

HOW TO GET AWAY WITH THINGS WITH WORDS:
An Examination of Written Texts

by

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Introduction

Gone are the days in ELT when grammar patterns, along with some complimentary vocabulary, were seen to be total of what students needed to be taught. Now teachers know there are so many more aspects of English that students should ideally be exposed to in the classroom. “Ideally”, because, while theoretically the potential range of content required for inclusion into a well-rounded ELT syllabus has increased, the amount of time the average ELT teacher has to instruct students has not. This paper looks at an aspect of language study that has not traditionally been systematically included in ELT courses – Critical Discourse Analysis – and suggests that teachers should consider including Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in some ELT programs.

1.0 Non-Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis is the study of any stretch of language above (i.e. longer than) the sentence level. *Non-Critical Discourse Analysis* is concerned with the description of a text's formal characteristics. While Halliday (1985: p.xvii) notes that a text is a semantic unit, not a grammatical one (i.e., that grammar, strictly speaking, is a sentence level consideration), the meanings of a text are realized through the grammar contained within the text. Hoey (1994), Winter (1994) and Coulthard (1994) exemplify non-critical descriptive discourse approaches to the analysis of written texts. Such studies look at texts in terms of their vocabulary, grammar and how these relate to the cohesion and to the realization of the text's micro/macro structure(s). Another non-critical approach is Genre Analysis, where the conventions common to texts of similar type, for example, medical reports, are described.

2.0 Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (1992:p.12) differentiates ‘critical’ from ‘non-critical’ approaches:

Critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, *neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants* (italics added).

A simpler definition of CDA comes from Montgomery (1986) who, while not using the term, describes CDA as the examination of “The ‘interested’ character of linguistic representation”: where ‘interested’ means ‘vested interests’ (p.228). Widdowson (1992) defines CDA as the study of:

...the use of language to express attitude or belief or social value: the function of the form in the realization of *effect*...the kind of ideological loading of language, the implications and insinuations of which are the preoccupation of those working in critical discourse analysis. (p.335)

Here, Widdowson emphasizes the effect discourse has, as does Fairclough (1992) who feels that “discourse is a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other...”(p.63).

Crudely summarized, CDA is the study of a text’s formal linguistic devices for the purposes of: a) recognizing the ideological biases present in the text, some of which may be more overt than others, and: b) recognizing what the text/author’s illocutionary intention(s) are.

3.0 CDA and ELT

At first glance these considerations would seem to fall within the purview of Political Science rather than ELT. Belonging alongside such Political Science works as Herman & Chomsky’s (1988) *Manufacturing Consent*, which purports to “...depict how an underlying elite consensus largely structures the all facets of the news” (p: xii). However, CDA analysts are *specifically* examining the same formal *linguistic* characteristics of such interest to non-critical discourse analysts. These formal linguistic devices are already covered in many ELT classes where “bottom-up” reading skills are being practiced. CDA is a continuation of this kind of analysis, which would allow students to also see how these same text devices are used to realize and construct “social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief” (Fairclough 1992: p.12). Not engaging students in the examination of the socio-cultural meanings of these formal devices trivializes the purpose of looking at a text’s formal linguistic devices, because ultimately students want to understand what a text is *saying*. This paper will address issues concerning CDA in ELT throughout the remainder of this paper and in the conclusion.

However, firstly, we need to examine what CDA analysts look for in a text, as these would be some of the same points we would ask our students to consider if we were to incorporate CDA into our English lessons. The following draws heavily on the works of Fairclough (1992), particularly Chapter 8, Montgomery (1986) Chapter 11, and Caldas-Coulthard & Holland (2000), all of which provide “how to” checklists for conducting a CDA analysis.

4.0 Text Context

Students will need to know who wrote a text, for whom, when, and where a text was written. Caldas-Coulthard & Holland (2000: p.181) recommend starting a CDA analysis with an examination of the text context, specifically the 'Context of Culture' and 'Context of Situation'.

