing countries, they should not introduce large-emission reduction schemes (*claim of normative rightness*; topos or fallacy of moral obligation).

These claims are mostly justified by fallacies. The overall structure of Klaus's answers is dominated by two fallacies:

1. The *fallacy of uncertainty*[10] assumes that science is uncertain in respect of the existence, causes, consequences and avoidance of climate change, environmentalist recommendations are not convincing and, thus, it does not make sense to follow these recommendations.
2. The second recurrent fallacy in Klaus's answers is the *fallacy of nature*: 'since climate change is natural, ecological regulations concerning greenhouse gases are not reasonable, but irrational and wasteful'.

Both fallacies can be discredited by a topos of numbers that refers to the vast majority of climatologists who agree that an anthropogenic climate change does exist with a very high degree of certainty.[11] In addition, the first fallacy can be countered by the topos of risk minimization (as a specific topos of priority): if different alternatives carry various risks, we have to minimize the risks by choosing the alternative with minimal risks. If we consider this argumentation scheme, Klaus's refusal of the precautionary principle appears unjustified. Furthermore, the topos of risk minimization can also be directed against the fallacy of secondary importance (claim 7).

   We must interrupt our pilot analysis here. In sum, we are able to conclude that Klaus's argumentation is highly fallacious and that there are plausible reasons to reject Klaus's neo-liberal position and to accept a just limitation of human freedom for specific ecological reasons as concerning the well-being of the human species. A more detailed case study, which would analyse the whole Hearing, Klaus's entire book, and the political role of Klaus as supporter of the US government's negative position with respect to international greenhouse-gas emission regulations, would differentiate this

first pilot analysis and would gain insight into the broader political and historical contexts of the specific discourse on climate change.

Such an analysis would also focus on strategies of perspectivization, mitigation and intensification.[12] This would help to recognize *the underlying ideological positioning* in this and other discourse fragments produced by Klaus. It would allow reconstructing how the strict neo-liberal perspective co-determines Klaus's choice of various rhetorical, pragmatic and argumentative devices and how frequent Klaus's dogmatic anti-communist stance leads to fallacious intensification strategies such as the one which dominates the argumentation in the above text: the quasi-equation of environmentalism with communism that aims to derogate many ecological positions (for more examples of perspectivization, mitigation and intensification strategies, see Table 4.3, point 5). Moreover, a broader study would focus on the various ways environmentalists are discursively constructed and represented as exceptionally powerful and dangerous (topos of threat). In the text, we analysed, for example, Klaus presupposes that ecological groups dominate and manipulate politicians and bureaucrats. Such negative other-presentations prepare the ground for 'shifting the blame' and 'scapegoating' strategies, which could eventually be used to legitimize and explain political mistakes. Our analysis illustrates that Klaus organizes most of his strategic discursive manoeuvres with a strict neo-liberal, anti-environmentalist and anti-communist ideological positioning in mind.

Step 6: Detailed case studies

This step consists of detailed case studies on the macro-, meso- and micro-levels of linguistic analysis, as well as on the level of context. This step, which cannot be illustrated in this chapter because of space restrictions, interprets the different results within the social, historical and political contexts of the discourse(s) under consideration.[13]

In the present case, this step would lead to general descriptions of the discourse on climate change in respect of:

- social actors and fields of political action
- communication obstacles and misunderstandings
- contradictory validity claims imbued by political or ideological orientation
- salient topics and discursive features
- aspects of historical change
- interdiscursive relationships, particularly overlaps with other discourses (such as discourses about globalization, migration or freedom/liberalism).

The overall interpretation would, for example, consider the question of whether the mass-mediated discourse(s) on climate change and global warming in European states resemble the discourses in the USA, where company lobbying frequently leads to a 'balance as bias' in the media coverage: the prevailing scientific consensus on the anthropogenic influence on global warming is not represented adequately in the media. In contrast, media coverage seems to suggest that scientists do not agree on this issue quite so strongly (see Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004; Oreskes, 2004 [both quoted in Rahmstorf and Schellnhuber, 2007: 83]).

The overall interpretation could further refer to Viehöver's stimulating research on various discourses on climate change (Viehöver, 2003). Viehöver investigated the media coverage from 1974 to 1995. On the basis of his comprehensive case study, he distinguished between six 'problem narratives' about global climate change and its definition, causes, (moral) consequences and possible reactions to it. According to Viehöver, these 'narratives' gained different salience at different times. He observes that currently the predominant 'narrative' seems to be the 'global warming story'. 'Stories' competing with this 'narrative' were and still are, according to the German sociologist, 'the global cooling story', 'the story of the climatic paradise', 'the story of the cyclical sunspots', 'the story of the climatic change as scientific and media fiction' and the 'story of the nuclear winter' (see Viehöver, 2003: 268 ff. for more details).

