DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
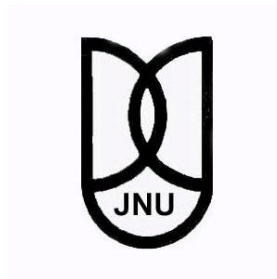
AN ASSESSMENT OF THEORIES AND METHODS

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

MUHMMED SIHABUDHEEN K

International Politics

Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament

School of International Studies

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

New Delhi 110067

2015

Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament

24/July/2015

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**Discourse Analysis in International Relations: An Assessment of Theories and Methods**" submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

Muhmmed Sihabudheen K

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

27.7.15

Prof. Swaran Singh
(CHAIRPERSON)

Chairperson
Centre for International Politics,
Organization and Disa rmament
School of International
Jawaharlal Nehru Uni
New Delhi 110067

Prof. Jayati Srivastava
(SUPERVISOR)

School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi - 110067, India

Dedicated to my Mom and Dad

Acknowledgements

I have realized the preciousness of friendship from my classmates and hostel mates during the different stages of my studies. It is my thanks to everybody especially Asif KV for his everyday anxiety over submission, Javad for his optimism on it, Vishnu Vinayan, my roommate for clam and academic "roominess" and Shamseer for assistance.

Above all, I show my indebtedness to my beloved mother and father, Shinaj, Shafeer, Shaheena and my love, Ummul Bushra for the solace I find in them and their support for my academic dreams.

Muhmmed Sihabudheen K

Contents

Chapter One

Introduction

What is International Relations and How Does it Work?

The question remains relevant, although discipline is going to complete the first century of its "establishment" in 1919 with the founding of first chair at Aberystwyth, University of Wales. It can be argued that the answer is very simple and clear. However, disciplinary historians claim that the answering of question is not an act of stating the obvious. Disciplinary history is a scholarship "to understand how and why the field developed in the manner that it did" (Schmidt, 2012a: 12). Nowadays, the books about history and historiography have been a trend in IR. Such studies assess the progress of the discipline, its research credentials, and its status in fulfilling the goals. Early Scholarly dealing of the history in IR has two features. Firstly, such studies were not promoted on the claim that everybody knows its history and there is no need of a special scholarship to deal it. Secondly, the narration of history of the discipline was linear in nature that starts from the affiliation to the classical traditions such as Immanuel Kant, Machiavelli and Hobbes, its establishment after First World War and its development through the "great debates" undertaken in the discipline. There are many studies which account the above described version of history (Kaplan, 1961, 1966; Olson & Onuf, 1985: Smith, 1995; Thies, 2002). However, there are scholars who consider the study of the history of the discipline as a critical movement to reveal the marginalised voices, dissents and the heterogeneity of the research programmes in IR. According to them, such a study is a vital part of the progress of the discipline (Schmidt, 1994, 1998a, 1998b, 2002, 2012b; Wilson, 1998; Thies, 2002; Vitalis, 2000). In short, it is the "dawn of a historiographical turn" in International Relations (Bell, 2001).

This study is the continuation of the above-explained trend in the intellectual history to assess the progress in the discipline. It examines the development of discourse analysis as a research programme to study international politics. So it is the history of a specific aspect of the IR. So, before dealing with specificity (the history of a research programme), this chapter outlines the broader debates about the development

of the discipline. The following section will account a summary of the scholarship on the evolution of the discipline of International Relations.

The dominant version of the development of international relations frames it in the outlines of "great debates" and affiliates it to the external events. "Great debates" means significant discussions that initiated research progress in the discipline. Such narrations of disciplinary history have got legitimacy, where the "there is no other established means of telling the history of the discipline" (Waever, 1996) and it has become IR's identity (Smith, 1995; Goldmann, 1996). External events that are being explained as the influential turning points are Second World War, and the end of the Cold War. The advocators of the "great debates" express unanimity about the existences of three debates. The first debate is between interwar realists and post-war idealists. The debate happened in the context of the failure of the League of Nations and the beginning of Second World War. The events created a crisis in the idealist scholarship about international relations. Idealism is a school of thought which concerns with "what ought to be" in an ideal world politics. It is the belief in optimism and advocacy of the possibility of cooperation among the nation states with arrangements like League of Nations. On the other hand, realism is a pessimistic scholarship that advocates the struggles for power among the sovereign nation states. In the debate, the idealists were on the defencive side, and EH Carr and Morgenthau were the representatives of realism (Carr, 2001; Morgenthau, 1978). The decay of the League of Nations and the Second World War are viewed as the failure of the idealism. The accounts of the first great debate assert the victory of realism, its rise to a dominant paradigm and the move of study of the world politics to a systematic and scientific pattern (Fox, 1949; Thompson, 1952; Guzzini, 1998).

The historical accounts of the discipline argue the second "great debate" took place as the impact of the behavioural revolution in the social science. Behaviouralism believes in the unity of the science and the unity of human behaviour, and imports scientific and quantitative methodologies from the natural sciences. They argue that political phenomena could be subjected to the methods of science. They propose new frameworks to form concepts, hypotheses, theories, and standards for empirical testing. Second "great debate" in IR happens in this context. It is between traditionalist and behaviouralists. Hedley Bull (1966) is the proponent of traditionalism and Morton Kaplan (1966) is the advocate of scientificism. The latter

criticised the research methods of realism that employed argumentation through historical examples. The debate created heated discussions on how to study international relations. It created a divide between those who want to apply science to social science and those who oppose it. Scholarly accounts claim the victory of scientificism and positivism in the second debate. During this period, different works emerged that agreed with positivist patterns of doing research. Some of the important intellectual developments of the period are decision-making theory of Burton Sapin, Henry Bruck and Richard Snyder (1954), systems theory of Morton Kaplan (1957), early game theory of Thomas Schelling (1960) and communications and cybernetics theory of Karl Deutsch (Deutsch, 1964).

There are contesting opinions about the occurrence of a third debate. One version advocates that it is an inter-paradigm debate between realism, liberalism and Marxism during the 1970s (Waever, 1996). It is the dominant and most circulated version. The contestation during this period was on what is the subject matter of the International Relations. The realist argued that relations between states are political and motivated by political interests. So there is no possibility of adjustments in its goals. On the other hand, liberalism advocated cooperation on levels other than politics among states can bring the cooperation at the international level also. They argued to strengthen the economic relations to ease political tensions. In the case of Marxism, it dismantles the idea of relationship between states; instead, it highlighted political and antagonistic relationship between capitalists and proletarians within and outside the state boundaries (Waever, 1996: 152). As a result of engagements between the competing versions new syntheses emerged. Liberalism transformed to neo-liberalism that includes the theory of "complex interdependence" of Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye's (1977), and Realism revised to neo-realism of Kenneth Waltz (1979). "World systems theory" of Immanuel Wallenstein (1974) and "cobweb theory" of John Burton (1972) are other intellectual developments of the time. The particular feature of the debate is that the contestation among the paradigms did not examine the questions of methodology. Contrary to the first and the second debates, no winner is declared in the struggle. Instead, it changed the identity of the discipline to paradigmaticism. Although scholars like Waever (1996) have praised paradigmaticism as a positive outcome of the debate, saying that it led to pluralism, the discipline moved to different compartments and pieces. The discipline assigned to

each paradigm a research space, and the engagement among the paradigms was assumed as impossible.

Another scholar Yosef Lapid (1989) proposes a different version of the third debate. According to him, it happened between positivism and post-positivism. Positivism is an approach in the philosophy of social science that imports natural science methodologies into social science to fulfil their aim of objectivist knowledge. Post-positivism emerged as a critique of this approach. It believes in a subjectivist and interpretivist production of the knowledge. He calls the third debate as a "discipline defining debate." It is because the post-positivist approach questioned the system of knowledge production in IR and dismissed the legitimacy of the mainstream theories. It is not post-positivism but post-positivisms. It is because many critical streams within it emerged during the 1980s such as postmodernism, Critical Theory, Feminism and Poststructuralism. The term "critical theory" has two usages in the discipline. Firstly it is a broader category that covers all post-positivist approaches and secondly it is the name of a particular version developed on the arguments of Frankfurt School. These are no clear demarcation lines between these approaches as they share common affiliations and agreements on certain central points. However, here is an effort to state it broadly for the purpose of understandings. Critical Theory in the discipline originates from a body of thought known as Frankfurt School proposed by eminent scholars like Jurgen Habermas. Critical Theory in International Relations is concerned with the project of emancipations and elimination of domination. It establishes connections between knowledge and values in IR, and some develop their arguments based on Marxian concepts. Liklater (1996, 1990) and Robert Cox (1981, 1987) are leading pioneers of critical theory in the discipline. Postmodernism in International Relations is the criticism of another important feature of mainstream theory and its celebration of the certain notion of the reason. It is because the positivist in IR is projected to practice and spread the enlightenment rationality. Similarly, post-structuralism in the discipline is a thought that have emerged against the structuralism in the discipline. The latter is the tendency of preferring the structure over agency such as Waltz's argument that state actions in international relations is structured by the principle of anarchy (Waltz, 1979). Structuralism emerged opposing the principles of rational choices approaches which advocate the supremacy of the agency. So post-structuralism advances a principle of

thinking out of the structure where the processing of international politics happens in a decentralised manner. Prominent Scholars affiliated with both postmodernism and post-positivism are Richard Ashley (1988, 1986, 1996), David Campbell (1988, 1992), James Der Derian (1989, 1989), Jim George (1994, 1900), Michael Shapiro (1992, 1981) and R B J Walker (1993).

The version of history described above has been criticised by scholars indicating the inefficiency of a proper methodology of historical study, lack of representation of the margins such as women and post post-colonial people and states and excluded disciplinary controversies (Goldmann, 1996; Kahler, 1997; Bell, 2003; Schmidt, 1998a, 2002, 2012b). For instance, studies deny the existence of an idealist scholarship in the discipline as advocated by the historians of the first "great debates" (Kahler, 1997; Schmidt, 1998a, 2002, 2012b; Thies, 2002). In the case of Second great debate, John Vasquez's (1983) terms it as a pseudo-debate. It is because it limited to methodological issues and eschews debates on the subject matter of the discipline. Some of the scholars like Joel Quirk and Darshan Vigneswaran (2005) have taken a middle ground position questioning the total denial of the narration of "great debate" by the critical scholars. They argue "great debate" history is half-truth. In short, what is International Relations and how it works is the issue of contestation. It is, for this reason, the disciplinary history has become one of the major trending area in the International Relations. The discipline needs more such studies that necessitate "great debate" over how the research is being conducted in it and how should it rethink its assumptions. This background existing in the discipline promotes and informs the scope of this study.

A Note on the Study

It is a study on a research programme in International Relations. It is about discourse analysis; a critical endeavour for conducting research on world politics. The study proceeds to trace its development in IR, its engagement with other approaches, its advantages and promises to study international politics and the process of shaping the identity of the discipline. Here, the flashback to the past and present of an intellectual stream is to assess and sharpen the existing mechanism of enquiry in world politics. Discourse analysis is one salient research programme within the post-positivism. It assumes that language is not neutral and natural but it is constituted and constituting the social world. In the process, individual, social and political identity is formed. It is

internally diversified for the existence of different understandings on studying the discourse. For instance, Critical Discourse Analysis, which is one of the important streams within it, focuses on power hidden in language (Dijk, 1985, 1993; Fairclough, 1995a, 2012) while post-structuralist discourse analysis looks at the way articulations lead to hegemony and identification (Laclau, 1985b; Torfing, 1999). However, all sort of discourse analysis commonly believes in the constructiveness of meaning either through imposition or articulation in discourse. So the working definition employed in this study is that it is an analysis of the process of formation of meaning or being meaningful in a society. Hence, as an "object" of study, it considers the meaning seriously and analyses its formation, questioning its givenness, naturalness and truthfulness.

In International Relations, discourse analysis affiliated to different critical perspectives has an indispensable presence. It has emerged as a strong alternative to the orthodox approaches. It has expanded the boundaries of discipline, advancing the discourse as a vital domain of study of world politics. Its engagements with conventional programmes are an important arena of interest for the students of International Relations. It is because it rewrites the research through innovative stands on ontology, epistemology and methodology. It questioned the theoretical and methodological arguments of the mainstream theories in IR and confronted the meta-narratives of its core concepts such as sovereignty, anarchy and diplomacy. They redefined the notions of theory and method. Thus, the discipline started to study relations and governmental activities outside the national boundaries enlarged its research questions, problems and agendas. Hence, it accepted changes in identity, structure, nature of the knowledge produced, and the research agenda.

The research problem in the study is the development of discourse analysis in the International Relations. The study is the continuation of the current trend of studying the disciplinary and sub disciplinary histories as the above section explains. The aim of the study is to trace the role played by discourse analysis to enrich the research on world politics, grasping its potential to offer more than the positivist theories and methods. For this purpose, it studies the variations proposed by discourse analysis on the ontological, epistemological, methodological and theoretical framework of IR. Such an assessment is an appealing effort for it proposes implication for future research and necessitates rethinking of the current state of the discipline. Similar

studies are popular in the discipline like studies on achievements of realism (Buzan, 2008) critical theory (Linklater, 1996), constructivism (Hurd, 2008) and post-structuralism (Ashley, 1996). In the case of discourse analysis, as a first attempt of this sort, Milliken conducted a substantive study surveying its development in IR (Milliken, 1999b). Later studies about discourse mostly concentrated on the potential of discourse analysis to study world politics and called attention of researchers to the production of meaning (Fierke, 2002; Epstein, 2013; Howarth, 2005). Latest contribution in this regard is from Holzcheiter (2014), who conducted a very substantive study. She analysed different trends within the discourse analysis, classifying them to micro interactional approaches and macro structural approaches. However, these studies possess limited purpose of merely reviewing the literature and do not place it in the discipline. On the other hand, the study at hand holds the project of placing its position in the discipline tracing its achievements, advantages, engagements with other approaches and its role in constitution of identity of the discipline.

Methodology and Research Questions

The research methodology employed in the study is explained in following lines. Commenting on two trends; *presentism* and *contextualism* that dominates the study of intellectual history in IR, Schmidt suggests thinking out of the box. In presentist studies, the development of discipline, sub discipline or a research programme is illustrated in a continuum starting from Greek philosophy to the present. On the other hand, in contextualism, the historical development is explained in the context of external events in international politics like Second World War and Cold War (Schmidt, 2012a: 8, 11). He proposes an internal approach that advances a study of the conversations between the scholars who affiliate themselves with IR. So, according to him, to study intellectual history one needs to study what is happening in the academics of IR and not in the world politics. This study, taking the imprints of Schmidt's argument, builds upon an internal approach to study the development of discourse analysis. While adopting an internal approach, the study aims to investigate the conversations, arguments and opinions of scholars produced in the field. So, this study thinks that discourse analysis can provide the best account of it systematically. So the methodological and theoretical perspectives of post-structuralist discourse have been employed. It is because the study considers the discipline as discourse where

different approaches articulate their ideas and produce the meanings in doing research. The selection of discourse analysis itself as a framework for research to study the development of discourse analysis in International Relation also works as an illustration of how to do such a research.

From a post-structuralist perspective, it follows the process in which discourse analysis in the discipline articulates counter research discourses and its efforts to shape the identity and "subjectivity" of the discipline. According to the post-structuralist discourse analysis proposed by Laclau and Mouffe, the meaning of an act, statement, event and individual appears and sustains through the hegemonic articulation of that meaning. It means that the meaning arises in a relational process of signification in discourse. One meaning gets accepted in antagonism with the other meaning. Then it has to articulate its version continuously to continue its existence. In this process, it incorporates other alternative voices that aim to emerge. Otherwise, the power of alternative meaning improves and the dislocation starts. The dislocation is a process in which the alternative meaning is accepted against the older one and the identity and subjectivity of the holder of the meaning changes.

This study analyses how the different meanings on doing research to get approved and affect the identity and the "subjectivity" of the discipline. Here, the meaning proposed by orthodox rationalist theories like realism and liberalism has been shaping the meanings of discipline and thus its identity and subject matter for decades. It is done by articulating different disciplinary practices and silencing the dissent. In this context, the dissertation traces the efforts of discourse analysis to propose alternative meaning to the discipline, reorienting its research assumption and investigates whether it dislocates its earlier meanings. In short, it is discourse analysis of International Relations to study the development of one of its research programs and its achievements and constitution of the identity of the discipline. The primary sources of this study are articles and book written by scholars in IR using discourse analysis. The study does not focus on the content of these scholarships deeply because it is not the intention, but the literature on discourse analysis has been analysed to assess its theoretical and methodological positions. After that, this study investigates how it creates alternative discourses on research on world politics and affects the identity of the discipline.

The writing and the argument presentation is organised and structured in five chapters including first chapter titled "introduction." Chapter two titled "Outlining Discourse Analysis" explains the discourse analysis, illustrates and elaborates it. The intent of the chapter is to present the crux of debate within discourse analysis regarding its origin, development and research potentials. There are clear illustrations on the origin of the idea of discourse, its interrogation to social theory, discourse research in linguistics and the post-structuralist discourse analysis. The final part of the chapter distinguishes the research framework of discourse analysis from other approaches. The third chapter titled "Discourse Analysis in International Relations" documents the primary sources of this study. The discourse literature in International Relations is collected and analysed to identify its theoretical and methodological themes. The chapter classifies the development of discourse analysis in IR into three stages; initial engagements, security turn and practice turn. Chapter four titled "Discourse Analysis and Research in International Relations" is the crux of the study. It advances a discourse analysis of the discipline of IR. Conclusions of the study are summed up in chapter five.