4.1 The Text

The text chosen to illustrate CDA in use, is a circular letter from The Rt. Hon. Sir Norman Fowler MP, the then chairman of the British Conservative Party. The letter was sent in June of 1994 to Britons living or working abroad, along with overseas electoral registration forms. For a complete transcript of this letter, refer to the appendix.

4.2 Context of Culture

The text is written in a culture with two political parties, the Conservative and the Labour Party. The two parties polarize according to economic policy rather than, say, religion. With regards to economic policy, Conservatives favour privatisation and low taxation, Labour nationalization and higher taxation.

All of the above is what can be gleaned from the text itself, ignoring for the moment whether this is a fair portrayal of the two parties. When covering CDA in an ELT class it is important to consider the level of prior knowledge students have about the culture from which the text comes. Students with little, or no, such knowledge would only be able to make statements about the cultural context based on inference from the text itself. In the case of the text examined in this paper, students would need to understand that this text only tells us what the British Conservative Party feels to be true. Therefore, a teacher may need to give additional background notes about a text's cultural context for students to conduct a more complete CDA analysis.

4.3 Context of Situation

Field: This text is essentially an advertisement for the Conservative party, its aim is to convince expatriates to register to vote in the (then) up coming General election, and to vote Conservative.

Tenor: Is one of authority, insofar as the author is Chairman of the Conservative party, and is therefore 'qualified' to make statements about Conservative Party aims. Also, the author's access to economic statistics gives the letter 'authority'. The author does not

know anything about the audience, other than the fact they are Britons of voting age living abroad.

5.0 Text Structure: Problem-Solution

This text consists of two generic text patterns identified by Non-Critical Discourse analysts. The text's 'Context of Situation' is realized by the text's overall 'Problem-Solution' structure. Following Hoey (1994: *passim*), the following lines of text correspond to this generic structure.

Situation: (2) It is now fifteen years since the [Conservative] General Election victory in 1979. Line 26 tells the reader that another General Election is upon them.

Problem: (23) [Any good the Conservatives have achieved since 1979] will be threatened by [the] Labour [Party]. (25)[Because] the Labour Party remain committed to high taxes, over-regulation of industry and a reversal of many of our reforms.

Response: To vote Conservative (implicit throughout and from 'Situational Context').

Predicted Result: A continuation of the improvement of Britain because: (38) It [i.e. voting Conservative] will be an investment with a real return.

5.1 Text Structure: General-Specific

Embedded in the 'Problem-Solution' text structure, is what McCarthy (1991: p.158) calls the 'General-Specific' pattern. Lines 3-5 in the text make the general statement that "Britain under the Conservatives has been transformed" for the better, and is now no longer the "sick man of Europe". Lines 6-21 constitute a series of more specific statements that are meant to add credence to the initial general statement. This structure-pattern is commonly used in reports, and is used in the text to present itself as an objective account of the economic health of the nation under the Conservatives, contrasted to Labour's poor economic record. Embedding this structure into the overall 'Problem-Solution' pattern, which frames the General-Specific, gives added weight to the proposed 'solution' to Britain's looming 'problem'.

6.0 The General Statement: Transitivity

Examining lines 3-5, which constitute a broad general statement, allows us to examine many formal linguistic aspects from a CDA perspective.

(3)Britain under the Conservatives has been transformed. (4)The humiliating decline of Britain in the World under successive Labour Governments has been reversed. (5)The sick man of Europe has been transformed into the first choice for international investors.

In sentence 1, the agency of the sentence is unclear. By using a passive sentence structure, the author never unequivocally says the Conservatives transformed Britain. In sentence 4, the agent is dropped altogether. Here, the decline of Britain under successive Labour Governments has been reversed, but who (i.e. the agent) is not specified. The same holds true in sentence 5.

This aspect of the text is known as transitivity. As Fairclough (1992) notes:

The active is the 'unmarked' choice, the form selected *when there are no specific reasons for choosing the passive...* motivations for choosing the passive are various...[a] political or ideological reason for an agentless passive may be to obfuscate agency, and hence causality and responsibility (p.182, italics added).