Step 7: Formulation of critique

Our 'critique' is based on ethical principles such as democratic norms, human rights and criteria of rational argumentation. It points to intended biases in representations (especially media coverage) and to contradictory and manipulative relationships between discourses and power structures.

In a theoretical sense, the critique – based on our empirical analysis and a theory of discursive/deliberative democracy – offers analytical parameters that evaluate the 'quality' of public political discourses in which 'collective' learning and decision-making are at stake.

In a practical sense, the critique might influence current discourses on global warming and raise the awareness of involved social actors about the problem, more responsibility and fallacious argumentations.

Step 8: Application of the detailed analytical results

The application of the analytical results stems from the critique. The application should not only consist of the scholarly publication of the results. In addition, our insights should also be made accessible to the 'general public' (e.g. by recommendations, newspaper commentaries, training seminars, further education courses, radio transmissions and political advising). Such a knowledge 'transfer' requires the recontextualization of theory, methodology, methods and empirical results into other genres and communicative practices. This is, of course, a challenging task.

Conclusions

The strengths of the discourse-historical approach include the following:

- its *interdisciplinary orientation*, which allows avoiding disciplinary restrictions
- the *principle of triangulation*, which implies a quasi-kaleidoscopic move towards the research object and enables the grasp of many different facets of the object under investigation

- the *historical analysis*, which allows transcending static spotlights and focusing on the diachronic reconstruction and explanation of discursive change
- *practical applications* of the results for emancipatory and democratic purposes.

The DHA relates to other CDA approaches in many aspects. However, the DHA – like any inter- or multidisciplinary enterprise – should avoid the combination of theoretically incompatible scientific (re)sources. This caveat remains one of the main theoretical challenges. Furthermore, many new discourse-related social phenomena (such as the one discussed in the present chapter) need to be investigated in systematic and detailed ways from the perspective of our approach.

FURTHER READING

Muntigl, P., Weiss, G., and Wodak, R. (2000) *European Union Discourses on Un/Employment*: *An Interdisciplinary Approach to Employment Policy-making and Organisational Change*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
This book presents an interdisciplinary study of EU organizations which involved fieldwork, ethnography, interviews and the analysis of written and oral data. This study cuts across CDA, sociology, political science and European studies.

Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2001) *Discourse and Discrimination*: *Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. London, New York: Routledge.
A comprehensive presentation of the DHA, with case studies on racist, xenophobic and anti-semitic rhetoric in the post-war Austrian context.

Wodak, R. (1996) *Disorders of Discourses*. London: Longman.
A collection of case studies on organizational communication, framed in an integrated investigation of hospitals, media and bureaucracies.

Wodak, R. (2009) *'Politics as Usual' – The Construction and Representation of Politics in Action*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
A monograph which illustrates the kind of inter- and post-disciplinary research proposed in the DHA. The 'backstage' of politics is juxtaposed with the analysis of media soaps about politics and politicians.

Wodak, R. and Krzyżanowski, M. (eds) (2008) *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
An introductory text for social scientists which focuses it primarily on the analysis of diverse genres (press articles, new media, documentaries, focus groups, interviews and broadcasts). The volume is particularly useful for non-linguists.

Notes

1 See Habermas, 1996; Horkheimer and Adorno, 1969/1991 [1944].

2 Other approaches to CDA do not explicitly link 'discourse' with a macro-topic and more than one perspective (see Reisigl, 2003: 91 ff.).

3 In three of the eight fields, we distinguish between attitudes, opinions and will. This distinction emphasizes the difference in the emotional, cognitive and volitional dimensions.

4 Many of these strategies are illustrated in Reisigl and Wodak (2001). In this chapter, we will focus primarily on nomination, predication and argumentation strategies.

5 The very first critical study which inspired the project on postwar antisemitism in Austria was Wodak et al. (1990).

6 See IPCC, 2007a, p. 1, downloaded from www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr_topic1.pdf on 9 February 2008; IPCC, 2007b, p. 6, downloaded from www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr_topic2.pdf on 9 February 2008. See also Müller et al., 2007; Rahmstorf and Schellnhuber, 2007.

7 The German translation deviates from the English version on several points. The English translation of the German title is: 'Blue planet in green bonds. What is endangered: climate or freedom?'. The book has also been translated into other languages.

8 The frequency of high-value words (*miranda*) such as 'freedom', 'wealth', 'prosperity' and 'economic growth' fits very well into Klaus's (neo-)liberal ideology.

9 Here, the assertion that climate change cannot be influenced is mitigated by 'probably'.

10 Klaus associates this fallacy with the fallacy of superficiality: if scientists don't work seriously, but superficially, their results are insignificant.

11 Klaus attempts to disparage this topos as a fallacy of numbers, i.e. a 'myth of scientific consent' (Klaus, 2007: 79).

12 See Reisigl (2003: 214–235); Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 81–85).

13 See, for example, Muntigl et al. (2000); Reisigl and Wodak (2001); Wodak et al. (1999) for such comprehensive studies.