The study argues that antagonism among different approaches to research forms the borders of International Relations. The positivist approaches were dominating the discipline, forming meanings on how to do research and what should be the subject matter of the discipline. The disciplinary practices like claiming scientific research and paradigmaticism sustained the hegemony and the articulation of a specific meaning and particular subject positions in the discipline. The rise of the post-positivist approaches opens new possibilities in the discipline. Discourse analysis from this stream, which questions the naturalness of already established meanings, is articulating new perspectives on research and subject matters of International Relations. It raises serious reservations against several early aspects such as concepts of theory and method, ontological, epistemological and methodological positions, "object" of analysis, research agenda and relationship between diverse approaches of research. As a result, the discipline has changed its identity or "subjectivity" to a new form of openness, vibrancy and diversity.

Chapter Two

Outlining Discourse Analysis

Introduction

> Once upon a time, there lived six blind men in a village. One day the villagers told them, "Hey, there is an elephant in the village today."
> They had no idea what an elephant is. They decided, "Even though we would not be able to see it, let us go and feel it anyway." All of them went where the elephant was. Every one of them touched the elephant.
> "Hey, the elephant is a pillar," said the first man who touched his leg.
> "Oh, no! it is like a rope," said the second man who touched the tail.
> "Oh, no! it is like a thick branch of a tree," said the third man who touched the trunk of the elephant.
> "It is like a big hand fan," said the fourth man who touched the ear of the elephant.
> "It is like a huge wall," said the fifth man who touched the belly of the elephant.
> "It is like a solid pipe," Said the sixth man who touched the tusk of the elephant (Elephant and the Blind Men, n.d.).

The story continues until a "wise" man comes and convinces them that what an elephant is. The morale of the story is that irrespective of the reality of what an elephant is, their understanding of it that emanates from their understanding of the existing knowledge affects their relation with it. It means for instance, the first blind may collide with the leg of the elephant when he crosses it, thinking the space of a pillar as he perceives it so. The tendency of a human being to know is part of his/her humanly setting, and the social science is one disciplinary format of this tendency. What to know? and how to know? are two important questions being raised in the field of social science. Scholars have proposed different perspectives on acquiring knowledge about society. Discourse analysis is one salient endeavour among them. It advances the assumption that knowledge matters irrespective of the genuineness of its origin, its artificiality, and its uniqueness with reality if there is such thing as reality. For instance, in the case of the above story, the elephant that is an elephant in reality is not the elephant in the lives of six blind men. Still, their knowledge about it affects their interpretations regarding elephant.

The term "discourse," originated from the Latin word discursus, simply means written or spoken communication or debate. The term "discourse analysis" means the analysis

of the language-in-use in a social system. In recent decades, the term "discourse" and "discourse analysis" have become popular in the different disciplines of social science and Humanities such as Linguistics, Anthropology, Political Science, Psychology and International Relation. However, there are no universally accepted definitions for these terms. In Linguistic, discourse analysis means the interpretation of texts both written and spoken. The analysis is done to see the language variations in different contexts like the court, classroom and personal conversation (Nunan, 1993). The proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis, who link linguistic with social theory, assume it as an idea of research that traces the role played by language in producing hierarchical relationships (Fairclough, 1992). Michael Foucault made use of the term popular in the field of social science. He defines it as a research programme to analyse how the language constitutes social relations. Here, discourse analysis shifted from analysis of text to the analysis of social text; any social and political phenomena (Foucault, 1972). After that Jacques Derrida, well-known French Philosopher enlarged the domain of discourse analysis with his celebrated argument that "everything is text" (Derrida, 1976: 158). According to him, discourse analysis concerns itself with the formation of every social and political relation. It is because the things that seem as non-discursive like technology are constituted and constituting in discourse. Laclau and Mouffe, famous figures in the streams of Post-structuralism and Post-Marxism view discourse analysis as an analysis of the "structured totality resulting from articulatory practice" which means "establishing a relation among the elements" to modify their identity (Laclau, 1985b: 105).

In short, the general view of discourse analysis states that language is constituted, and it continuously constitutes social relation in a particular pattern. In the process, social and individual identity is formed. The specific approaches within the discourse analysis do not concentrate on all part of the previous statement. Some of them like Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on power hidden in language. Others like Foucault looks at aspects and rules that constitute meaning, and post-structuralist discourse analysis looks at the way articulation lead to hegemony and identification. The above explained diversity within discourse analysis is due to the affiliation of its sub-sects to different positions within the philosophy of social science. So it is diverse in its theoretical and methodological positions. Privileging one position over other depends on subjective understanding of the scholar. Nevertheless, all sort of discourse

analysis share in common the belief in the constructedness of meaning either through imposition or articulation in discourse. The diversity within itself indicates the density of intellectual engagement among scholars while shaping its core elements and upgrading it to address the criticism.

This chapter outlines discourse analysis based on its various stages of development and expansion. The study after analysing different stages of development of discourse analysis and debates within it takes the position that discourse is a process of formation of meaning or being meaningful. It is an important dimension of the social process. For instance, a word like "radical" gets negative acceptance when it is used in the sense of traitor and terrorist other than a social transformer. An ideology gets approval and dominance when it becomes meaningful in the society. So discourse analysis is the analysis of this process of formation of meaning. There are two levels here; production of meaning and the result; the produced meaning. Those who differentiate between discourses and discursive, say discursive is the way to meaning, and the discourse is the outcome. The discourse in the above definition includes both the way to the meaning and results such as representation, identity and political action. In other words, as an "object" of study, it takes the meaning seriously, and analyses its formation, questions its naturalness, givenness and truthfulness. As a research programme, it has to propose its positions on reality, the nature of knowledge acquired and strategies of producing it which clears its ontological, epistemological and methodological positions

This chapter outlines the discourse analysis and illustrates and elaborates these points. The intent of such an exercise is to present the crux of debate within discourse analysis. It is not possible to cover in detail all the debates within discourse analysis in a study like this. But outlining them here will be sufficient to understand key developments in the field

The Road Taken to Discourse Analysis

The concept of discourse emerged as a response to the criticism against the earlier form of social inquiries. It emerged to fill the vacuum of those theories that were not sufficient for the purpose of understanding of social relation. So it is helpful to go to the roots of discourse theory to understand the intellectual and contextual reasons that helped its emergence. Discourse analysis has its origin in the search for the process of

meaning. Its initial input begins from the realization of some of the authors that language and its meaning are not abstract and isolated in itself, but it is part of deep structures that control the language. The birth of semiotics in the first decades of the twentieth century is crucial to the beginning of the concept of discourse. Semiotics is a study of the process of meaning of signs. The signs include language, images, and gestures. Prominent scholars, who proposed semiotics, are Charles Sanders Peirce (1883) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1916/66). To understand Language Saussure proposed two principles in understanding language. His principles are that the language is only a form not a substance, and its meaning is constituted through the process of combination. It is independent of its material content. Its difference with other terms forms its identity. The meaning is conditional upon differences and the rules of combination. So language (sign) to him is a combination of a signifier and signified, and it conveys meaning according to the conventional laws. Saussure's approach was radical considering early theories of meaning. The theories of eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries assumed that the meaning emerges from the pre-existing ideas. The difference was on whether it emerges from the things that are represented in the words or from the universal ideas in the word, and the speaker gives it individual forms while speaking (Macdonell, 1986; 9). In short, they believed that meaning emerges from reality.

Saussure's concern developed to further studies. Sign and its relationship with meaning can be explored in different ways like studying sign and its relationship with the substance or its relationship with the context in which sign is "signed." Pragmatics does the latter, and it is one of the branches of semiotics that paved the way to discourse analysis later. The pragmatics is the analysis of sign and its context. It studies the role of context in the meanness of a sign. Austin (1962), John Searle (1969) and H. P. Grice (1975) opened the way to consider the understanding of context as important to understand meaning. In short, investigation and rethinking concerning the concept of meaning, language and signs were the peculiarities of criticism that had to be faced by conventional linguistics. Later, these developments were not confined to the study of language only, but have spread its impact to larger field. The studies in search for meaning through pure linguistic terms continued. Teun van Dijk advocates there are three important strands in linguistics which developed after mid-twentieth century to study language in context. He names the three as Text

Grammars proposed by Janos Petöfi, Wolfgang Dressler, and Teun A. van Dijk and Joseph Grimes, Tom Givon, Rhetorical Structure Theory of Sandra Thompson and Bill Mann and Functional Systemic Grammar of Michael Halliday (Dijk, 2007: 20). Following lines examines the further developments in research which considered the meaning seriously.

Linguistic Turn in Social Theory

Other parts of social science were not aloof from the development that happened in understanding of meaning in the field of linguistic. But the seriousness of taking linguistic concerns increased due to challenges from the ground in 1968. The student revolt in France in 1968 is crucial in the history of the development of discourse analysis (Torfing, 1999: 1) that spread to other levels of society. The unrest unsettled the Gaullist regime. But in the next election Gaullists gained power again. The victory triggered practical question among the scholars, especially from Marxist tradition. They initiated rethinking about the status of the movement against capitalism and the failure of the current movement even after it had gathered wide momentum from the society (Macdonell, 1986:8, 9).

A scholarly attempt to overcome this dilemma came from Althusser, who was a member of the French Communist Party (PCF). PCF had distanced itself from the movement and they advocated only for moderate demands like wage increase. Coincidently, the above said revolt created political and civil unrest in France which witnessed massive strikes and occupation of universities and factories across France. It occurred in May of 1968 and was mobilised by the dissident students and workers against the government. The event mobilised criticism against the idea of universities and raised different narratives questioning truth of knowledge, especially from the left outside PCF and anarchists. They called for the boycott of education arguing that the state injects its mission through education. PCF lost its relationship with mass as it acted as a gang of experts who limit their service to the advice (Macdonell, 1986: 14, 20). In this critical context, where Marxism was unable to explain the social relation with its theories of economic determinism, Althusser reinterpreted with his essay on Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Althusser, 1971). Althusser's main focus was on the concept of ideology. He revised the existing notion to argue that ideology comes from consciousness by stating that ideology constitutes the consciousness. Earlier view saw the idea as natural and connected with reality. What Althusser

argued is that ideology has a material existence in the form of institutions which is represented through religion, education, family and so on. So, it is part of the state. So ideas are not free floating but controlled by state apparatus (Macdonell, 1986: 27). He argued that education as a significant tool for ideology is a part of the state apparatus in the capitalist state (Macdonell, 1986: 13, 14). The concept of meaning gets a departure in Althusser's thinking. He studies ideology as a producer of meaning. It means ideology as discourse. So one's role in a capitalist society is not natural and it is not the product of his consciousness. In other words, the role assigned to the worker in a capitalist society and his pro-capitalist consciousness is not a normal or natural phenomena but the result of dominating capitalist ideology. So, the formation of pro-capitalist meaning in the society is formed through the ideological dominance of capitalism. To do so, the state has ideological state apparatus like education, family, and civil society. In short, he dismantles the capitalist meaning that assigns a social role to a worker and finds it as a result of ideology dominating them (Althusser, 1971: 2).

Althusser's theory of ideology helps to describe the process of formation of meanings. What he looks at is the process of how ideologies work. Ideology is an assemblage of certain meanings which advocates its truthiness and rejects others like capitalist ideology and proletariat ideology. The issue Althusser covered is how the capitalist ideology processes its meaning. He argues that it is formed as part of domination and it is not free to set its ideas and meaning but it is shaped in the struggle with its opposition. So ideological state apparatus is not fixed like state apparatus and it is open to be reshaped according to the opposing ideology in the struggle (Macdonell, 1986: 34). In this since he detaches himself that ideologies and meaning have no objective sources (Macdonell, 1986: 36). He criticises the French Communist party for its adoption of Humanism, which is a bourgeoisie ideology promotes the concept of human nature and sees man as the source of knowledge. The political impact of this position on the labour movement is that it makes people believe that the prevailing ideology is derived from positions of subjects in the class struggle (Macdonell, 1986: 37). The relationship of Althusser with discourse was indirect for he deals with ideology. But his understanding has an influence on the later studies in the discourse analysis.

On the contrary, Foucault used discourse itself as his analytical terrain and a part of his social theory. Foucault's entry is crucial in the discourse analysis. He did not continue to use the terms like ideology as Althusser did (Bazzi, 2009: 3). The intellectual reason that led him to discourse was his dissatisfaction with the existing paradigm of investigation within the social science (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Fairclough, 1992: 38). His effort to know how the process of meaning enacts made him propose the concept of discourse. He popularised the concept of discourse. He dealt with the relationship of discourse with power and discursive construction of subjects and knowledge (Fairclough, 1992: 38). Discourse to him is the "conditions of knowledge within which a particular act, including a speech act, is rendered legible and intelligible." In other words, discourse demarcates the limits of what is meaningful in a society. So, as he said "discourses are practices that systematically form the object of which we speak" (Foucault, 1972: 49).

He conducts archaeological studies in his early writings. In this period, he showed a constitutive nature of discourse. It means he focused on how discourse constitutes objects of knowledge, social subjects and individual self. Simultaneously, he made a distinction between discourse and non-discourse. According to him the discursive like ideas, concepts depends on the non-discursive like institutions. So discourse to him is part of social practices and not everything as the post-structuralists view. During this period, he researched on the rules and regulations that govern the production of what is meaningful in society in terms of statement or action (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 7). Foucault used certain linguistic terminologies but its meaning was different in his usage. In *Archaeology of Knowledge* he says discourse analysis is the analysis of statements (Foucault, 1972: 107-108). Here the meaning of the statement is not in the linguistic terms. He did not deal with text, verbal or written, in his writings in linguistic terms. Instead, by analysing the statement, he looks for social rules that language use (Fairclough, 1992: 40).

According to him, these rules which condition the meanings have four types of formations in discursive process: the formation of objects of knowledge, the formation of enunciative modalities, the formation of concepts and the formation of strategies. Here "object of knowledge" are entities in the organised discipline like "madness" in psychology and "nation" in the political science. In his book on *Madness and Civilisation*, he analysed how the discourse on madness is formulated in

psychology (Foucault, 1973a). Enunciative modalities are positions of subjects of the statement. The subject of statement means those who produce the statement. According to Foucault, statement positions the subject of the statement. This position is called enunciative modalities (Foucault, 1972: 43; Fairclough, 1992). The concept is investigated in the book The *Birth of Clinic* (Foucault, 1973b). The clinical statement positions the doctor. In other words, the clinical statements become meaningful and approved when a doctor utters it. He wants to say that, in discourse, there is a rule of the position that controls who should speak and whose statement becomes meaningful (Foucault, 1972). The formulation of the concept is another formulation. By concept, he means, for instance, elements of statements like subject verb and object are the concept of the discourse of grammar. Different discourses have different concepts that are needed for the articulation of discourse, as the subject, the verb and the object are needed for the discourse of grammar (Fairclough, 1992: 45). Here also these concepts are not fixed and stable but open to change according to discursive formulation. Here he looks at how the concepts are organised and related in certain discursive formulation (Fairclough, 1992: 46). By analysing all these formulation Foucault, tries to find the formation of strategies in discourse. By strategies, he means meanings like themes and theories. The strategy is the aim of the discursive formulation being articulated by rules through different types of the formulation described above. It is not necessary that the strategies will be formed from the discursive process for it may be interrupted by non-discursive or other discourses.

Discourse Back at Home; Social Turn in Linguistics

Conceptualising of discourse in social theory, especially by Foucault, using linguistic terms and concepts necessitated a rethinking in the linguistics on its dealing with text as part of language only. It initiated a retreat from earlier positions that advocate "language studied in and for itself," and "standing apart from everything else" (Saussure, (1966). There emerged different strands of analysis that traced the relationship of language to society. During the initial period of social turn in linguistics, scholars defined the discourse in limited linguistic terms as it is text plus society (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 6). Social linguistics was in the forefront, proposing the study on the variation in the grammar, pronunciation and other things for the sake of diversity within the social structures of class, gender and culture. Bill

Labov (1972a, 1972b), Susan Ervin-Tripp (1972), Gumperz & Hymes (1972) and Gumperz, (1982a, 1982b) are some of the prominent figures who contributed to the development of social linguistics. There were scholarships that dealt with other aspects of language as the content analysis and conversational analysis. The content analysis proposed by Holsti (1969) analyses the difference in the usage of the word and word clusters in different social contexts. The conversational analysis examines variations in the linguistic conversation like the order of topics in it. Its proponents are Schegloff and Sacks (1973), Sinclair and Coulthards (1975) and Atkinson and Heritage (1984).

Social Linguistics focused on the spoken aspect of language. It expanded to include both spoken and written language with the emergence of Critical Linguistics (CL). It differed from the social linguistics on the aspect of power and hierarchy also. It is because; the Critical Linguistics gave attention to the hidden power in the language. It emerged primarily at the University of East Anglia with efforts of scholars like Roger Fowler, Tony Trew and Gunther Kress. They problematised inefficiency of existing social linguistics that focused on finding language variation and the structures of communication and lacked attention on the role of power in language. Kress and Hodge (Kress & Hodge, 1979), Fowler (1979), Dijk (1985) Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1989) were at the forefront of Critical Linguistics. It depends on the concepts of Michael Halliday's Social- Semiotic Linguistics in its emancipatory agenda (Blommaert, 2005).

CL later developed into Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The development into CDA formalised different approaches in Critical Linguistic to strengthen the discourse analysis. CDA is one important branch of discourse analysis. As it is the case in discourse analysis, CDA also is a network of different theoretical approaches. CDA, as a circle of scholars was formed after a symposium conducted in Amsterdam with the support of the University of Amsterdam in 1991. In that conference, scholars like Teun Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak discussed its analytical terrains. Although CDA Journal *Discourse and Society* of Van Dijk and books like *Language and Power* by Norman Fairclough (1989) *Language, Power and Ideology* by Ruth Wodak (1989) and *Prejudice in Discourse* by Van Dijk (1984) had been published before this event, this event has brought an institutional setup to Critical Discourse Analysis by outlining common features and

clarifying methods and differences with other approaches (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 4). Roger Fowler explains what is "critical" in Critical Discourse Analysis. He says terming of his research critical does not mean criticism in terms of literary criticism or fault-finding. But, this "criticism analyses the process of construction, acknowledging the artificial quality of categories concerned, offers the possibility that we might profitably conceive the world in some alternative way" (Fowler, 1981:25). CDA does not advocate itself as neutral research, but it intends to find the power in language and aims for emancipation (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 10).

Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak define CDA as follows:

> CDA might be defined as fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse) (Weiss and Wodak 2007: 15).

So the purpose of CDA is to find out clear and implicit relationship of power and dominance manifested in the language (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 2). It sees discourse as a form of social practice and focuses on the use of language in speech and writing. Understanding discourse as a social practice means identifying a dialectical relationship between particular discursive events, use of language in a particular way within the existing situations, institutions and social structures. Discourse constitutes the social as well as it is shaped by the situation, institutions and social structures. So most of the time, the status quo is explicit in the language. CDA's aim is to show the power behind it (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258; Bazzi, 2009: 72). The simple way to understand what is CDA is to grasp common prepositions from the conflicting or diverging approaches. So the following lines explain the common proposition of CDA firstly and later gives a short description of individual scholars to show how internal differences within the CDA approach discourse analysis.

Jorgenson and Philips (2002) outline five common features. Firstly, it argues the social process is partly linguistic. It means there are other domains of the social process that are non-linguistic and non-discursive. The view is a Foucauldian concept that considers institutions and technology like things as non-discursive which has discursive powers in the process of creating meaning. Secondly discourse is both constitutive and constituted. The process of meaning is constituted by non-discursive

19

or other discourses (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 61). Thirdly, it asserts that the analysis of language within its social context is a relevant method for social knowledge. Fourthly, the function of discourse is constituted ideologically. This view shows the alignment of CDA with Marxist philosophy while explaining subjugation of social groups with other groups. So power is seen as a tool of oppression and not in Foucauldian terms. Finally, criticality asserts the impossibility of objective research. CDA, which advocates itself as a separate theoretical and methodological school, has gathered extensive accessibility among the academic community (Blommaert, 2005). Research in CDA has covered different fields like organisational analysis (Mumby & Clair, 1997), education (Chouliaraki, 1998), communication (Chouliaraki, 1999), identity, racism (Dijk, 1991) nationalism, (Richardson, 1998), and politics (Fairclough, 1995b, 1998, 2000).

The research articles in the journals on CDA show its popularity among the critical streams of socials science. The reason is clarity of methods of research in CDA and its potential to be used in a wide space of research. *Discourse and Society* edited by Teun Van Dijk, *Critical Discourse Studies* edited by Norman Fairclough, and Journal of *Language and Politics* edited by Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton are journals that deal with CDA. The popularity of CDA is also increased by internal deliberations, opening the way to different approaches within CDA. The important approach among them are Siegfried Jäger's discourse and dispositive analysis, Ruth Wodak's discourse-historical approach, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, N Fairclough's multi-disciplinary CDA and Ron Scollon's mediated discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The section below explains primary concerns of these approaches.

Siegfried Jager is closer to Foucault's earlier version of discourse that advocated a structuralist understanding of the production of meaning (Wodak & Meyer 2001: 20). He defines discourse as a flow of knowledge that constitutes the doing by conditioning the subject and thus reshaping societies (Jaeger, 2001: 35). Different discourses link one another, and the linkage is not static but dynamic. This process is carried out according to him through the mean or medium called collective symbolism. Collective symbolism means that there are particular images based on how society imagines the social reality. So the discourse rotates around it. The job of a discourse analyst is tracing the formation of this linkage; the linkage of collective symbolism with discourse (Jaeger, 2001: 35). According to him, discourse is one

among realities it is not distorted version of reality. From this point, he differs from other discourse analysts by proposing a material view of discourse. So discourse analysis is not about interpreting what is existing out there. But, it is about "allocation of meaning" and about "production of reality through discourse" (Jaeger, 2001: 36). He follows Foucault on the role of individual in discourse by accepting the fact that the subject has a role in discourse. But the role is constituted through the historical process. So, he denies the subjectivism and individualism (Jaeger, 2001: 37). He differentiates between discursive and non-discursive, and the discourse forms as a result of the interplay with non-discursive which is called the process of dispositive. He criticises Foucault for the latter ignores the way to understand the "dispositive." The materialist concept of discourse tends him to take a more crucial position regarding the identity of the subject. He argues that one particular discourse allocates meaning to one particular "things." When the discourse changes, "the object not only changes its meaning, but it becomes a new object." It is because it loses its old identity (Jaeger, 2001:43). So in discourse analysis, Jager studies the dispositive which links discourse and non-discursive and collective symbolism that links different discourses.

Ruth Wodak deals with discourse in more linguistic terms than others in CDA. According to her, discourse is a "bundle of interrelated linguistic acts" (Wodak & Meyer 2001: 21). Her approach is critical of discursive formulations to trace the change in a particular discourse. So it integrates the available source of history to get the background of social and Discourse Analysis is called Discourse Historical Approach. It analyses historical dimension of political discourses (Wodak, 2001). It takes both written and spoken language as a part of the discourse. There is a dialectical relationship between discursive and non-discursive as other CDA scholars also view. As she defined, there is a difference between text and discourse. Text is a product of linguistic action but the discourse is a "bundle of interrelated linguistic acts". According to Wodak, the researcher needs to realise the need of moving back and forth between theory and data while doing DHA. The effort is to study intertextual and interdiscursive relationship in discourse. The most important task is to analyse the historical context of the text by investigating the historical reason of a particular text in the discourse other than other texts. Using discourse historical approach, Ruth Wodak has studied different social and political issues. For instance,

she studied in 1990 the anti-semitic discourses in Austria by studying the news reports in the Australian press (Wodak, 2001: 70).

Van Dijk brings imprints from psychology to CDA. He studies the link between discourse, cognition and society (Wodak & Meyer 2001: 21). So his approach is named as Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis. He argues that cognitive structure mediates between discourse and society. He differs from other CDA writers by giving importance to the study of cognition in discourse analysis. For instance, he argues that ideology is both cognitive and social process (Dijk, 1998). He is clear in his project while asserting the need for historical, contextual and other sorts of dimensional studies in CDA. He limits his study to the triangle of discourse, cognition and society (Dijk, 2001: 97). In his socio-cognitive approach, discourse is a "communicative event" which includes conversation, written text, gestures, and also speaking such as facial expression, images and other things that communicate. According to him the cognition is mental structures enacted in discourse like memory and emotions (Dijk; 2001).

Norman Fairclough being a Marxist views discourse as a dialectical relationship between language and other social practices (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 22). On the one hand, he affiliates with CDA by accepting both constitutive and constituted the nature of discourse, on other hand he distances himself from structuralism. For this reason, Jorgenson and Philip argue Fairclough is closer to post-structuralism, for he sees the dynamic role of discourse in social change than those who see it as social reproduction (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 65, 66). Fairclough has borrowed from three different traditions to form his concept of CDA. They are Textual Analysis from the field of Linguistics, Macro Sociological Analysis of Social Practices and Micro Sociological Interpretive tradition. The first one helps to analyse the text whereas the second relates to the relationship of language to social structures, and the third helps with interpretation at the end. Although he has moved from structuralist understanding of discourse, he continues the typical CDA division between discursive and non-discursive. So he limits the object of discourse analysis to semiotic systems like language and images and studies how it constructs social identities, social relation, knowledge and meaning.

As a discourse analyst, his focus is on two levels of the discursive formulation. One is the communicative event, and the other is the order of discourse. Communicative events are, for instance, a moment of language use in the newspaper, film or radio. The order of discourse means the combination of discourses which includes discourses and genres. Genres are, for example, news genre. Discourse is for example democracy and nationalism. Order of discourse exists when a discourse gathers specific order to produce text and talks according to that order. The discourse of democracy has a certain order that limits the dialogue in or on democracy in news (a genre). In earlier times, Fairclough related order of discourse to the institutions like university, media and state. Later, he changed his concept to include all sort of orders (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 72-73). Communicative events work along three dimensions; it practices as text; it is a discursive practice and at the same time, it is a social practice. It means the written news in a paper, is a text, and it formulates a certain discourse and also a social practice. So while analysing it, a discourse analyst has to analyse the linguistic feature of the text, the production and consumption of text and the social context in which the text is produced. In conceptualising the communicative event, his other two concepts get much prominence. It is interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Interdiscursivity is one specific format of intertextuality (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 73). These two concepts have been explained in the methodological part of this chapter. So by analysing communicative event they are tracking the order of discourse. The relationship between communicative event and order of discourse is dialectical. It means communicative event has the potential to assert the existing order of discourse or it can also change the discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 66-69, 71; Fairclough, 1992, 1995a, 1995b; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). For instance when a journalist in monarchic country writes about democracy, he takes a role in constituting a new system.

Ron Scollan shifts the focus from the discourse of social issues to the discourse of the social actions. He checks how the actions are produced through discourse than how discourse is produced (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 22). Ron Scollan differs from other CDA scholars with his Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA) (Scollon, 2001). He takes the essential components of CDA but differs from other scholars by focusing on social action. According to him, the power relation in society is not only discursive but it is embedded in practice. MDA does not approve the basic CDA argument that

discourse is constitutive. On the contrary, he argues that discourse is only one among the constituents of society and culture. Again, he positions against stressing ideological dimension for discourse to him is a social action that has its own identity. According to him, the theories intended for social action has limited itself to text because it considers everything other than discourse as context (Scollon, 2001: 143). The other theories that take the text as the object of research have undermined the fact that text is not enough to represent the action (Scollon, 2001: 144). For these reasons, MDA takes discourse because it is the only one way to social action (Scollon, 2001: 145). So MDA does discourse analysis as a way to analyse the social action (Scollon, 2001: 145).

CDA also continued the search for meanings or meaning-ness. With different perspectives and approach, CDA views the meanings or meaning-ness from a structuralist point of view. The meaning of the text and the social meaning are articulated in discourse but through the intervention of non-discursive or discursive practices.

Critics have followed CDA and questioned its view of discourse as one factor among other social practices. It is because it differentiates between discursive and non-discursive. CDA's proposal advocated the enactment of power by non-discursive on discursive. For this reason, it is highly embedded in seeing power as the imposition from the above. So discourse to them is a mere mediation as it mediates between the pre-existing social structures and meaning. According to Howarth, CDA has limited explanatory power for its structural determinism. It is because it reduces discourse to "a subset of a broader range of social practices." Discourse only includes linguistic practices like speech, talk, and sign. Non discursive like state, society and other instruments of power determines the meaning of these linguistic practices. While it unveils the power, it is silent on how to find the relationship of discourse with its context. It remains blank on everything other than aspects of power in linguistic practices. So it serves a limited purpose in the research (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 7). CDA emerged and evolved as an emancipatory project aiming to unveil the power, and thus inequality existing in the society. It argued, the language and its meaning are not natural, but shaped by the structures of power. So the language and its meaning are structurally determined. Structural determination eschews the power of agency. When the agent lacks the power to act, it also lacks the power of emancipation and

revolution by shaping their meaning in the language. Hence, CDA's assumptions decline its emancipatory project. So, it has to face two criticism; liberal criticism for undermining the subject and agency and Marxist criticism of downplaying the revolutionary potential of the subject. So, further development of discourse analysis took place to address the criticism.

Discourse is now Everywhere: Decentred Social and Analysis of Meaning

Post-structuralism started questioning discourse analysis for its structuralism. It downplayed the importance of a centre in structures and undermined its authority of centre like the role of a writer in literature. Its concern with discourse analysis is easy to understand with a statement of Derrida; "everything without centre becomes a discourse" (Derrida, 1978: 280). The statement is important to understand the post-structuralist concept of discourse. Derrida problematised the centre. So now discourse is defined as a system of differences within which the play of signification extends infinitely (Torfing, 1999: 40). In this stage of the search for meaning, everything comes under discourse for things without centre becomes discourse and there is no centre for anything as perceived by post-structuralism. Discourse analysis has developed its domains taking the help of post-structuralism. Now discourse is all social phenomena. It erases the distinction between discursive and non-discursive for the discourse is not part of social phenomena but it is identical with social. This concept of discourse is directly explicit in the writings of Derrida (1978). The other post-structuralist scholars Roland Barthes, Julia Kristina, and Jacques Lacan also share common understanding of identities that are being constructed through decentralised discursive formulations (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 8).

Post-structuralism influenced social enquiry. Derrida questioned Foucauldian concepts. He named Foucault book on madness as structuralist discourse. It is because *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* assumed that all discourse of the period interlinks through an inner rule. Foucault's research is to find out this inner rule that is the centre. Derrida questions this search for the centre and opening space for multiple reading of a text (Derrida, 1978). He finds structuralist problems in Foucault archaeology like binary of reason and madness and universalising the concept of madness. The criticism provoked Foucault, and made him decentre his discourse analysis developed through his methodology of archaeology. After receiving the criticism from Derrida and others from the post-

structuralist team, he introduced genealogical investigation. His statements state the difference between two. Referring to the earlier archaeological version, he says "truth is understood as a system of ordered procedure for the production, regulation distribution, circulation and operation of a statement." But, referring this genealogical viewpoint, he says "truth is linked in a circular relation with system of power and to the effects of power that induces and extends it" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982: 74).

The change in his concepts was due to the change in the notion of power. In earlier writings, Foucault has seen the imposition of non-discursive in discursive. Later, he viewed power as neither "a relation of dominance, nor a capacity to act," but the "conduct of conduct which refers to the ways in which discourse regulates actions by means of shaping the identities, capacities, and relations of subordination of the social actors" (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 7). It exists in everyday social practices in all levels (Fairclough, 1992: 50). The ability and the success of power also lie in hiding its presence and not showing that the power is imposed (Foucault, 1981). Power is generated through techniques like schools hospitals and prison. His later works are explicit in change in the positions. These techniques operate by relating power with knowledge. It means the techniques of power are dependent on knowledge gathered and knowledge gathering. Foucault calls it bio-power for this form of power work as an agent in the formation of subjects (Fairclough, 1992: 50).

Fairclough argues the "the shift to genealogy represents a decentring of discourse" (Fairclough, 1992: 49). Power is not what is imposed from above or a matter of repression but it is conceptualised as being dispersed in society through the use of language (Bazzi, 2009: 3). The change here is in the concept of power which led to the change in the concept of discourse also. Howarth says power and discourse are mutually constitutive and we cannot have one without the other (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 7). So, discourse is central in the power relation. For the technique of biopower like examination, punishment, interview and counselling are discursive practices. For instance, Foucault's two writings (1979, 1981) on discipline and punish and sexuality illustrate his new form of discourse analysis. In the genealogical analysis, he looked at how the technologies of power normalised bodily moments like habits, movements and actions. According to him, all this discourses discipline the human body and s/he act according to that. The disciplining of discourse, as the Foucauldian account of the prison and sexuality explains it, is not an imposition from the above, but the subjects

are accustomed to act accordingly. It is the reason he called the power of discourse the power from below. From feudal power to the power of the sovereign, power is visible and direct one. But the modern power through discourse is invisible. For instance examination in the current system constitutes and legitimises a particular type of knowledge production (Fairclough, 1992: 52).

Another significant development in post-structuralist discourse analysis comes from Post-Marxists. The criticism against economic determinism had started with Althusser and Gramsci. But their engagement with the social enquiry was not directly termed it discourses analysis. The popularity of discourse analysis on one side and the criticism of structuralism from post-structuralist scholars, on the other hand, made the Marxists try a hand to sustain the legacy of Marxism by offering theoretical solutions. Coincidently, the repeated electoral victory of Margaret Thatcher in England who proposed conservative liberalism created a crisis in the proletariat movement (Torfing, 1999: 35). In this context, the effort of scholars Laclau and Mouffe's through their books especially *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (Laclau, 1985b) paved the way to a neo-Gramscian post-structuralist discourse theory. The following section explains Gramscian ideas and later describes the Laclau and Mouffe's concept of discourse.

Gramsci was reluctant to agree with the Marxist understanding that subjects are organised around some set of rigid interests that are determined according to their structural position in the level of production. Instead, he advocated the interests are likely to change in the intellectual and moral reshaping that may break the terrain of capitalist ideology. In contemporary times, it exists in the form of nationalism and national interests which is different from early capitalist interests (Gramsci, 1971; Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 11). According to Gramsci, politics is a struggle for hegemony. The highest moment in the struggle is to reach to the level of a state which is the combination of political and civil society. The crucial moment in the struggle for hegemony is the institutionalisation of integrating civil society with political society. It is not about mere getting control over the economy and saying that the economy determines the other superstructures like civil society. Here politics is not controlled by the economy but there is a primacy of politics. It is because it is a constitutive force in the antagonism in constituting a civil society and integrating it

into political society. The joint bloc of the economy, political and civil society is called historical bloc that enact the hegemonic project (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 11).

The project towards discourse analysis before Laclau and Mouffe was to revise the essentialist elements in the Gramscian thought. Although Gramsci's effort was to revise the essentialism; he remained in it. The essentialist factor in Gramsci is that his arguments indicate only fundamental classes (capitalist class) can be hegemonic. He also continues with the reductionist notion of economy, assuming it as the only factor in social change. But post-structuralism questions the reductionist notion of economy. According to them it is also a realm of political struggles. So Laclau and Mouffe proposed a post-structuralist interpretation of the economy. It is a "non-economistic" notion of economy (Torfing, 1999: 38). They argued that economy also is political (Torfing, 1999: 39).