Montgomery (1986) illustrates this concept with the following example headline:

Eleven African Demonstrators Shot Dead in South Africa (p.240)

Compare this to an active alternative:

Police shoot dead eleven African Demonstrators in South Africa (original example)

The active version raises the question of why did the South African Police (agent) shoot the Demonstrators. The agentless passive leaves out the police, and is akin to a sentence like: "Golfer electrocuted in lightning storm." In this sentence: a) We know the lightning was not 'at fault', and b) implies the golfer, by playing in a storm, is in some sense responsible for his own electrocution. Similarly, in Montgomery's example of the South

African demonstrators above, the issue of the fault/culpability of the police is avoided; and it implies that demonstrating in South Africa brings about being shot. This, in a sense, puts the 'blame' for the incident on the African demonstrators.

In Fowler's circular letter, by forming sentence 3 in the passive with agent included, and then by making sentences 4 and 5 agentless passives, the author, in effect, gives the Conservative Party credit for being the agent responsible for the reversal and transformation of Britain. However, the author never says directly the Conservatives caused these reversals of fortune and transformations, making it more difficult to challenge this claim.

7.0 The General Statement: Cohesion

The author never overtly signals the cohesion between sentences 3-5. He could have created a causal relation between sentences 3, 4 and 5 using grammatical cohesion, for example:

Britain under the Conservatives has been transformed **by** reversing the humiliating decline of Britain in the World under successive Labour Governments **and now** the sick man of Europe has been transformed into the first choice for international investors.

Winter (1998) points out that if a writer does not overtly signal clause, or inter-sentential relationships, the reader will construct meaningful relationships based on expected ways clauses, or sentences, are commonly connected (p: 49). The author does maintain a degree of cohesion between sentences 3 and 5, via lexical cohesion, by repeating (reiterating) the word 'transformed' in sentence 5. However, making the cohesion as non-overt as possible forces the reader to make the obvious 'common sense' conclusion: that the Conservative Party has caused Britain's transformation. Up to a point, in sentences 3-5 it is the *reader* who, from the 'evidence' provided in the text, is constructing the argument that the Conservatives have changed Britain for the better. This co-opts the reader into following along with the text's argument.

8.0 The General Statement: Intertextuality

Readers who are better read in history, will recognize the phrase 'The sick man of Europe' as exophoric reference to what was known as the 'Eastern Question', used to describe the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire while it underwent a serious disintegration in the 19th

century.¹ The inclusion of the phrase draws a parallel between the state of Britain under previous Labour governments and the decline and fall of the Ottomans. It also gives the author a certain degree of 'Historical/Political Science authority'. The author is implying that the Conservative Party saved Britain from collapse. The fact he is knowledgeable about the fate of nations in (he implies) similar situations, gives the author additional authority to comment on the past and future of Britain.

So far, the CDA analysis of this text has been restricted to the 'General Statement(s)' made in sentences 3-5. This has been done to show that CDA can be applied to very short texts, because, as noted in the introduction, teachers may only have a limited amount of classroom time to use CDA with their students. Lets now widen our focus to other parts of the text.

9.0 The Specific Statements: Agency Made Clear

Lines 6-14, 17-20, and 22 constitute a litany of more specific statements bolstering the general statements of lines 3-5. As in the General Statements, many of the specific statements use the agentless passive, for example:

(7)Unemployment, which is still rising across Europe has fallen steadily in Britain.

(8)At the time of writing it has fallen by over 289,000 since January 1993.

(20)Strikes have fallen to their lowest level since records began more than a century ago.

Here again, the author avoids directly claiming that the Conservative Party caused these things to happen and one could reasonably ask whether these things just happened to *coincidentally* occur during the Conservatives time in power. This is in sharp contrast to when the text makes note of poor economic performance. In these instances, author always makes sure to include the Labour Party as the agent, and therefore to signal Labour as responsible for those conditions, for example:

(4)The humiliating decline of Britain in the World under successive **Labour** Governments...

(11)In 1979, under **Labour**, nationalized industries were costing the taxpayer 50 million (pounds) per week.