The point of departure from Gramscian thought begins in Laclau and Mouffe's views when they see the economy as a domain of discursive articulation. The discursive feature of economy is the core factor of their argument; the economy is political. According to Torfing, their effort to escape from the determinism led them to the discourse (Torfing, 1999: 40). Based on this post-structuralist understanding, Laclau defines discourse as "decentred structure in which meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed" (Laclau, 1988: 254). Although, they begin from realising the discursive character of the economy and its discursive formulation are not limited to it but includes all domains like social and political. They even do not distinguish between discursive and non-discursive categories as done by CDA and others accepting the understanding that everything comes under discourse (Torfing, 1999: 40). So the meaning emerges from the discourse is not neither rational nor natural but it is social. The emergence of meaning in discourse is due to hegemonic articulation. Here, the concept of hegemonic articulation needs to be understood clearly. It is not articulation as part of imposition from above where the hegemon produces a meaning related to its purpose as it is the case in the discourse analysis in a structuralist perspective. But the meaning is produced in the antagonism of competing meanings that articulates against the other. As a result, the dominated meaning gets acceptance and forms the identity of its holder. The concept is explained more clearly in following lines. The advantage of this notion of the discursive formulation is that it

approves potential of the emergence of alternative meanings against the dominant ones and thus opens the way to revolution.

Laclau and Muffle have developed and departed from the earlier version of discourse analysis. Like Foucault, they have agreed the internal relation between power and discourse. At the same time, they have abandoned the distinction between discursive and non-discursive. Even the institution, technology and economy that seem as non-discursive are constructed through the discursive system. So they equate social with discourse (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 9). For these reasons, they reject the CDA's position that discourse is determined by non-discursive like institution and technology. Howarth very clearly summarises the Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analysis by explaining it through its five arguments. At first they argue social practices emerge in a "relational process of signification" which is discourse. So discourse is a combination of both linguistic and pragmatic aspect of the action. What is happening in discourse is the construction of meaning which is essential to taking the place of an action. This construction of meaning works either in terms of equivalence or terms of difference. It is possible that both the difference and equivalence works at the same time. There is no a central point to fix what is the difference or what is the equivalence. So, the complete construction of meaning is not possible for lack of centre, but the partial fixation happens with the help of nodal points (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 14).

Secondly, discourse is constructed in hegemonic struggle intending to establish a leadership on meaning and through it on social identity. With this argument, it denies the naturalist concept of meaning or considering it as an effect of being imposed. Instead, it takes the position that discourse works continuously with conflicting political decisions emerging from different sources that try to establish itself. These political decisions are not a political decision of individual authorities in the normal sense but it is decisions of all political agents in that particular discourse. A discourse produces meaning through the process of articulation. An articulation that overcomes another articulation and wins accessibility becomes hegemonic. So, a political decision has to articulate itself to be meaningful and acceptable. The way to hegemony is accessed through unifying the meaning and articulating according to specific nodal points that reveal its ideological affiliation.

The third argument is that the hegemonic articulation is done through social antagonism. It means excluding the different other. It is a continuous process and it is impossible to close and end the articulation. The continuity of emerging differences makes the meaning unstable and needy of articulation. In social antagonism, the decision on what is in and what is out depends on the principle of "chain of equivalence and chain of difference". The hegemonic meaning is constructed according to a chain of equivalence among its parts during which different meanings are not taken into consideration. The excluded elements are common in the sense that they pose a threat to the discourse system (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 15). So understanding the process of social antagonism in discourse analysis helps to understand how political borders are being formed.

The fourth argument is the possibility of dislocation in the discourse. It means when new events or new political decision emerge within the hegemonic discourse; it has a potential to be dislocated. For instance, the excluded meanings and identities can articulate in such a way that can disintegrate hegemonic meaning. For this reason, post-structuralist discourse analysis believes that the hegemony is never a closed domain. Usually, the hegemonic discourse accommodates new events that question the discursive system. So it does not create a threat. But when it fails to adjust, it will cause disruption to the hegemonic system. It can dislocate the existing discursive system by constructing new meaning and demarcating new political frontiers and identities.

The fifth argument concerns with the status of the subject in discourse system. According to them, the subject is a split subject that tries continuously to construct a full identity through the process of identifications. This argument derives from Lacan's psychoanalysis and it questions the post-structuralist position that the subject is a combination of different subject positions. The post-structuralist understanding of the subject sees it as a mix of subject positions. For instance, one can be worker, women, and citizen at the same time which is enough to escape from class reductionism. But it is silent on the formation of subjectivity. Laclau and Mouffe develop the notion of dislocation. When dislocation threatens the discursive system, it also proves the impossibility of full identity for subject (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 17). According to Laclau and Mouffe subject, it is not a lack of structural identity instead it has a failed structural identity (Laclau, 1990). It means hegemonic meaning

and its institutions articulate its version against the alternatives. The new meaning emerges in this process as a result. This newly developed meaning is not necessarily the same as articulated by the hegemon. But there is change as a result of its antagonism with the alternatives. So the hegemony fails its old meaning. That is why Laclau says it has failed structural identity. Hence, the subject is internal to structure and the identity of the structure is contingent due to dislocation process. So identity of structure is split, hence the subject internal to it also has split identity. The politics of split subject is evident when it can either identify itself with the hegemonic meaning and receives an illusion of full identity. For example, a pro-apartheid person will identify with African nationalism in post-apartheid South Africa or he can try for dislocation.

By mixing different critical stands in social science Laclau and Mouffe, have illustrated a decentralised processing of meaning. The meaning emerges in a discursive system through hegemonic articulation, social antagonism and dislocation and not through imposition from those who possess hierarchy in society. Here the meaning is not an imposition of pre-established identities, but it is open and formed in the discourse system through struggle initiated by social antagonism. In this process, the emerged meaning is not the earlier meanings but it is shaped in the discourse system adjusting with the meaning of other political agents. An instance of this is the case of liberalism which accommodates the cultures after the emergence of cultural discourses. If the hegemonic articulation is unable to provide new events, it is under threat and may lead to the development of new meaning. It is called dislocation. This view has its impact on Marxism and another form of structuralism including discourse analysis in structuralist paradigm. This view contrasts the essentialist concept of formation of identities. It is because, this analysis asserts the construction of social identity through the hegemonic practice of articulation. It tries to fix the meaning by positioning in certain discourse (Torfing, 1999: 41). They have radicalised the Gramscian notion of hegemony that views the already existing differences constitutes the identity. In this view, identity is the result of existing regimes where other interests have been undermined. Revising this view they argued that identity formed due to hegemonising from different subject positions. Here hegemonising itself is a process of identity formation where the differences are confronted with each other, and not in the sense hegemony articulates the pre-existing differences to identity.

Discourse Analysis as a Research Package

Discourse analysis is a complete package of theory and methods. So it has a different view regarding theory and method. Being a complete package for research, it relies on four important dimensions of the research programme: ontological and epistemological positions on the social world, theoretical assumption, methodological stands and techniques of analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 4). It is not a strict theory in the normal sense; "deductively emerged [with] empirically testable hypothesis and it is not a method in the sense; a tool to represent a field from outside" (Torfing, 1999: 13; Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 317; Laclau, 1990: 31-36). It is not a theory, if a theory is fallible propositions intended to explain or forecast a social phenomenon like a realist proposition; power matters in the relationship among states (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 317). Discourse analysis revisits the concept of theory by dismantling the distinction between theory and practices. It is because the theory itself is a practice (Shapiro 1988: 93). There are no pre-existing theories, and the empirical analysis is not intended to prove it. In discourse analysis, each empirical analysis is done separately, and the existing notion of theories is open to be adjusted according to the findings from the ground (Howarth et al. 2000). Discourse research is neither method driven nor theory-driven research. Method driven research suggests strict use of methods, and theory-driven researcher are either application of that theory or testing its validity. On the contrary discourse analysis is a problem-driven research. The purpose of the research is addressing a problem (Shapiro, 2002). Shapiro gives a clear understanding of the aim of research in discourse analysis. Shapiro says discourse "analysis takes the coherent and uniform appearance of much of "reality" and seeks to show in a variety of ways what we take to be "real," timeless, and universal "is the arbitrary imposition of a form of order" (Shapiro 1988: 14). The following section examines the speciality of this package and its premises and how it differs from other research programmes.

The difference among the discourse theories emerges from their ontological positions. Ontology means the conception related to the nature of being. The concern in the ontology is whether the being is objective and external to knowledge or whether it is formed according to one's consciousness. In other words, it addresses the question; is there something real outside like a real world and the effort of human knowledge is to understand that real world or this real depends on how we understand it. If one

supposes that there is a real world out there, the concept of truth is important. Then the objective of knowledge is to understand the reality truly. On the contrary, if it is supposed that being and reality is dependent on the way we understand it, the question of truth is not considered. It is because it keeps a relativist concept of truth. Discourse analysis states its ontological position that concerns the relationship of meaning with what it represents, the nature of subjectivity and agency and nature of social relations.

Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse is different in its ontology with Critical Discourse Analysis. Taking imprints from the post-structuralism they advocate a negative ontology that perceives a contingency of social relation. It means that system is incomplete and open to continuity and changes. It is for the lack of a complete subject and existence of a split subject. Here the social practices are managed in a dialectical relationship with conflicting political ideas emerged in social antagonism (Glynos, et al, 2009: 9). It is their take on real. The real is a process of continuity. So it is possible to have multiple realities in different parts of the world. In short "reality is what we say it is, if we say it is different, then it is different." (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 178). Their concept of ontology is anti-essentialist. There is no pre-established and self-controlling centre or essence which constitutes all other identities in a structure. It denies the existence of a transcendental centre that determines the functions and identity of a structure. It does not mean social relations are in chaos for social meanings and identities undergo partial constitution in the relational system depending on nodal points. The ontological perception of post-structuralist discourse analysis faces criticism for denying material facts. It is a misperception. It does not deny the material fact but what it argues is the meaning of world exists through discourse. It has an integrated view of material and ideational. It does not deny the material reality and does not even bother about it for it is not possible to know something removed from the meaning (Holland, 2013: 13). Instead, it argues the mere existence of matter does not follow its representation in social relation. But, its representation in the social relation is constructed through discourse (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 18; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 177).

In short, in post-structuralist discourse theory the discourse itself is ontology. Objects subjects, identities, living beings and other non-living structures get meaning and identity through discourse. To understand the discourse as being is to understand the being as social and political entity. It means different types of being form in a

linguistic process initiated by social and political agent. This sort of ontological position comes from the writings of Foucault, who views being through the discursive formation. It is a "regularity" like "order, correlations, positions, functioning and transformation" in a "system of dispersion" "between a number of statements," "objects, types of statements, concepts and thematic choices" (Foucault, 1972: 38). Similarly, Derrida argues the meaning is not established by the essence of the thing itself but through "juxtaposition" in discourse (Derrida, 1976, 1978). It does not mean only ideas exist as the critics of post-structuralism have mistaken. But, it asserts the discursivity as the essential character of every being including material substances (Laclau, 1985b: 108).

On the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis is based on critical realist social ontology that rejects the extreme form of social constructivism as conceived by Laclau and Mouffe. CDA views both abstract social structures (non-discursive) and concrete social events (discursive) as parts of social reality. So the reality is a mix of both objective and relative elements. Critical realism proposes a "stratified ontology" for it distinguishes between structures and events and views both as part of reality. They distinguish between real, actual and empirical. The "real" concerns with structures, the "actual" concerns with events and empirical relates with both when it is experienced by social actors. The actual does not represent the real in all time for it is formed by an interaction between different structures which is real. For this ontological position, Critical Discourse Analysis differentiates between discursive and non-discursive, and it is conscious of the role of non-discursive in constituting the discursive. In short, it continues to share some aspect of positivist ontology and calls its ontological position as a critical realist.

Now it is important to know these ontologies. Discourse analysis is intended to solve the problem of existing knowledge system and to solve its inefficiency proved by new events as the earlier section explains. So what is the novel promise of discourse analysis in the search of human for knowledge? This discussion is an epistemological discussion. Epistemology is a theory of knowledge dealing with how it can be accessed. The question how we build knowledge other than conventional ways brought the linguistic turn in the social science, and the study of the process of meaning became the central focus. Discourse analysis has its clear epistemological positions. Discourse theory supports and promotes post-positivist criticism of

epistemology. So, it advocates that there are no criteria for the production of true knowledge for everything is discursive, so the rules and methods also are discursive like the truth. So a particular form of discursive cannot be criteria for another discursive. It is anti-foundationalist epistemology that does not see truth as a feature of external reality but as part of the language. It is contextual and relational and local (Howarth & Torfing, 2005, pp. 13, 14).

The relativism of discourse analysis faces criticism on the lack of objectivity. The problem here is that the critics consider relativism in the opposite of objectivism. The constructivist scholars have questioned the non-contextual knowledge for instance Harding proposes the idea of weak and strong objectivities. Positivist social science represents a weak objectivity for it does not consider historical and contextual consideration of knowledge it produced. Strong objectivity is obtained through strong reflexivity; reflecting the context (Harding, 1991: 161). Bourdieu and Wacquant argue that by explaining the root of the knowledge, the researcher is giving more objective knowledge (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Discourse analysis differs in its methodological stands also. The nature of methodology in the discourse analysis does not intend to give a complete packed universal instruction that can be applied at all levels (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 27). Discourse analysis in post-structuralism having emerged from a constructivist ontology, and interpretivist epistemology proposes a relativist research methodology. So it proposes a balkanized methodology. The concept of the method in methodology is not a set of rules that can be applied to all empirical cases. The analyst has to use the techniques before him which can be a mix of different theoretical contribution within and outside the discourse analysis depending on the context and purpose of the study. The researcher has to take into account that his research does not go out of epistemological, ontological and theoretical premises of discourse analysis (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 318). Critical Discourse Analysis also proposed this form of understanding of methodology. Its concept of methodology also it does not offer ready-made methods to be applied to the social problem. So, it believes that CDA is having a different set of methods. The researcher can choose depending on the context, aim and the aspect of discourse he wants to analyse (Dijk, 2001: 98). The following lines explain some instances of methodological positions of discourse analyses to outline how the concept of methodology works in discourse analysis. It is

not an exhaustive commentary on all methodology of discourse analysis which is beyond the scope of this study.

Laclau and Mouffe have been influenced by the post-structuralist methodology of deconstruction that is developed by Derrida against the metaphysics of presence that is prevalent in Western thought. Derrida criticised the Western thought on its dependence on binaries like presence and absence where one of them is dominant over other. The problem he faces in the dichotomy is that there are things that will not fit in any of these. So he proposes a deconstructive strategy to unmask the inefficiency of dichotomies by showing the undesirables. Deconstruction strategy works through the analysis of the text by examining the sameness and difference in the text (Derrida, 1976).

Methodology of contemporary discourse analysis has been influenced by Foucault's dual concept of archaeology and methodology. The archaeological and genealogical studies are two stages in Foucault's intellectual development. Critical Discourse Analysis especially Fairclough and Wodak have developed on these methodological concepts in their analysis. The difference between archaeology and genealogy has been explained while stating Foucauldian theoretical premises. In short, archaeology is a study of rules which conditions the meaning and genealogy is study of the historical roots and contingency in the formation of these rules (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 13). In archaeology, one studies the structures of regimes of knowledge. It studies the rules that constitute what is true and false in a domain of knowledge like Psychology. In genealogical studies, instead of studying the structures, one focuses the process of structuring. It is power knowledge relationship in which power is viewed as productive rather than abusive. It is because it produces possibilities of creating identity for actors (Foucault, 1980: 119; Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 319).

Fairclough developed his methodological concept of intertextuality and interdiscursivity from Foucault's methodological concepts. Fairclough gives a three dimensional analytical model of discourse in his much-elaborated methodology. In the first dimension, discourse is considered as text and all linguistic features like the pattern of vocabulary and grammar are examined. For instance use of passive verb gives different meaning compared to the use of active words. In the second dimension, discourse is considered as a discursive practice, and intertextuality and

interdiscursivity is analysed. Intertextuality simply means relation between text and interdiscursivity is the relation between discursive formations. Intertextuality is a concept built on the assumption that texts incorporate the aspects of other texts within it. In other words, the earlier usages influence the use of a new text. So it is a "historical view of the text as transforming the past into the present" (Fairclough, 1995a: 134) Intertextuality has been classified into two; manifest intertextuality when the content of earlier text involves in the text and constitutive intertextuality when the context of the earlier text is repeated in the new one. The latter is also named as interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992: 117,124). So the interdiscurisivity is one form of intertextuality. In the intertdiscursivity, one investigates how different discourses have been combined in the discourse under research and studies how the combination of different discourses is offering the meaning to the discourse under study (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 73). For instance, there is the discourse that USA's intervention in Iraq in 2003 is a humanitarian intervention. In this discourse, the use of word "intervention" than "invasion" depends on the existing distinction between the two and the positive connotation of the former than latter. It is the instance of intertextuality. The above discourse also incorporates the discourses; Iraq is a rogue state, US is a benevolent hegemon, and there is a difference between war and humanitarian intervention. It is an instance of interdiscursivtity. In interdiscursivity, one analyses how a discourse understudy appropriates the earlier discourse. In the third dimension, discourse is analysed as social practices in which the researcher analyses the ideological effects and hegemony in the operation of discourse (Blommaert, 2005: 44). Explaining these analytical dimensions Fairclough proposes threefold research methodology of description, interpretation and explanation respectively. In the description that is in the first dimension, the researcher gives the linguistic features of material as it is like describing what he saw. In the interpretation that is in the second dimension, he distances from the research and analyses it based on his categories of social, ideological and political standards. In the explanation, which is in the final dimension he becomes critical on his interpretation and propose his findings (Blommaert, 2005: 31).

At the empirical level, the raw material of discourse analysis is text. According to CDA, the text is limited to linguistic practices; hence their domain of analysis is limited. Post-structuralist like Laclau and Mouffe expands the meaning of the text as

Derrida said "everything is text" (Derrida, 1976: 158). So according to them every aspect of social life comes under the definition of text. This text includes speeches, reports, documents, policy briefs, manifestos, historical events, interviews, talks, ideologies and actions (Howarth et al. 2000: 5). Howarth accuses the inefficiency in the quality of empirical discourse analysis for most of discourse analysis scholars have spent time in philosophical debate and engaged in writings regarding ontology and epistemology of discourse theory. On the other hand, the criticism of epistemology has created the perception that in discourse analysis, the methodology is not an important aspect but research is on a random basis. So there is need of developing "critical, explicit and context bound discussion of the methodology of discourse analysis" (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 28).

The ontological, epistemological and methodological positions of discourse analysis have been explained in this section and theoretical propositions in the earlier sections. Now, the discussion remains on the strategies and methods of doing research. The above discussions and contestations are meant for doing research and production of knowledge. Methods are tools used in the research. The search for discourse analysis is how the meaning is being constructed and how it creates identities. Different possibilities are open here. One can analyse the formation of meaning and its historical context as done by Foucault through his geological approach. One can study how the structural inequality and the power of structure have been imposed in the language as Critical Discourse Analysis studies it. One can study how this meaning constitutes identities as Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse proposes. These different ways create many possibilities of research. The advantage of discourse analysis is its rejection of concrete methods. So, one can adopt different methods from discourse analyses keeping the fixation about the theoretical premises of discourse analysis. As it is stated, different theories of discourse analysis developed from diverse schools of social science. So what a researcher needs to do is avoiding the mixing of contradictory ontological and epistemological positions.

What is going to be analysed? It is a matter of dispute as it is explained. In the initial state of development, it is simply text in its normal meaning. It changed consequently according to the development of the concept of discourse to text in the talk, to text in images and sound and the social text. At the end as Derrida said everything is text, and all social systems are text (Derrida, 1976: 158). It does not mean the post-

structuralist concept of text has a universal approval. For instance, CDA continues with their understanding of the text as they differentiate between linguistic and non-linguistic elements in the social system. In CDA, some aspect is discursive contrary to other aspects, and only discursive elements come under the discourse analysis. So it is the up to the researcher to select his notion, depending on the context. All approaches have its advantage and demerits. For instance, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analyse deals with discourse in more abstract level giving profound theoretical premises but provides very few analytical tools contrary to Fairclough's discourse analysis. It is a matter of choice whether a researcher needs to accommodate all types of texts or depends on a single text for research. Some of the scholars like Jorgensen and Philip have developed mixed framework by integrating different methods from discourse analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 157).

In this way, research tools like case studies, comparative studies, archival studies, qualitative interviews and other tools can be used in analysing the discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis has borrowed analytical tools of different scholarships in linguistics like conversation analysis, pragmatics, stylistics, rhetoric, social cognition, social semiotics, and systemic-functional linguistics, (Blommaert, 2005: 28). While applying all these tools, the important matter is that the purpose is different from its usage by positivist theories. For instance, comparative research is normally used by method driven theories to compare the pre-given hypothesis. It is not the case in discourse analysis where the comparison derives from the problem addressed (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 332). In short, discourse analysis teaches the way in which these tools are being used in research, and it has no reservation against these tools.

Conclusion

Critical research programme developed in the social science questioning the conventional forms of social inquiries. It is discourse analysis that mainly focuses on the social inquiry on the process of formation of meaning. Discourse analysis that primarily started investigating the relationship of language with context has later branched into different dimensions. It includes analysis of rules conditioning the meaning and historical formation of these rules as Foucault did, analysis of the hidden power in the way language is produced as CDA scholars did and analysis of the identity formation in the discourse system as done by Laclau and Mouffe. So

discourse takes the formation of meaning seriously and investigates its different dimensions. Discourse analysis is serious in its ontological, epistemological positions and flexible in the methods of doing research. Hence, it had received wide accessibility in different disciplines of social science including international relations.

Chapter Three

Discourse Analysis in International Relations

Introduction

From the late 1980s, interrogation using discourse analysis entered in the discipline of International Relations in a major way. Thereafter, It has gone through different levels of academic acceptance either as a "talk of an exile" (Ashley & Walker, 1990) or as an "active and interesting area" (Milliken, 1999b) or as "buzz word" (Holzscheiter, 2014). Its negotiation for a research space in the discipline of International Relation provides new theoretical and methodological avenues. While the richness and diversity of the research themes and the research methods enthral the field, it also confuses those who are less familiar with its concepts and promises. A simple way to understand the potential of a research programme is to get into the scholastic efforts devoted to discourse analysis. So, the present chapter traces various stages of developments of discourse based studies in the field of International Relations.

It is said that analysis of already existing literature is the primary step in every new social science research project. The intention of such an analysis is nothing but to find out research gap and to understand the strength and weakness of the previous studies in that particular issue area. In this sense, in any social science research, the literature review constitutes only a subsidiary part. However, by contrast to that, in this study, literature review is not a subsidiary part rather it has seminal importance as it is central to the present field of study. Here, the existing literature is taken as the raw material or primary data on which the findings and arguments of the thesis are formulated. To understand the impact of discourse analysis in IR such an assessment of the literature is a mandatory step. The survey of literature in the present chapter is not comprehensive, but it represents the major trends at different stages of development in the discourse based research in the discipline. It is a meta-review that deals with the literature across various decades. Therefore, it is less concerned with the omitted literature or internal consistency or inconsistency of individual writings. Here, the literature on discourse analysis has been collected to assess its theoretical and methodological positions. Then it is analysed and classified and clubbed according to the patterns in the theory and method of research in those studies. The

two important points of investigations here are the theoretical themes and methodological patterns of discourse analysis in IR. So the chapter aims to assess discourse analysis approach in IR both theoretically and methodologically.

As the last chapter illustrated, discourse analysis offers a breakthrough in the social science. Simply it is a research programme that traces the process of formation of "meaning" in the collective life of human beings. There are contending ontological and methodological perspectives within it as it is a complicated area of research. The discourse research includes analysis of rules conditioning the meaning and historical formation of these rules, analysis of the hidden power in the way language is produced and analysis of the identity formation in the discourse system which engulfs the whole social world. So discourse analysis takes the formation of meaning seriously and investigates its different dimensions in the social life. Discourse analysis in IR is still in its evolutionary stage though the basic foundation of this endeavour has been laid four decades ago. The breakthrough to the discourse research in IR was *Der Derian's On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement* (1987) which dismantles the mainstream narratives of diplomacy.

As in the case of all scholarship, discourse scholars have chosen different levels of engagements. At the initial period of nurturing of new research thinking in IR, researchers have focused on developing a basis for the discourse analysis in the discipline. The discourse questioned the theoretical and methodological roots and propositions of mainstream theories in IR and challenged the meta-narratives of its core concepts like sovereignty, anarchy and diplomacy. They offered alternative ways of viewing the discipline by redefining notions of theory and method. Thus, the intellectual contributions and philosophical engagements by them have created the ground for further research. The event of 9/11 in which the twin towers in the US came crumbled down was a significant turning point in the discourse studies of IR. Various discoursed based studies, published in the aftermath of this event have turned to question the core of some of the established concepts in the discipline such as security and identity. This turn brought a change in focus, but, it invited critics who underlined the need to deal with "real" and empirical issues (Keohane, 1988; Mearsheimer, 1994-1995; Walt S, 1991). In the later stage, the trend to address the "real" issues which has divided all critical engagement into two camps like thin constructivists and thick constructivists, led discourse analysis also to respond to

external and internal call for research on practices and actions. At the end, the heated debates between supporters of practice turn and its opponents divided the camp but the research flourished.

Based on these briefly stated developments, the chapter has classified the development of discourse analysis into three stages; initial engagements, security turn and practice turn. The classification is intended for the analytical purpose only. The border lines are blurred; still, it helps a meta-review to make the arguments clearer. The periodisation is also helpful to place the literature of discourse analysis in the entire literature of International Relations, since the thematic and methodological shift in the discourse analysis has evolved negotiating with other developments in the discipline.

Theoretical Development of Discourse Analysis

Initial Engagements

International Relations also received the effect of discursive turn in social science research. IR is reluctant to receive critical projects because of its affiliation with a state-centric view of international politics. So, a newly emerging research project has to develop its space in the discipline by revealing the gaps in the existing literature and projecting promises and potentials. Hence, the initial period of discourse analysis in International Relations intended to develop a critical space in the discipline by critically questioning the assumptions of mainstream IR theories. The initial period of discourse analysis in International Relations starts with the publication of Der Derian's *On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangement* (Derian, 1987). It continued up to 2001. During this period, the theoretical project of discourse scholars can be summarised as follows;

- to develop ontological, epistemological and methodological arguments of discourse analysis in International Relations;
- to trace the knowledge power relationship in the IR theory; and
- to examine the process of meaning about the core concepts of IR.

During this period, discourse scholars developed ontological and epistemological base. So, the writings, during this period focused on conveying the difference of the new project with others. Campbell (1988), Derain (1988), Shapiro (1989), Walker

43

(1993) and Larsen (1997) are some notable writers who laid theoretical base for discourse analysis in the discipline. Their works offer ontological, epistemological and methodological positions of discourse analysis. They challenged the scientificism of mainstream theories and the tendency of offering readymade methods (George 1994). Among them, Campbell (1988) and Derian (1988) introduced the post-empiricist concept of science and its philology and research strategy introducing its potential in the discipline. An excellent effort that systematically introduces the discourse analysis is an edited volume: *International Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Reading of World Politics* by Derian and Shapiro (Derian & Shapiro, 1989). The book is a collective effort of discourse scholars who discussed and offered an authentic account for the discursive turn in International Relations from a post-structural perspective. Shapiro's article in the volume introduces the potential of discourse analysis in the International Relations. He argues that textualising of world politics helps to question the dominant forms of representations (Derian & Shapiro, 1989: 13). Ashley and Walker (1990) use discourse analysis to trace the production of common sense and dominant discourses by analysing the subjugated knowledge (Ashley & Walker, 1990). Shapiro introduces genealogical research to understand the play of discourse while examining the disciplinary history of International Relations and illustrating the potential of research on disciplinary history to strengthen critical project (Shapiro, 1992). So, establishing the difference between discourse analysis and other mainstream approaches was a crucial effort of the time (Walker, 1993).

Discourse scholars were much offensive against the early established theories. They disturbed the status quo and hegemony in International Relations theory building. Contributions of Shapiro (1987, 1992), Derian (1989), George (1994), Schmidt (1998b) are commendable. Generally, they examine the power-knowledge relationship by analysing discursive articulation of IR theories. They state that IR theories were formulated according to the policy purposes. Derian (1989) points out the discursive relationship between "knowledge and power in IR, between margins and body of international theory between textual politics and world politics and between indigenous and aliens" (Derian, 1989: 4). He "disturbs habitual ways of thinking" in IR by underlining the subjective implication of International Relations theory. According to him, International Relations would be understood as an "intertext" where "meaning is derived from the interrelationship of texts and power is

implicated by problem of language and other signifying practices" (Derian, 1989: 5). In a similar way, Shapiro (1987, 1992) argues that "geopolitics", a seminal area of study in International Relations has constituted the international politics in its contemporary form. Jim George (1994) generalises Shapiro's idea while arguing that International Relations theories are produced for policy purposes. For instance, the very distinction between international anarchy and domestic sovereignty itself is politically motivated and discursively articulated (George, 1994). Schmidt's book the *Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* critiques theoretical basis of the discipline. His historical survey asserts the incorrectness even in the primary concerns of IR theory such as the realist-idealist divide (Schmidt, 1998b).

Again, Scholars in the stream invited the attention of the researchers into a less contested area; the core concept of International Relations. Derian (1987), in his seminal work on diplomacy, rethinks the concept. He withdrew from the conventional model of approaching diplomacy from a policy-oriented quantitative perspective. He identified six models of diplomatic practices throughout the history where the relationship with power, language and symbolisation is mediated to lead the transfer from one to other. The first model is diplomacy as culture, where he finds an international culture of diplomacy that approves the equality among the equals. The second model is named mythodiplomacy. It means the culture of bargaining based on reciprocity based on religion, myth and god. The third is proto diplomacy. It is a form existed in the middle ages in Christendom. In this model, there is an unequal relationship between centre and periphery. The fourth model is anti-diplomacy. It is the rejection of boundaries and thus diplomacy like the concept of Christian brotherhood and Ummah (global brotherhood among Muslims). Fifth is neo diplomacy that happens with the introduction of politics with anti-diplomacy such as the notion of socialist internationalism. The final model is techno-diplomacy. It is initiated by new technologies like nuclear weapons and mass communication (Derian, 1987). Similar studies were conducted in the case of security also (Walker, 1988). Campbell (1990, 1992) is the first the scholars who dealt with security seriously. He reveals the link between security and identity while arguing that both are mutually constituted. For instance, America's projection of dangers outside its boundaries and its security measurements also constitute the American self. So the foreign policy of

US and its concern for security is linked with the constitution of US identity (Campbell, 1990, 1992). In another essay, he investigates how US elite's regime of truth dominated the discourse during the Gulf War. He studies how the war discourse downplays the role of ethics and highlights the power of constructed narratives (Campbell, 1993).

If Campbell (1990, 1992, 1993) studied foreign policy through the lens of security, Doty (1993) applied discourse analysis study on foreign policy per se. She studied the US's counterinsurgency policy of the 1950s in the Philippines. She explicitly states her intention of bringing discourse analysis to this most important area of International Relations. The study expands the concept of foreign policy making and argues the foreign policymaking creates spaces for particular subjects like other and foreign (Doty, 1993: 316). The criticism on conceptualising security as concern of pre-established states continued with Waever's (1995) argument that it is socially constructed through discourse Chilton's (1996) study of metaphors used in the securitization discourse during cold war and Mutimer's (1999) work on the discourse of the proliferation of weapon and its relationship with the imagination of security (1999). Sovereignty is another core concept of the discipline on which discourse analysis offered critical insights. A genealogical study of sovereignty conducted by Bartelson (1995) questions the fundamentality of sovereignty to International Relations. Analysing the constitution of sovereignty in three periods; Renaissance, Classical age and Modernity, he argues that sovereignty is a contingent phenomenon in international politics and it has been transformed according to the dominant political projects (Bartelson, 1995). In a similar move, Sylvan and others (1998) study how sovereignty gets different meaning in international relations in various contexts. The studies also deal with other core concepts like national interest and intervention. The research of Weldes is an example. She rethinks the notion of the national interest of US in the context of Cuban Missile Crisis (Weldes, 1999). In the case of intervention Milliken has an important contribution. She studies the constitutive relationship between identity and intervention. The study deals with the US intervention in the Korea and Indochina (Milliken, 1996, 1999a, 2001). In this way, discourse scholarship proposed new reading of the core concepts of International Relations.

During this period, discourse scholars introduced new themes into the discipline that was less familiar in the discipline before. An instance is Doty's (1996) theorisation of representation in international politics by identifying the role of representation in the North-South relations. She studies the role of representation in the imperial projects of the first world against the third world. Her analysis crossing through historical stages to contemporary cases; colonialism, US-Philippines relationship, British government's counterinsurgency against Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, foreign aid, democracy and human right discourses, illustrates the ways in which representation plays in the enactment of imperial projects (Doty, 1996). Milliken (1996) introduced the role of prestige and reputation in the constitution of US foreign policy. In short, the literature in the earlier period was much focused on making a theoretical base and finding the limitations of earlier projects. As a part of this effort, they had to dismantle the conceptual pillars of the discipline. So scholars reinterpreted the concepts such as sovereignty, diplomacy, security, anarchy, national interest and diplomacy.

Security Turn

Following initial ground breaking initiatives, discourse analysis in International Relations enters the new domain of research in the aftermath of 9/11. The event necessitated the discipline to rethink about some of its rigid concepts like the centrality of the state and the role of non-state actors. It was a political context in which countries and international organisations turned their attention on different aspects of security. A clear divide emerged between "them" and "us"; "them" being terrorists and "us" as those who oppose them. IR witnessed the emergence of scholarships explaining the phenomenon of terrorism. In this context, it is important to examine how discourse analysis approached new developments in world politics. The study has found that most of the discourse literature of this period studies security issues. Still, contrary to the mainstream understanding of security, these studies illustrate how security is related or co-constituted with identity and representation. The trend continued approximately up to 2008.

The interest of discourse research in security starts with Campbell's well-debated book *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. He argued that the security practices are not practices among already formed states, but the state and its identity are constituted through security discourses. So, the state

needs the construction of security discourses by projecting dangers, one after another. His conducted a historical survey of the production of security in the United States (Campbell, 1992). Yet, his Interpretation of security became famous in American foreign policy debates with the event of 9/11. Scholars directed their attention to security scholarship after 9/11 and its political consequences. 9/11, terrorism, US intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq are the major areas that they studied. These developments are termed here as a security turn in discourse analysis. The following passages discuss the studies contributed to this turn.

The post 9/11 discourses scholars study how it has changed meaning of certain terms in international politics. According to Campbell (2001), the concept of time itself has changed. There is a return of the past continuously in the war on terror discourses. Chilton (2002) argued that it created a feeling that there is a need for immediate actions, and the world is in danger. In a similar study, Silberst (2002) focused on the war of words in the post 9/11 discourses and the way it led to two interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. She analysed the competing opinions in oral, written and visual formats supporting interventions and opposing it. Analysing Bush's speech on declaration of war on terror, and others Graham (2004) state the superiority of legitimate power and the US culture, the construction of evilness of other and appeal for uniting against the evil as a thread that connect the discourse. They argued that the speeches like this appear in the crisis of political legitimacy (Graham, et al. 2004). Ayyash (2007) has similar arguments while analysing the neoconservative discourse on Iraq war. Kreb (2007) examined the domestic discourses after 9/11, and he finds the power-laden meaning making mechanism in the US where democrats were unable to articulate their arguments.