(18) Income tax rates under the Conservatives are down to a basic rate of 25% and a top rate of 40%.

¹ I was unable to find who first coined the phrase.

(19)So different from the 33% and 83% (98% on savings income) levied by the **Socialists!**

Line 18 is a notable exception of where the Conservatives have been made the agent. Probably done because, as the Party in power, this was one of the few areas of the economy (i.e. the taxation rate) that the Conservatives did unquestionably control.

10.0 Nominalization

Related to the above is the use of nominalization in this text. Nominalization is the conversion of a clause into a nominal, or noun. For example, in line 9, the author could have written “The Conservatives privatized and reversed all the nationalisation of past Socialist Governments.” Instead, the author chooses:

(9)Privatisation has almost completely reversed all the nationalisations of past Socialist Governments.

Doing so makes ‘Privatisation’ an impersonal agent, an impersonal economic force. This may have been done to avoid directly raising the fact that it was the Conservatives who privatized Britain’s National Industries, a move that was very unpopular with many in Britain at the time, and a source a much, often violent, labour strife.

11.0 Use of Statistics

The author also includes reams of statistics in lines 8-23. This gives additional authority to the text because **a)** numbers appear more quantitative, and thus objective, than words, and **b)** we are unable to question or dispute these ‘hard’ facts. Note however that the author never cites the source of these figures. We can question how effective is the author’s use of statistics. For example, line 8: “Unemployment has fallen by over 289,000 since January 1993,” raises questions that are never answered in the text. Questions such as: how much over 289,000 has unemployment fallen, as this seems to be a very specific number. Or, 289,000 re-employed out of how many total unemployed. Also, why only cite unemployment numbers starting from January 1993 (remember this letter was sent 1st June 1994) seeing as, according to sentence 2, the Conservatives have been in power since 1979. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of this inclusion of statistics is to enhance the effect making the text’s arguments appear to be based on objective reporting.

12.0 Mode and Modality

Other formal linguistic features of this text, with important significance to a CDA analysis, are mode and modality. Almost all sentences in this text are written in the declarative mood. This too gives the author an authoritative voice, as he is telling you with unwavering certainty what the Conservatives have done right, what Labour has done wrong, and what will happen if the Conservatives do not win the election. The author spurns the use of modals; there are no instances of 'might' 'perhaps' and other 'hedging' modals. Only 'can' is used in "(36) Not only **can** you help the Conservative cause by re-registering to vote, you **can** also make a contribution to the costs of the campaign" to give the reader a sense of empowerment vis-a-vis the political process.

The use of the passive voice, the declarative, and the lack of modals are in keeping with the text's overall tone of being, in part, presented as a rational and objective report on the state of the British economy. For example, the use of passives over active sentences is typical of objective academic reports. The author, in addition to purposefully obfuscating agency, seems to choose to write in the passive to give the text the feel of being non-partisan report, at least in the 'General-Specific' structured portion of the text. These formal devices create an overall tone of objectivity. A tone that then carries over to the Problem-Solution' structure-portions of the text which are more obviously non-objective. For example, the presupposition that "(25) The Labour Party remain committed to high taxes, over-regulation of industry and a reversal of many of our reforms"-- a supposition, nevertheless stated in the declarative, that has not been borne out in Britain under 'New Labour' since 1997. Still, the overall effect is to make it more difficult for the reader to distinguish between 'facts' and presuppositions.

13.0 Retreat Into Individual Invisibility

Another way 'authority' is established is by what Kress (1985) calls the "retreat into individual invisibility" (Caldas-Coulthard & Holland: p.121). The author never refers to himself ('I'), and only resorts to 'we' in the section dealing with finding a proxy. This makes the writer's authority more impersonal and more objective, increasing the appearance that he is writing facts, not opinions, and making it harder for readers to question this impersonal authority.