All the studies are not US-centric as some of the scholars examined how the discourse of the war on terror affected other states. For instance, Dijk (2005) analyses a speech delivered by Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar in Spanish parliament in 2003 legitimising his support for US war on terror. He finds "positive self-presentation and negative other presentation" in his speech (Dijk, 2005). Jackson (2007) examined EU counter-terrorism discourse by examining the process in which language of EU's official texts regarding counter-terrorism constructed the knowledge on terrorism. It is a comparative study of EU and US counter-terrorism discourses. Renwick Neil studied the South Asian response to the global war on terror discourse.

He argues that US's politics of naming influences the approach of South Asian countries' regional and national responds to terror (Renwick, 2007). Erjavec and Volcic (2007) analysed Serbian localisation of US discourse of terror. They argued that political elites are not only those who constitute the discourse, but the role of young intellectuals in Serbia is important in identifying local terrorists. Una Dirks (2006) investigate the role of media and press in his two seminal studies. She analysed news presentation practices of newspapers and its establishment of WMD in Iraq and the relationship between Al Qaeda and Saddam Husain. Adam Hodges's edited volume on terrorism coordinates the studies on the point that language can "dislodge and build a new" discourse. Hence, he says discourse since 9/11 has constructed a reality through which the world now views war and terrorism. So his point is that the language is not only for legitimizing an action but it is also for constituting our world (Hodges & Nilep, 2007; Hodges, 2011, 2007).

Scholars analyse the process of meaning making by probing political elite's speeches and diplomatic texts, mass media and popular culture. The primary take of discourse researchers while analysing the international concern for security is to explain the discursive construction of security through the process of naming others as evil. Campbell (2005) called this tendency the bio-politics of security. He says that post 9/11 period has witnessed the shift from geopolitics to bio-politics. It creates others and foreigners inside and outside, formulating connections of terrorism with drug usage to brand black as outsiders residing inside. Balzacq (2005) talks about an integrated theory of securitization. It is a multidimensional project where the linguistic manufacturing of threat is constituted according to the audience, political agency and the context. He calls it three faces of securitisation. It is because the securitisation discourse has to be manufactured considering the audience, political agency and the context in which it is practiced (Balzacq, 2005). The crucial take of discourse scholars on security is its constitutive relation with the identity of the state. Campbell's argument in the first phase of discourse analysis in the discipline received wide acceptance and was developed by followers. He argued the necessity of manufacturing of threat and dangers for the identity of a state. So the security is not the relationship between already formed states with another state. Instead, the state is building with security, and its formation is a continuing process (Campbell, 1990, 1992). Alvarez (2006) argues for the mutual constitution of security and identity of

the state. He calls the security as insecurity and the security in this format is impossible for him (Alvarez, 2006). The naming of danger plays a fundamental role in the contemporary form of security and the state continuously names dangers one after another and makes the security an impossible idea. States do not stop the practice of naming of danger because it is necessary to the constitution of its identity and existence. So there is no future in which security goals are fulfilled (Alvarez 2006: 78). Hansen (2006) offers a comprehensive study that deals with the issue of identity. She examines US policy discourses regarding intervention in the Bosnia. She argues that the relationship between foreign policy and identity is constitutive rather than casual. The foreign policy of state always articulates a self and a series of other, so this discursive articulation of identity constitutes foreign policy of a country. In short, the Discourse Analysis in the post 9/11 period engaged with the international concern about security and the call against terrorism.

Practice Turn

As it is discussed, discourse scholars during the prescribed period focused much on dealing with the question of security due to the analytical trend after 9/11. It invited the criticism that discourse analysis is unable to respond to real issues and deal with policy issues. Discourse scholars accepted the spirit of the criticism. Two sorts of reactions emerged responding to the criticism. The first of them was the response was from David Howarth and Jacob Torfing (2005). They edited a book in which they addressed the lack of empirical analysis in the discourse analysis literature. According to them, the reason for the lack of empirical analysis in the literature was due to the huge and herculean tasks that the first generation of discourse scholars had to complete. These tasks included shaping philosophical, theoretical, ontological and epistemological base for discourse research in the discipline of IR. They had to consider the context of the discipline while integrating discourse turn in social theory in it. As the editors of the volume promised, writers in the volume analyse empirical cases using discourse theory. The second response came from the scholars who later named their movement as "practice turn." According to them, the lack of empirical studies and contributions dealing with the real problems are due to internal inefficiency of the current approaches to discourse research. So, they argued for a rethinking of the discourse analysis. Their solution to the dilemma is analysing the practice instead of discourse. The section will deal with the difference between two

sorts of positions in detail while dealing with the methodological part of discourse analysis.

Although this divide brought two camps in the discourse analysis, it increased the diversity in the themes of discourse analysis. There emerged works dealing with empirical issues and focusing on policy issues. The quest to address policy issues was already prevalent in the literature. However, it was not the face of discourse analysis due to its indulgence in security. Neumann (2002) is the first among the discourse scholars who asserted the need for analysing social actions and practices. Practices to him are socialised patterns of action. So what needs to be studied is the change in the practice mediated by social and political discourses and not the contents of political discourses. He views the practice out of discourse contrary to those who do not approve the distinction between discursive and non-discursive. In his article, he studied the changes in the diplomacy practices due to the discursive interplay between states (Neumann, 2002). Around the same time, Hanson (2006) came with a new proposal in which she mediated the major trend of the time; study of security with the new call for the study of practice. She reinterpreted security with her statement; "security as practice" to develop a theory of security and foreign policy. She conceptualised the identity as "discursive, political, relational and social" and indicated that the "foreign policy discourses always articulates a self and series of other" (Hansen, 2006: 6). So, she studied how identity is important for policy dealing and linking discourse analysis with policy issues.

 On the other hand, Howarth and Torfing, who do not distinguish between discursive and non-discursive approves the lack of empirical studies in discourse analysis, and calls for more empirical and policy-related engagements (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 25). However, according to him, it should be done standing on the theoretical and methodological premises of discourse analysis. The volume edited by them intended to address the challenge in analysis of empirical, and policy issues related to Europe. The following lines introduce the studies in it to state the promise of discourse analysis in the real and empirical issues. Ole Wæver (2005) and Yannis Stavrakakis (2005) examine the discursive construction of a "we" identity in the constitution of European integration. Yannis Stavrakakis studies the dilemmas and competition between different discourses in the process of construction of a European identity taking the whole Europe as an area of analysis (Stavrakakis, 2005: 68). On other

hand, Ole Wæver's studies how a giant power in the European Union like France and Germany constructs different forms of "we's" in their search for European identity. In this process, "nation" and "Europe" appears in different locations in various forms according to contextual preferences (Wæver, 2005: 33). Some scholars of the volume have studied the implication of European national identity on local administration and local institutions. Allan Dreyer Hansen and Eva Sorensen's study focus on the implication of discourse of European integration on local policy process taking a case of a town in Denmark (Hansen & Sorensen, 2005: 93). Steven Griggs uses discourse analysis to the discursive articulation of public health system in Europe. He examines how the hospital directors evoke certain kind of political identity to promote their interest (Griggs, 2005: 118). Niles Akerstrom Andersen studies the construction of distinction between politics and administration in the Danish public administrative system and the development of new idea and institution of new public management (Andersen, 2005: 139). Anthony Clohesy studies how a Labour government, basically took positions against the right based understandings in the British constitution. Through this, he wants to illustrate the impact of European identity and its institutional reforms on national constitutional reforms (Clohesy, 2005: 170). Another set of scholars in the volume studied the development of different political ideologies in the Europe negotiating with European identity. Patrick de Vos examines the case of Flemish party of Vlaams Blok. He investigates how a right wing ultra nationalist party developed its electoral base by articulating hegemonic consensus and obtained electoral victories against the idea of Europe (De-Vos, 2005: 190). Steven Bastow and James Martin study the development of a third way political ideologies by examining the way they construct a discursive space to articulate the idea of social democracy (Bastow & Martin, 2005: 211). Oscar Reyes has a similar study in which he studies the emergence of new labour ideology in the United Kingdom. It is a middle ground between socialism and liberalism. He studies how their principal idea of a "hard working family" competes with liberal and authoritarian discourse and becomes popular (Reyes, 2005: 231). Some scholars in the volume examine the process of policy formulation and public opinion using discourse analysis. Véronique Mottier studies the expert's articulation of welfare state discourses and the formation of Swiss welfare state (Mottier, 2005: 255). Lillie Chouliaraki studies the politics of truth in public debate by analysing the journalist practices in Danish television (Chouliaraki, 2005: 275). Maarten A. Hajer studies discourse of environmental discourses in the

Britain by analysing the role of metaphor and narratives in shaping policies (Hajer, 2005: 297).

This crucial beginning of thematic diversity in discourse analysis in International Relations explained above was in a period where most of their colleagues were dealing with security related issues. Although they had competing positions on discourse, the start given by Neumann (2002) and David Howarth and Jacob Torfing (2005) changed the face of discourse analysis in the discipline. It diversified the themes in discourse analysis in International Relations. The following section examines the new developments.

One important contributor in this regard is Charlotte Epstein (2008), who analysed the political economy of whaling. She studied how the pro-whaling discourse changed to anti-whaling discourse, and it affected political action. She has brilliantly documented historical illustration of whaling discourse and finds a whaling order that continued up to 1960. In that period, states and international organisations were supporting whaling. Whales were considered "as a resource to be exploited as a matter of national security" (Epstein, 2008: 91). The rise of environmentalism from the bottom lines of society against states changed the course of the whaling discourse, and started to create an anti-whaling discourse at international level. Later, this constituted a shift in the state and international organisation's discourses on whaling and national and international enactment of laws against whaling and thus, a change in the norm to anti-whaling. She examines how this discourse of resistance of anti-whaling changed the dominant discourses and caused different legal and political decisions at international level (Epstein, 2008). The study is very much important in the discipline because it introduces a new theme that is less "international" to mainstream International Relations.

Michelle Burgise's work also is a brilliant contribution during this period. She argued that international law as a discursive process and proposed the idea of law as language. She studied the construction of justice in the Arab territorial disputes in the International Court of Justice (ICJ). She adopted third world approaches to the international law by analysing the discursive practices in disputes in International Court of Justice from a post-colonial perspective. According to her, the institutional

particularities and conventions of ICJ have a discursive dominance that downplays the Arab experiences (Burgis, 2008, 2009).

Another important milestone in the thematic development of discourse analysis in International Relations is the book authored by Anna Holzscheiter (2010) about the international discourse on child rights. She studies how the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child came into existence studying the international political discourses on child rights. She examines UNCRCS (The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) as a dominant but contested text. Her study contests popular assumption that it is drafted unanimously. She argues that Western understanding of child rights obtained accessibility in the content of the draft and the discourses of the rest, including African, Asian, Arab and even children's experiences were silenced. The book illustrates an instance of politics of discursive articulation that later turned to action and constituted international politics regarding child right and political institutions (Holzscheiter, 2010).

The trend of discourse research in empirical and real issues turns attention to traditional or "hot" topics in IR. The research on diplomatic practices is one among them. From the very initial period of Derian's conceptualisation of diplomacy through discourse analysis has brought new turning points in the study of diplomacy. His conceptualisation of diplomacy has introduced different forms such as para diplomacy or media diplomacy (Derian, 1987) and finally quantum diplomacy (Derian, 2011). According to him,

> Diplomacy now appeared, to the extent that any single phenomenon appeared the same to two different observers, to be travelling in a very nonlinear fashion, with the arrows going in all directions. Subject to constant observation, intervention, manipulation and even production by a pervasive and diffuse global media, diplomacy had become a phase-shifting, level-jumping, distance-traversing, volatile superposition between states of being and becoming, occupied one moment by a pin-striped representative of the state, de-localized the next by a pixelated representation of the global event (Derian, 2011: 377).

So according to him, diplomacy is a discursive process, present everywhere as the word quantum indicates. Neumann is another scholar who brought discourse analysis to the study diplomatic practices. He finds popular culture and the media as the sites of diplomacy. It is against conventional understanding of diplomacy which deals with formal closed door diplomacies. He argued that the discursive articulation in the

popular culture and media also constitutes diplomatic practices (Neumann, 2012). Another important aspect of this development is the security studies followed Hanson's (2006) way by connecting it with policy issues. Balzacq's study is one instance among them. He argues the need of studying security practices. According to him security practices constitute their meaning according to context and other practices, and it also has its logic of securitisation. Through this argument, he relates legitimacy with security. It means that securitisation means an act of political antagonism that articulates some act or issue as a security problem. It will be accepted and legitimate if it accepts "grammar of commonly accepted values" (Balzacq, 2010, 2014).

It is obvious to say that there had been a continuation of earlier patterns of discourse research during these periods also. Here some of such studies that deal with questions of representation flourished. Tanja Collet (2009) analysed the discursive construction of civilised and non-civilised in the US presidential addresses after 9/11 during three years from 2001 to 2004. Yonatan (2011) studied the discursive construction of the "axis of evil" discourse. She argues that the naming of evil is socially produced. Adam Hodges (2010, 2011) has a comprehensive study that deals with the discursive construction of global war on terror. He says there is a "global interchange of ideas" in the terrorism discourses. He explains that the movement of discourse on terrorism across the boundaries is a process which shapes global relation and actions and the local responses (Hodges, 2010, 2011). Chowdhury (2010) and Krebs again studied the effort of the counter-terrorist state forces to control the language. According to him, the counter-terrorist campaign is not only for control over territory but also over its meaning also. In a more generalist study, Jeremy Moses (2010) used discursive analysis to analyse liberal international discourse in which he examines how it placed a category of people outside global humanity. His discursive and deconstructive approach to liberalism revolves around the liberal foreign policy maker's discourse about world community vs. "sub human" (Moses, 2010). Tekin (2010) introduces the theme of representation into the EU context. He analysed discursive and linguistic articulation in the French political discourse to construct Turkey as parallel to the European identity. The intention of anti-Turkey discourse in French politics; in constructing Turkey's otherness was geared towards preventing its accession into EU (Tekin, 2010). Carta (2013) studied the use of metaphors by EU's foreign policy

practitioners about EU's international role. Thus, she studies discursive patterns associated with EU's international subjectivity. She shows how EU employs metaphors of enlightenment and western European tradition to construct its image at the international level (Carta, 2013). Cont Kyung Hye Kim examines the discursive representation of North Korea in the US news media. The study illustrated the ways in which three important US media; CNN, Newsweek and The New York Times divides the world into pro and anti-US camps (Kim, 2014).

Thus, discourse analysis in International Relations travelled through different levels of engagement with themes. The initial period of introducing new philosophical takes that clear ground for ontological and epistemological spaces in the discipline turned its focus on security after 9/11. After accepting internal and external criticism, it diversified its reach in the discipline.

Methodological Development of Discourse Analysis in IR

The chapter till now discussed the thematic development of discourse analysis in International Relations. It has analysed different thematic trends in the discourse analysis responding to the changing contexts in the field. As the first chapter states, discourse analysis is a network of various approaches and perspectives. This difference begins from ontological and epistemological positions and continues to methodologies for conducting discourse research. This section of the chapter analyses how the above-illustrated literature in discourse analysis has approached the study and how they carried the research. In other words, this section analyses the methods and patterns of discourse analysis in International Relations. It is done by explaining the methodological approaches of discourse studies in IR described above and other studies that exclusively deal with methodological questions. Methodology and method are not an untouchable area for post-positivist and interpretivist research programme. However, the scientific and the readymade research tools and universal theories are rejected by discourse analysis, and it is not a general rejection of methods. In short, what IR discourse scholars question is the scientificism of mainstream research programmes in the discipline (Derian, 1989; George, 1994).

As Milliken noted, there is no standard way of doing discourse analysis in International Relations (Milliken, 1999b: 226). After three decades, the status remains the same, which is not negative but indicates the plurality of a research programme. A

research programme need not have a standardised format but what it needs is patterned perspectives on doing research. Discourse analysis in International Relations crosses the paradigmatic boarders. Structuralists, post-structuralists, constructivists and postmodernists have deployed discourse analysis in their studies. It is important to draw border lines between various paradigms of social enquiries. Whether discourse analysis in IR is itself a paradigm or not also is an important point to be considered here. Milliken argues it is not a paradigm in Kuhnian terms but, they have evolved as a "research community" (Milliken, 1999b: 226). Contrary to Milliken's argument, the community feeling also is scattered and blurred among discourse analysts, especially with the efforts of Adler and others to establish a practice movement (Adler & Pouliot, 2011). For the realisation of blurring lines among the critical paradigms in the discipline and lack of interest in upgrading discourse analysis to a paradigm itself, the chapter does not intend a fitting or isolating argument on discourse analysis. Instead, it examines how it approaches research.

A research programme differs from others in its approach to research. Two important methodological debates are important here: constitution vs. causality and structure vs. agency. Discourse analysts agree on the point that social relationship is not causal but it is constructed. It brings the next question within discourse analysis. It is structure vs. agency debate. The discussion on the structure vs. agency is an important confrontation point in social science. Critical theories started with questioning the obsession of liberalism with the agency, and revealing the structural constraints and ended in preferring structure. Further developments within the critical social science accommodated the agency as in the case of post-structuralism. In discourse analysis, the debate of structure vs. agency is a contested issue, and it continues to form the difference within it. Following are two arguments in this regard.

- Structure constructs the agency
- Co-construction of structure and agency

Some of CDA and post-structuralist studies are instances of above positions respectively. CDA researches how the structures construct the agency. In the discourse analysis, they examine how the power shapes the meaning. On the other hand, post-structuralist discourse analysis eschews all centres and states the formation

of the meaning in the struggle or antagonism of competing versions. So, there are no pre-established structures and agencies, but both are forms in the discourse. The overall analysis of methodological approaches of discourse scholars in International Relations this chapter classifies it based on how they understand the discourse. They are

- studies that trace the representation of meaning,
- studies that examine the constitution of ideas and
- studies on the constitution of practice

The following sections examine in detail these varieties.