14.0 Vocabulary from a CDA Perspective

The author uses ideologically loaded vocabulary to make implicit covert arguments why you should not vote Labour. In line 9, the Labour Party are referred to as ‘Socialists’, and also in line 19; an example of lexical cohesion via reiteration using near-synonyms. However, ‘Socialist’, for many in Britain (and indeed in all ‘core’ English cultures) verges on a pejorative, a small step away from ‘Communist’, and is therefore a negatively ideologically loaded synonym for the Labour Party (no one is against labor, in the sense of working hard).

There are many examples of loaded or evaluative words in this text. For example:

- (10) This policy, so **bitterly** opposed by the Labour Party at the time, has returned huge swathes of British industry to profitability and competitiveness.
- (16) A Labour Government would halt the process and **try** to reverse its achievements.
- (24) At the next General Election, these achievements will be **threatened** by Labour.
- (34) The Conservative Party relies entirely on voluntary donations and, unlike the Labour Party, is not able to call upon **captive** funds from the Trade Unions.

If we look at the cumulative effect of the vocabulary in **bold** in lines 10, 24 and 34 above, we get the following picture of the Labour Party. The author paints a picture of an Opposition Party that is **bitter** towards Conservatives and their policies, as opposed to calmly and rationally objecting. Labour is a **threat** to the British economy, not merely a Party with a differing vision for Britain. “To **threaten**” also implies malice towards ‘these achievements’ (which refers anaphorically to the list of improvements to the British economy that were stated earlier in the text), and that Labour, by threatening these improvements, actively *plans* to destroy the British economy. This is made clear in line 16, where we are told Labour will **try** to do this. Labour also keeps the funds of Trade Unions **captive**, making the relationship between the Labour Party and the Trade Unions seem almost criminal, akin to labor racketeering.

15.0 Appeals to British Jingoism

Having portrayed Labour as a threat to Britain, the author goes on to show how the Conservative Party is the party of and for Britain, which represents true Britons, such as the text's audience.

(4)The **humiliating** decline of Britain in the World under successive Labour Governments has been reversed. (7)Unemployment, which is still rising **across** Europe has fallen steadily in Britain.

(15)Now Governments of **all** political persuasions **around** the world are following suit. (22)The confidence of the **rest** of the World in British industry is reflected in the huge amount of foreign investment.

If we place lines 4, 7, 15 and 22 together, we get the following picture. As Britons, from a nation, which historically, has been a major world power, it was **humiliating** to be seen by other nations to be declining (humiliation requires an audience). However, thanks to the Conservatives, **around** the entire world **all** nations, regardless of political persuasion, are again in awe Britain and are again looking towards Britain as a model. And so they should be, whereas under Labour, Britain was in **humiliating** decline, it is now Britain under the Conservatives who is healthy, in contrast to the nations **across** Europe who are jobless. The author is claiming that the Conservatives have restored Britain to her glory days. A time when, according to Cecil Rhodes, you could: "Ask any man what nationality he would prefer to be, and ninety nine out of a hundred will tell you they would prefer to be Englishmen" (qtd. in Paxman 1999: p.1). These lines compose statements not so much about Conservative economic policy, but rather are meant to appeal to traditional British jingoism; a term coined in Britain during the Crimean War, but which goes at least as far back as Milton's "Let not England forget her precedence in teaching nations how to live" (qt. in *ibid.*: p.35).

16.0 Conservatives as the Party of Honesty, and of the People

According to the text, in contrast to the coercive Labour Party, **we** Conservatives rely on the **voluntary** generosity of people like **you** (line 35). This implies that the Conservative Party, not Labour, is a party of the common man. People like **you** who "have a **vital** role in helping to achieve a **historic** fifth successive [Conservative] election victory" (line 26). Readers will be flattered to know that the fate of the nation rests with them, and by voting Conservative, readers will be able to actively participate in a **historic** event. It is nice to know one is **vital**. Here the author is trying to instill a feeling of solidarity between the reader and the Conservative Party. However, you may face considerable opposition when (not if) you try to vote Conservative! The text warns that you may not have any **relatives** or **friends** who you can **completely rely** upon to cast to follow your **wishes** (notice not "if you wish") to

vote Conservative (line 31). But never fear! The Conservative Party will find one of their **reliable** members to be your proxy (line 32). You may not be able to trust your friends and family, but you know you can rely upon the Conservative Party.