Researching the Representations

Analysis of the structures of representation is common and the primary trend in the study of discourse analysis. Representation means assigning of meaning to an "object". For instance, if one says the United States of America is a hegemon, the meaning of a hegemon is assigned to the USA, and it is represented as a hegemonic country. In this form of research, representation of meaning, ideas and identity are studied. Mostly, scholars from a structuralist perspective of discourse, explore the discourse of representation. In this view, discourse is a structure of meaning in use, and the discourse analysis studies how a word got certain meaning in a context and how it is assigned to its holder. Post-structuralist scholars also have studied the discourse of representation. But they do not view the meaning in use as final, instead they place it in a continued discursive contestation, and argue that the current meaning is a split position in the entire process.

Studying the discourse of representation in a structuralist understanding in International Relations is the contribution of CDA scholars. CDA researchers explore the relationship of power and imposition in the enactment of meaning by analysing the linguistic practices of text or talk. They analyse diplomatic documents, policy speeches, media programmes and popular culture. In IR, Critical Discourse Analysis has focussed on the dominance in the linguistic practices of world politics; the use of words, rhetoric, images intended to control. Study of linguistic practices of representation begins in the initial period of development of discourse analysis. Chilton (1996) and Milliken (1996, 1999a, 2001) brought the linguistic tools to study

International Relations. Text to them is a linguistic category, and it is not a text in the post structuralist understanding where every aspect of social practices come under text. So they used linguistic tools to trace the process of representation through assigning meaning. Milliken (1999b) in his analysis of the literature of discourse analysis in International Relations, which is first substantive meta-review in this regard, introduces predicative analysis and metaphorical analysis to study the representation. The predicative analysis is a method to study the "language practices of prediction; the verbs, adverbs and adjectives that attach to the nouns. Prediction of a noun constructs the things named as a particular sort of thing with specific features and capacities" (Milliken, 1999b: 232). She illustrates the method with an example by analysing a diplomatic document which records US policy towards Korea. She used predicative and metaphorical analysis in his study on the US policy toward Indochina and Korea. The metaphorical analysis "focuses on metaphors as structuring possibilities for human reasoning and action." The use of metaphor is an import part of communication in international politics (Milliken, 1999b: 235). Chilton's (1996, 2002) study of cold war metaphors and responses to 9/11 is an outstanding example of this sort of studies in IR. The advantage of textual discourse analysis in International Relations revealed the politics of words and meaning and politics of naming in the policy documents.

The popularity of research in search of practices of representation using linguistic tools increased in International Relations after 9/11. It was an important time when the contemporary international politics took a turbulent turn after the cold war. Plenty of policy documents, speeches and other visual documents intending to tackle terrorism were published. Studies that analysed the diplomatic papers and speeches and media reports about terrorism and counter-terrorism traced the representation practices and the ways in which language is used for this purposes (Graham, et al. 2004; Dijk, 2005; Collet, 2009; Dirks, 2006).

A textual analysis of discourse using linguistic tools has been severely criticised by scholars within discourse analysis itself. Neumann (2002) called it "armchair analysis" and accused it of being less useful. Still CDA in International Relations has its advantages. Most importantly, post-structuralist discourse scholars and others have employed CDA methods in their studies. The advantage of textual studies is the availability of materials and primary data which are being produced on an everyday

basis. For this reason, although there are diverse calls to reform discourse analysis in the discipline, CDA attracts followers. Two recent studies that apply linguistic analysis are Carta's metaphorical study of EU's international discourse (Carta, 2013) and Beyza Ç. Tekin's study of othering in French discourses against Turkey (Tekin, 2010, 2013). Post-structuralist scholars also have traced the process of representation. Contrary to the Critical Discourse Analyse, they study construction of language itself than the construction of sentences. The deconstruction and double reading are most important research strategies employed by post-structuralism in their textual analysis. Shapiro's analysis of politics of representation in the policy analysis writings is a study in this category in the earlier stage of development of discourse analysis in International Relations (Shapiro, 1987).

Tracing the Constitution of Ideas

Tracing the process of constitution of an idea is another important aspect of discourse analysis. Constitution is a post-positivist term normally used against causality. The debate over how the things and ideas are formed is an area of contestation in social science. The difference between idea and matter also is another area of contestation. Discourse analysis has employed this difference and accommodated it. The division between discourse scholars who differentiate between discursive and non-discursive and those who do not differentiate is explained in the chapter one. This division resembles the division of idea and matter. While post-structuralist discourse scholars do not distinguish between the two, structuralist scholars like CDA and some constructivists advocate the difference. While denying the difference, the denial of materiality is not on its ontological existence but its relationship with society and its constitution. Most of the post structurlist discourse literatures deals with this area of research. This focus on ideas invited internal criticism and calls for dealing with actions that later led to new methodological developments in the discipline. The next section will explain the criticism and its consequences in detail.

Critical Discourse Analysis has widened its terrain from the textual analysis to understanding text into wider domains. So they also have dealt with the historical formation of ideas and concepts. CDA which takes a structuralist perspective on power views the discourse as one factor among different factors that constitute society. In International Relations, CDA schools use its different variations such as discourse historical approach Proposed by Ruth Wodak (2001), intertextuality and

interdiscursivity proposed by Fairclough (1995a) and other approaches in their study of the formation of ideas in world politics. As the previous section explained, there is CDA literature that traces the constitution of ideas in international relations Mortimer's (1999) study on the armament discourse is an important instance in this regard. He studies the proliferation as a metaphor or as an image. He argues the "proliferation" image is rooted in the technological aspect of weapon making. It means proliferation in current discourses means the movement of weapon making technologies. It is silent about the possessing the weapon and transferring or the weapons among states. So this image creates tree types of subjects in world politics. The first subject is suppliers. It is the countries that possess the advanced technological capabilities. The recipients are the second subjects. It is the countries that receive the weapons from advanced countries. If the recipients transfer the supplied weapons to others, they are identified as rogue states; the third subjects (Mutimer, 1999). Mark Ayyash (2007) studies how the idea of war and its ethics and its legitimised form is articulated. He studies the formation of an idea of war and its necessity in the case of US war against Iraq. Erjavez's (2007) study also conducts a similar study. His contribution is an investigation of how a global discourse constitutes local context and local appropriation. He analyses the constitution of the idea of terrorism and its local context in Serbia by analysing data collected through qualitative interviews with Serbian intellectuals. He argues that the Serbs have used global analogies to legitimise the violence against Muslims in Bosnia and Kosova (Erjavec & Volcic, 2007). Jackson (2007) used discourse analysis to study the formation of counter-terrorism agenda of EU. He analysed the formation of EU's policy on terrorism. His study is a comparative analysis of EU and US policy perspectives. While all these studies are contextual and case-based, an extensive study of this sort is proposed by Adam Hodges in his analysis of the global discourse on terrorism and the war on terrorism. He has used different textual strategies from social linguistics including the study of intertextuality (Hodges & Nilep, 2007; Hodges, 2007, 2010, 2011).

Tracing the constitution of ideas is a favourite domain of post-structuralist discourse analysis. Most of the works in this regard are the contribution of post-structuralist discourse scholars. Mostly they use genealogical study, deconstruction and double reading in their study. While tracing the constitution of ideas, they have questioned

the normality of different concepts in the discipline, and rethinking the history of core concepts in the discipline. The dominant narrative of history is redefined, and the historical deconstruction is done by analysing how a particular disciplinary history became dominant. This historical deconstruction is done mostly by Foucauldian genealogical analysis. Important genealogical studies from discourse literature in IR is Derian's (1987) study on diplomacy Campbell's (1992) study on security and Shapiro' book (1992) on geopolitics, Bartelson's (1995) history of sovereignty and Schmidt's (1998b) history of anarchy. These historical studies question the dominant narrative and deconstruct the history of International Relations through discourse analysis.

Study of the power-knowledge relationship in theoretical arguments of International Relations is an important area where discourse analysis scholars examine the constitution of ideas. They argue that IR theories are constructed according to the political projects of hegemonic forces introducing a research area that investigates the power-knowledge relationship. Derian and Shapiro's (1989) collection of discourse studies started the trend of tracing power-knowledge relationship in dominant IR theories. After that, many studies have concentrated on this type of research. Walker (1990) investigates the power-knowledge relationship between domestic sovereignty and international anarchy and how this theorisation constituted the contemporary international politics. Jim George's (1994) discourse of global politics adopts similar approach. He also studies the relationship between policies and International Relations theory.

In Search of the Constitution of Practice
International politics is a domain of everyday political practices and political actions. In this context, critics addressed the obsession of discourse analysis in International Relations with research on the constitution of ideas and the textual analysis of linguistic practices in the policy documents speeches and media. Some of the critics that belong to positivist background like Keohane (1988, 1991, 1994-1995), and others are internal critics. This section explains methodological developments responding to the criticism that advocated a practice turn in discourse analysis in IR.

The research question in practice research is what makes people do what they do. Neumann (2002) started the debate of practice in International Relations. According

to him, the well celebrated linguistic turn in IR has been reduced to the study of narrative discourses and rhetoric and avoided the crucial question of how politics is affected. So the studies end with how discourses form and do not deal with how it affects action and political practices (Neumann, 2002: 627). The problem with the textual analysis is that it is a sort of "armchair analysis" that does not take field and context into consideration and does not deal with empirical questions. As a solution, he advocates "to place culture at the centre of the analysis and to conceptualise it as a dynamic interplay between discourse and practice" (Neumann, 2002: 630). Practice advocates limits meaning of the discourse, and see the practice as parallel to it. As it is the case in the discourse, the practice, according to them also is dynamic. It studies the process of being practiced. Neumann defines it by quoting Barnes's definition that practices are "socially recognized forms of activity, done on the basis of what members learn from others, and capable of being done well or badly, correctly or incorrectly" (Barnes, 2001, pp. as cited in Neumann, 2000:630-631). Enactment of practice has two steps. Firstly, it has to fit "with already established practices through omissions, additions and creations." It leads the practice into existence. Secondly, after practice is enacted, its version and values constitute other practices. The continuity of this process constitutes human actions (Neumann, 2002: 636). Hence, the dynamism in the practice is an area of serious research.

So, the study of practice was a reformist movement within discourse analysis to take the rationalist challenge to address "real world research questions" (Hansen, 2006). Hansen stretched the potential of discourse analysis to practice while arguing "policies are thus particular direction for action, whereas the construction of identity in discourse is seen more broadly as a political practice" (Hansen, 2006: 19). In her study of the Bosnian war, she proposes the argument of security as practice. Security is the prime concern of foreign policy. It is political practice to constitute the identity of the state (Hansen, 2006: 19). Adler (2011) tried to take a practice turn in discourse research as a new paradigm in the discipline. He systematically differentiated between the practice research and other discourse researches. There are three prime distinctions. Firstly, practice study engages with both material and discursive practices. Secondly, the aim of practice study is not only emancipation by deconstructing "abstract binary opposition but it is to understand how word politics works." So, they depart from the "critical" of critical thinking. Thirdly, the study of

the practice is an effort to cross inter-paradigmatic boarders. So practice links the study of the structure, agency, idea, rationality and stability (Adler & Pouliot, 2011: 4). In International Relations, he proposes the concept of international practices as a "socially organized activities that pertain to world politics, broadly constructed". The epistemological aim of the programme is an empirical scrutiny of the processes in which a certain performances or practices produce a "world political nature." It opens wide scope of analysis where from local to global, from national to transnational, regional to trans-regional everything comes under practice analysis (Adler & Pouliot, 2011: 6).

Adler (2011) illustrates how to research international practices with examples in five steps. Following lines quotes his arguments to offer a clear picture of the concept of practice in IR.

1. Practice is a performance, or it is a process of doing something. For instance G 8 annual summit is an international practice.
2. Practices tend to be patterned according to some peculiarities, which repeat across space and time. In the case of G 8, the pattern of meetings has its regularities in the way of conducting and nature of participants and discussions. The head of the state needs to represent a country.
3. The practice is dynamic according to social meanings and contexts. The social recognition is also necessary for the constitution of the practices. For instance, the practice of G 8 annual meetings is a legitimate model of state to engage in communications, since it is according to the people's perception of diplomacy.
4. A practice is conditioned on existing knowledge that supports its emergence, still, there are regularities and changes. The G8 summit practices promote the knowledge about the way of conducting negotiations.
5. Practices are interwoven with discursive and non-discursive. So G8 summit is both an ideational and material phenomenon(Adler & Pouliot, 2011: 7)

Studies of practice and the interplay between discourse and action show potential and new dynamism in discourse analysis. Neumann (2002) studied diplomacy. Michael C. Williams (2007) and Balzacq (2005, 2010, 2014) analysed security. Hanson (2006) examined security and foreign policy and Dotty (1996) studied international hierarchy while Adler and Vincent Pouliot (2011) explained bargaining.

On the other hand, the turn to practice received a strong criticism that accuses the tendency as a turn to the positivist trap. Scholars who do not want to distinguish between discursive and non-discursive have questioned it. Simultaneously, they have approved the validity of criticism in its spirit and agreed with the claim of lack of empirical discourse studies in IR. Epstein (2013) criticises the practice turn in International Relations as an "eternal return of universals" to discourse analysis. It is primarily against universals. She advocates a return to language as a solution to escape from the trap of positivist trend of research on universals that is initiated by practice turn. She illustrates her criticism after explaining the intellectual factors that necessitated the development of post-structuralism in International Relations and its questions against constructivism. She argues that constructivism has gone out of its founding aim of research. Its aim is to examine the constitutivity of social relations (Epstein, 2013). The constitutivity is based on the assumption of the particularity of different social relations, and it is against the positivist assumption of the regularity of social world as natural world. However, constructivists diverted from their assumptions while arguing certain aspect of the social world is real and natural. The post-structuralist introduced the solution to their diversion to universalism. It is the turn to language. The language here is in the meaning of discourse. It provides a scope to break universals and to analyse the particular; it is because the language forms in the contexts. Analysing the articulations of meaning, process of representation and signification in history and the contemporary discourses, discourse analysis brings the tradition of research of constitutivity. According to her, now, the potential of discourse research is dimmed by two recent trends; one is practice turn, and other is new materialism. These trends are "explicitly against discourse." They repeat the flawed logic of some of the constructivist scholars who tried to enter to the "quarter of IR" by finding a middle ground between constructivism and rationalism. According to her this effort is problematic for two reasons. Firstly it views language in a limited meaning which does not include meaning making and material practices. It is "unnecessary" practice for "practice is part of discourse." Secondly, it downplays the link between the language, action and performativity on which discourse scholars have offered their efforts for years (Epstein, 2013: 515).

However, scholars who do not distinguish between practice and discourse have tried to deal with the empirical lack of discourse analysis in International Relations. They

have agreed with the fact about the lack of empirical studies in the discipline. According to Howarth and Torfing (2005), the lack of empirical studies is due to the engagement of discourse scholars in making of a new research programme. They were engaging in philosophical studies to make ontological and epistemological base for their research project. It was an essential factor for a newly emerging research programme. He proposes his idea for the application of discourse analysis to real and empirical analysis. Two basic discourse analysis positions; application and logic, have to be understood to get his argument. The idea of application in positivism itself distinguishes between the object of analysis from theory. The analyst has to mediate between these two and have to get access to the object of analysis by theory. Discourse theory does not distinguish between theory and object of analysis for the theory itself is a part of the object of analysis. So what one is analysing is not whether the logic of propositions in the theory is the same in the "object" of analysing or not. Instead, the logic here are rules governing the object of analysis; "discourse" (in its limited meaning) and practice (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 324). In his exemplary investigation, he shows how the practice of apartheid ends with discursive articulations of BCM (Black Consciousness Movement) which had received vivid sorts of momentum during its entire duration. The other articles in his volume also deal with vivid empirical questions standing in "pure" premises of discourse analysis (Howarth & Torfing, 2005).

Commenting on the recent methodological developments in discourse analysis in International Relations, Holzcheiter argues that discourse analysis is trapped in an "uneasy combination of positivist epistemology and constructivist ontology" (Holzscheiter, 2014: 142). Her response to practice turn is a balancing position. She views the practice turn as a necessary step in the discipline. It is because it is a turn from linguistic analysis to discursive analysis. Still, she does not agree upgradation of practice turn to another paradigm as advocated by Adler. Practice to her is part of discourse analysis. So the need of the time was to include analysis of practice with the analysis of text and "discourse" (Holzscheiter, 2014: 159).

Conclusion

The chapter has observed the theoretical and methodological development of discourse analysis in International Relations. Discourse study in IR is in its fourth decade of engagement with international politics and the prevailing knowledge

systems to study international relations. It clearly engages with the discipline according to different contexts and political atmosphere. During the initial period, most of the studies indulged in developing philosophical foundations including ontological and epistemological positions. The studies also invited new theorisation of core concepts in the discipline including sovereignty, diplomacy, and anarchy. After 9/11 when the entire discipline engaged in security themes, discourse analysis also witnessed a security turn. These studies initiated works on representation and established connections between identity, security and foreign policy. The criticism levelled against it on the lack of empirical studies and inefficiency in dealing with "real" issues invited new theoretical movements that diversified the theme in the discipline. Methodologically it crossed the paradigmatic borders within the critical thinking for it accommodated vivid versions. The research oriented to study the representation of meanings, constitutions of ideas and constitutions of practices. The dynamism of discourse analysis made it find an important space in the research framework within the discipline of IR.