As a final observation regarding “loaded” vocabulary, line 6 -- Britain under the Conservatives has successfully **weathered** the two **world** recessions of the 80’s and 90’s -- is interesting for the use of **weathered** and **world** recessions. In all other instances of references to poor economic performance, it is the fault of Labour. However, the recessions of the 80’s and 90’s, during which the Conservatives were in power, the recessions were **world** phenomenon, beyond the control of the Conservatives and therefore they are not to blame for the recessions. Yet the conservatives were able to **weather** the crisis, to stoically persevere, which sounds much better than to admit that the Conservatives were unable to do anything to reverse these recessions.

17.0 Commodification

So far, it seems that the author has used the various Discourse features analyzed above, to make his partisan appeal for votes to appear based on objective grounds. In this sense, the author’s biases can still be identified easily enough. Yet, there is one final CDA aspect to this text, which, in Fairclough’s words, may not be *apparent to discourse participants*. Namely, what Fairclough (1992) calls “Commodification”, the:

...process whereby social domains and institutions, whose main concern is not producing commodities in the narrower economic sense of goods for sale, come nevertheless to be organized and conceptualized in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption (p.207).

That this text presents a ‘commodified’ view of politics is most obvious from line (38) “[Voting Conservative] will be an investment with a real return”, which metaphorically equates voting Conservative with an ‘investment’ and the result as a (financial) return. By basing the text’s entire argument for voting Conservative on economic grounds, the author ‘commodifies’ the entire election. This commodification of politics is now common in English-speaking cultures, take American President Bill Clinton’s 1992 “It’s the economy stupid” election campaign slogan. One argument for including CDA in an ELT course is that, while native English teachers may not notice their own culture’s ‘meta-biases’; students, precisely because they come from different cultures, may do so. This may assuage some teacher’s fears that CDA could turn into a one way transmission of ‘core English’ cultural values that are being imposed upon their students.

18.0 Conclusion

If, as noted earlier, CDA is most powerful a tool when it is used to expose bias, *which is normally not apparent to discourse participants*, it would seem odd to have chosen a text so patently politically partisan for analysis. However, because this is an overtly partisan letter, the social/ideological biases within are easier to illustrate. This is an important consideration when trying to introduce CDA to students. If it requires a trained CDA analyst to uncover “hidden” or inherent bias in more ostensibly objective texts, it would be unreasonable to expect students new to CDA to do so. On the other hand, texts which overtly attempt to effect an illocutionary outcome, such as commercial advertisements, political tracts (or political commercials such as Chairman Fowler’s) and opinion-editorial newspaper pieces, would be better texts to use to introduce CDA to students.

It is worth noting here, that CDA asks why an author chose one style(s) over others when writing the text. This directly connects to the ELT concern of having students link grammar patterns (like passive vs. active) to meaning. For example, planned carefully, it should not create an unreasonable demand on limited class time for teachers to have students to rewrite a short text, using, say, an alternate grammatical structure, and *then* discuss the implications for CDA their revision has.

However, as Widdowson (1992) points out:

If the purpose [of your ELT syllabus] is to be able to manage a number of straightforward transactions, to cope with communication in a minimal way under first-person control, then we confine ourselves to reference and force and leave effect well alone (p.335).

For example, in an ESP course training telephone operators, CDA is irrelevant. Also, CDA may not be appropriate for lower level students, and especially beginners, as CDA requires at least some ability to distinguish differences in nuance between such things as grammar patterns or synonyms. This presupposes a certain prior foundation of English grammar and vocabulary. With EAP classes though, where students are expected to critically evaluate texts, or produce their own persuasive position papers, CDA is arguably vital. In EGP classes, one reason that students study English is often, in part, to learn about other cultures, and CDA is potentially a powerful tool which would allow them to do so. Without CDA skills, students arguably will only be able to have an impoverished understanding of other cultures. Furthermore, immigrant ESL students eventually need CDA skills, to avoid being manipulated, and to spot the hidden agendas of others.

In any case, many teachers *already* deal with CDA with their students, albeit in an *ad hoc* manner. Every time you ask a student to comment on their opinions about a text, you are dealing with CDA. Every time a student reads English text and says “But in my country...” they may very well be performing a CDA analysis. However, rather than reserving CDA for end-of-class discussions, this paper’s CDA analysis was presented to suggest that it would be more profitable, and time efficient, to approach CDA systematically in conjunction with the teaching of formal linguistic features. Nevertheless, as noted in the introduction, teachers do have many aspects of English to cover. How much time spent on examining CDA with students will depend on course goals and student need. As with any consideration of course content, the question should always be *what are the students studying English for.*

APPENDIX

1st June, 1994

(1) Dear Expatriate,

(2) It is now fifteen years since the General Election victory in 1979.

(3) Britain under the Conservatives has been transformed. (4) The humiliating decline of Britain in the World under successive Labour Governments has been reversed. (5) The sick man of Europe has been transformed into the first choice for international investors.

(6) Britain under the Conservatives has successfully weathered the two world recessions of the 80's and 90's.

(7) Unemployment, which is still rising across Europe has fallen steadily in Britain. (8) At the time of writing it has fallen by over 289,000 since January 1993.

(9) Privatisation has almost completely reversed all the nationalisations of past Socialist Governments.

(10) This policy, so bitterly opposed by the Labour Party at the time, has returned huge swathes of British industry to profitability and competitiveness. (11) In 1979, under Labour, nationalized industries were costing the taxpayer 50 million (pounds) per week. (12) Now privatised, they are paying 60 million (pounds) per week into the Exchequer in Corporation tax! (13) Prices to the consumer are also down. (14) For example, British Telecom are charging 30% less in real terms whilst domestic gas is similarly down by 23%. (15) Now Governments of all political persuasions around the world are following suit. (16) A Labour Government would halt the process and try to reverse its achievements.

(17) Inflation is dramatically down, running below 2% for the whole of 1993 for the first time since 1960 and independent forecasts are that it will remain low for the foreseeable future.

(18) Income tax rates under the Conservatives are down to a basic rate of 25% and a top rate of 40%. (19) So different from the 33% and 83% (98% on savings income) levied by the Socialists!

(20) Strikes have fallen to their lowest level since records began more than a century ago. (21) Industrial Relations have never been better. (22) The confidence of the rest of the World in British industry is reflected in the huge amount of foreign investment. (23) In recent years Britain has received around 40% of all inward investment into Europe.

(24) At the next General Election, these achievements will be threatened by Labour. (25) The Labour Party remain committed to high taxes, over-regulation of industry and a reversal of many of our reforms. (26) You have a vital role in helping to achieve a historic fifth successive election victory. (27) Eligible expatriates, who

register to vote before 10th October 1994, will be able to vote in all Westminster Elections (including by-elections) held between February 1995 and February 1996.

(28)In the belief that you are still eligible, and on the basis that you left the UK after 10th October 1974, I am enclosing the form(s) to re-register as overseas elector{s}. (29)Please complete them, converting initials into forenames and making any corrections and return them in the enclosed envelope to this office. (30)We will redirect them to the appropriate Electoral Registration Officer.

(31)If you want to vote Conservative and do not have a relative or friend on whom you can completely rely to follow your wishes, tear off Part 2 of the form and discard it and fill in the *Find me a Proxy* request form sending it to us with Part 1. (32) The Conservative Party will then suggest to you a reliable Conservative who will agree to be your proxy.

(33)Organising a modern election campaign is an expensive business. (34) The Conservative Party relies entirely on voluntary donations and, unlike the Labour Party, is not able to call upon captive funds from the Trade Unions. (35)We rely upon the support of thousands of individuals like you. (36)Not only can you help the Conservative cause by re-registering to vote, you can also make a contribution to the costs of the campaign. (37)Please be as generous as you can. (38)It will be an investment with a real return.

Yours sincerely

THE RT. HON. SIR NORMAN FOWLER MP

Chairman of the Party

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