Chapter Four

Discourse Analysis and Research in International Relations

Introduction

Over the past three decades, discourse analysis inspired by different critical perspectives has exercised a vital influence upon the study of International Relations and has emerged as a powerful alternative to the orthodox approaches of the discipline. It has enlarged the borders of discipline, introducing the discourse as a vital domain of analysis in the study of international politics. Its presence and its engagement with traditional approaches are an important arena of concern for the students of International Relations, because it rewrites the research through innovative positions on ontology, epistemology and methodology. This chapter examines the engagements and achievements of discourse analysis, illustrating differences in its approaches to the research, its advantage over the traditionalist research programmes and its accomplishments in creating new trends in the discipline. Similar investigations are common in the discipline like studies on achievements of realism (Buzan, 1996), critical theory (Linklater, 1996), constructivism (Hurd, 2008) and post-structuralism (Ashley, 1996). These studies investigate the impact, achievements or advantage of specific research projects or theoretical approaches in the discipline. As a first attempt of this sort, Milliken conducted a substantive study on discourse analysis in IR (Milliken, 1999b). After that, the discourse has moved to different directions in International Relations. Literature about discourse mostly focused on the potential of discourse analysis to study world politics and called for attention in the production of meaning (Fierke, 2002; Howarth & Torfing, 2005; Epstein, 2013). Holzcheiter (2014) conducted a recent substantive study. She analysed different trends within the discourse analysis, classifying them to micro interactional approaches and macro structural approaches. These studies on discourse analysis in IR possess limited purpose of merely reviewing the literature and not of placing it in the discipline. Developing on these seminal works, this chapter takes the challenge of tracing the position of discourse, its achievements, advantages and engagements with other approaches.

Discourse analysis examines the production or the process of meanings. It is developed on the argument that language has no given meanings and the meaning of words, written or vocal, is formed in a particular context. One has to study the formation of meanings through discourse to study the society. The term "discourse" is the name of the process in which meaning is formed. There are different positions about the formation of meaning that constitute vivid approaches within the discourse analysis. Some of them are those who advocate that meaning is formed when the state, culture, civil society or other modes impose power. This understanding of discourse analysis is structuralist which includes approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis (Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995a, Wodak & Meyer, 2001) and middle ground constructivism (Adler, 1997; Wendt, 1995) which are described in previous chapters. According to them, language or discourse is one of the factors that constitute social actions. Discursivity i.e. the formation of meaning in the context is limited to the language and its meanings. On the other hand, more radical position on the formation of meaning is proposed by post-structuralists. According to them everything is text, and every meaning is formed in the context and this formation is not through imposition from the above but, through the articulation of subjects or actors participating in the discourse. The difference they introduced to discourse analysis is the dismantling of differences between discursive and non-discursive and spreading the scope of discourse analysis to every aspect of society, including both "material" and "ideational" establishments. So discourse analysis in International Relations turns around the question of how the meanings in international politics are formed and how it constitutes political actions. For instance, it addresses the questions of how the meaning of nation state is formed, how it is vital in post-Second World War international relations, how some states becomes rogue states and how this label justifies actions against them. The structuralist versions of discourse analysis studies show how the dominant forces in international politics impose meanings in international politics like the deliberative use of words like underdeveloped, barbarians and rogue states. The object of structuralist analysis is the text in its common meaning, and its domain is limited to language. Post-structuralist understanding of discourse analysis views the world as text and analyses the process of meaning making in a decentralised way where different actors are actively participating and the process is open to continuity and change (Holzscheiter, 2010: 32,

2014: 144). The details of the arguments and its application in IR research are illustrated in the previous chapters.

Before going to the depth of analysis, two points have to be made clear. Firstly, discourse analysis is a research programme. A research programme needs to have ontological, epistemological methodological and theoretical positions. Discourse analysis has taken inputs from various positions in the philosophy of social science like structuralism, post-structuralism, constructivism and post-positivism. So the relationship between them, for instance between post-structuralism and discourse analysis, is not mutually exclusive. Some of the advantages introduced by discourse analysis in IR may be for its affiliation to broader philosophical positions. Then the additional benefit of analysing the achievements of discourse analysis is approaching it as a full-fledged research programme. It is because one can examine all aspect of research potential from its positions on the object of analysis and nature of the knowledge produced and the method of producing the knowledge. It is different from analysing the achievement of critical theory (Linklater, 1996) or post-structuralism (Ashley, 1996) in IR for it is only about certain aspects of research. Secondly, it is not discourse analysis but discourse analyses and contains affiliation to different positions in the philosophy of social science. So a structuralist discourse analysis is opposite of a post-structuralist discourse analysis in that aspect, but it is unique in problematising the normality or naturalness of meaning. Structuralists limit the discourse to language and post-structuralists expand it into all domains. So the latter will not contradict the former in the domain of language while doing research. Howarth says when it comes to the field of analysis, the difference between Fairclough and Laclau and Mouffe is ignorable (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 9). Critical Discourse Analysis can be treated as a methodology to post-structuralist IR (Holzscheiter, 2010: 11). Accepting these arguments, I have limited my analysis in this chapter to post-structuralist discourse analysis accommodating others in it for the uniqueness and commonality in problematizing naturalness of meaning in international politics.

While the previous chapters have explained discourse analysis and how it is "applied" in International Relations, this chapter deals with the achievements of discourse analysis in the discipline. It explores the alternatives proposed by discourse analysis to IR research and how it is benefiting knowledge production compared to the orthodox rationalist approaches. The research is done through the lens of discourse

analysis itself. From a post-structuralist perspective, it traces the process in which discourse analysis in the discipline articulates counter research discourses and its efforts to shape the identity and "subjectivity" of the discipline. As the second chapter explains, in post-structuralist discourse analysis proposed by Laclau and Mouffe, the meaning of an act, statement, event and individual emerges and sustains through the hegemonic articulation of that meaning. It means, meaning arises in a relational process in discourse. One meaning gets approved in antagonism with the other meaning while it gets approved. Then it has to articulate its version continuously to sustain over other meanings. In this process, it accommodates the alternative voices that aim to establish other meanings. If it fails to do so and the power of alternative meaning increases either through happening of certain events or other ways, the possibility of dislocation starts. The dislocation means alternative meaning gets approved over the older one. It changes the identity and subjectivity of the holder of the meaning. The process of articulation of meaning continues. In the case of discipline of International Relations, it is important to analyse how the different meanings get approved and affect the identity and the "subjectivity" of the discipline. The meaning proposed by orthodox rationalist theories like realism and liberalism has been shaping the meanings of discipline and thus its identity and subject matter for decades. It is done by articulating different disciplinary practices and silencing the dissent. In this context, the chapter traces the efforts of discourse analysis to propose alternative meaning to the discipline, reorienting its research assumption and investigates whether it dislocates the earlier meanings.

The chapter argues the antagonism among different approaches to research forms the borders of International Relations. The positivist rationalist approaches that were dominating the discipline, formed meanings on how to do research and what should be the subject matter of the discipline. The disciplinary practices like claiming scientific research and paradigmaticism maintained articulation of meaning and particular subject position to the discipline. The rise of post positivist approaches has created the possibility of giving new meanings to the discipline. Discourse analysis from this stream, which dismantles the naturalness of meanings that is already established in the discipline, is articulating new positions on research and subject matters of International Relations. It tries to dislocate several earlier aspects of International Relations like concepts of theory and method, ontological,

epistemological and methodological positions, "object" of analysis, research agenda and relationship between different approaches of research. The study does not advocate that the dislocation is complete and the orthodox meaning are being overtaken, but, it views the discipline in a stage of antagonism of different subject positions like positivist and post-positivist approaches including discourse analysis. The situation has changed the identity or the "subjectivity" of discipline to a new form which is proposed neither by rationalist approaches nor by discourse analysis. To elaborate this argument, more precisely the chapter has been structured as follows. The first part of the chapter illustrates how the orthodox positivist approaches preserve hegemony over the discipline and its disciplinary practices. The second part explains the alternative discourses created by discourse analysis concerning the research, and the third part examines how this alternative meaning affects the identity of discipline and its research credentials.

Hegemonic Discipline and its Disciplinary Practices

Since the mainstream International Relations is obsessed with power in the politics outside, it is practicing the same within the discipline (McMillan, 2012: 132). The structure of discipline is such that, it maintains the critical voices at borderlines. Mainstream theories are realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The entry into the core of International Relations is the crucial step in a theoretical endeavour. For this reason, constructivism aimed to reach that target and positioned it in between rationalism and relativism (Adler, 1997: 321). The great debates in the discipline among realism and liberalism, traditionalism and scientificism, and inter-paradigms debates are crucial in the development of discipline and defining its identity (Schmidt, 2012a). The point of contestation during these discussion was mostly on empirical issues like whether power matters or the preference matters in international politics (Morgenthau, 1978, 1997), whether it is cooperation or conflict (Jervis, 1991) or whether ideational factors influence material factors or vice versa (Goldstein & Keohane, 1993). One can argue against another with different empirical examples. So the difference in the theoretical approaches prescribed above is not contradictory but it was exclusionary. Individual theoretical paradigms did not consider the anomalies raised by others but ignored them or replied to them with other empirical examples that support them. So this game of hide and seek formed the meanings of research in the discipline and constituted the identity of discipline. The clear picture of the

discipline in such a period is what Rosenau called: a "fragmented nonfeild" (Rosenau, 1993: 456). The tendency also restricted the agenda and topics to be researched. There is some positivist deliberation on what should be the research agenda in IR. According to Michael Mann (1996), it should be about war and peace. Rosenau (1996) argues it should limit from licencing to study the trivial things. Halliday (1996) says a theory should focus on "significant issues". But the question is who is deciding the significance and triviality regarding the international events.

The things changed in the discipline when the practice of research and its credentials went under serious criticism. Post positivists questioned the scientificity and objectivity of research projects in International Relations. The questions they raised were not simple, because it shook the idea of research and thus the existence of the existing nature of the discipline. The details of the criticism are in the section that explains post-positivism. It is interesting to study how the mainstream theories in International Relations addressed the criticism. Here, the discussion outlines opinions of authors from mainstream approaches about alternatives to show the nature of the hegemonic articulation of meaning within the discipline. Kenneth Waltz in his reply to Ashley on his critique of state centrism, structuralising world politics in anarchy and lack of historicism (Ashley R. , 1986), says the aims of theory is limited (Waltz, 1986). Robert Keohane (1988) who approved the potential of subject matters of discourse analysis and other post-positivist approaches like identity, culture and ideas, argued the need to turn to the casual hypothesis as proper model of research (Keohane, 1988: 389-393). In his presidential address to the International Studies Association, he warned that critical theories "will remain on the margins of the field unless they adopt the rationalistic premises of mainstream IR" (Keohane, 1988). In his study to understand better theory in International Relations, Karl Holsti concluded that critical theories will not propose progress in the discipline (Holsti 1989). Stephen Walt also expressed his concern over the takeover of post-positivism and the proliferation of theories in his *Writing International Relations: One world, Many Theories*. (Walt 1998). The experience of the mentality of rejection can be perceived from the post-positivist scholars also. An instance is Zalewski's responses to Stephen Walt, who accuses lack of basic "requisites" of research like hypothesis testing in alternative thinking. Zalewski says the fear is not the "Pilling up" of theories but, the mentality of rejection (Zalewski, 1996: 352). In short, the game in the discipline

reaches another level when it comes to the question of what is research in world politics and how to do it. The orthodox theories in the discipline are open to accepting the subject matters introduced by discourse analysis although they argue that there are some real issues in world politics. It is because the empirical clash is accommodative contrary to methodological or epistemological disagreement. For instance the argument; whether identity matters in foreign policy or not, is similar to the earlier debate between realism and liberalism like whether power or preference matters. So the approach within the discipline against post-positivist theories is because it disturbs the idea of research in the discipline. It is necessary to understand how the orthodox theories preserve their dominance over meanings of doing research to study how discourse analysis, which proposes an alternative research culture, challenges the discipline. The following lines examine the disciplinary practices of IR to preserve the positivist mode of research. There are two strategies in International Relations. One is paradigmaticism, that structures the space of discipline and thus indirectly prevents the new research programmes and the second is the label of science which has a direct impact on alternative modes of knowledge production.

Paradigmaticism is the prime disciplinary strategy to face alternative research programmes. IR is a divided discipline among paradigms (Smith, 1987). Paradigmaticism is a trend to form an exclusive grouping of scholars based on their unity of approach to International Relations. It has been a legitimate endeavour to describe the discipline. The books, articles and teachings of international politics are based on paradigms. Realism, Liberalism, Marxism and constructivism are important paradigms in the discipline. It justifies the rigid opposition to different theoretical alternatives and thus confines the development of critical insight. Textbooks, guidebooks and handbooks or other sorts of literature in the disciple introduce the world politics through paradigms. The case of IR teaching also is similar, and there is an established sequence among these theories during writing and teaching. The tendency is not evident in any other established disciplines including political science. In those disciplines, the presentation of knowledge is based on issues or subject matters. The tendency is imported from Kuhnian and Lakatosian philosophy. They are two scholars of philosophy of science who studied the development of scientific research programmes. The contradiction of this importation is that, both of them have explicitly stated that their arguments are only applicable to science and not to social

science (Kuhn, 1970). Through his work *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* which studies the history of the growth of knowledge in the natural sciences, Kuhn introduces the concept of paradigm. A paradigm is a complete form of doing science in a particular field that includes assumptions on all aspects of research. Reaching to the status of a paradigm indicates the perfection of a research programme because it is "concrete scientific achievement" (Kuhn, 1970: 11). His examples of scientific paradigms are that of Newton, Lavoisier and Einstein. After a paradigm is formed, it limits its research on their proved assumptions. In this context if the assumptions of this paradigm face any anomalies they ignore them. Ignorance and incommensurability are the features of Kuhnian paradigm. Incommensurability means no standard measure to engage with other paradigms. So every paradigm works in its limited space of research as Waltz said responding to Ashley; my theory is not for that (Waltz, 1986). Thus, when the anomalies increase to a critical mass and the traditional paradigm faces fundamental crisis, the scientific revolution begins. The earlier paradigm will be replaced by a new one (Kuhn, 1970: 77).

Lakatos developed his arguments on Kuhnian concepts. Instead of paradigms, he uses programmes. He criticises the lack of rationality in the development of paradigms in Kuhnian views. Lakatos criticises Kuhn because he says "each paradigm contains its own standards" and the view is "irrational" because it is like "mob psychology" (Lakatos, 1970: 178). It means the scientific change from one paradigm to another also lacks reason. It is because it resembles in Kuhnian view like a mystic change as changing from one religion to another (Lakatos, 1970: 93). Kuhn has rejected Lakatos's accusation of lack of rationality. Although Lakatos has agreed, the paradigmaticism is helpful for the development of scientific research. A research is "scientific to him only if it has empirical basis" and proposes a "novel, stunning or dramatic" finding (Lakatos, 1978: 184). Verification with practical issues clears the way ahead for a programme. He deals with the question of anomalies seriously than Kuhn and promotes the engagement with empirical instances and thus outside the programme aiming to accommodate it and increase the reach of theory. In the process of verification if it finds anomalies, it has to be kept aside expecting the programme will accommodate it in the process. If it is unable to do so, the grafting begins. Grafting means the emergence of branches within the programmes to deal with anomalies. The grafting has the potential to incorporate the anomaly into the research

programme. When the effort of grafting also fails, a new programme replaces the old one (Lakatos, 1970: 142). So the budding research programmes have to develop under the shadow of the old one. He advocates for tolerance to the projects in its earlier stages and its development to a scientific status. In the arguments of both Lakatos and Kuhn, there is no concept of pluralism among theories. It is a game of play and win. In short, a new research has to develop in the shadow of old one up to overthrowing it either through Kuhn's "scientific revolution" or Lakatos's "triumph" (Walker T, 2010, 437,438).

Practice of paradigmaticism by orthodox theories of the discipline is justified through Kuhn and Lakatos (Vasquez, 1997; DiCicco & Levy, 1999; Elman & Miriam, 2003; Chernoff, 2004). Lijphardt imported the concept to IR during the debate between behaviourist and traditionalists. His intention was to describe it as a paradigmatic debate (Lijphardt, 1974: 18). Later, Kenneth Walt made it the face of IR to substantiate his claim that neo-realism is the sole theory in IR approved by philosophy of science (Waltz, 1998: 385). Although Kuhn and Lakatos did not include social science in their concept, realism became the dominant paradigm of IR depending on them. Although it does not meet criteria proposed by them to be a scientific paradigm, it strategically used incommensurability and "subsumption" to keep hegemony and prevented the development of new theories. As result, realism dominated the field. 90% of hypotheses tested during 1960 and 1970 were from the realist point of view (Vasquez, 1997: 240). Realism also hindered the alternative thinking in the discipline as it marginalised its position and space. Paradigmaticism resulted in ignoring the criticism and rejecting the anomalies. Walker (2010) illustrates it with two examples of anomalies derived against realism. One is democratic peace thesis, and other is the critique on the balance of power. Democratic peace thesis advocated democratic regimes will not fight each other. It is against realist prepositions that domestic behaviour does not matter in international relations. Dean Babset's article that proposed democratic peace thesis did not get published in a leading IR journal, but in *Wisconsin Sociolo*gist and *Industrial Relations* (Babst, 1964). Waltz rejected the argument with his claim that 1812 War and American Civil War contradicts the peace thesis (Waltz, 1998, pp. 378-379). After all, realism did not propose any change in its position that state's relative power only matters in international relations. In other instance, the balance of power which is central to realist thesis was questioned by

Schroeder in his study The *Transformation of European Politics 1763- 1848* (Schroeder, 1994). He advocated the rareness of balance of power in European history. Waltz dismissed his argument calling it "a melange of irrelevant diplomatic lore" and saying that it is not a theory in Lakatosian sense (Waltz, 1997; Walker, 2010: 441,442).

On the other hand, the legacy of paradigms divided the discipline to different theoretical orientations that do not communicate with each other. Contrary to Kuhn's paradigms and Lakatosian programmes where there is no space for multiple paradigms for a long period, IR allotted exclusive space for each approach. As a result, even the alternative endeavours in the discipline like English school and constructivism remain satisfied with the status of a paradigm. The formation of paradigms in IR was merely on theoretical grounds for most of them shares common methodological platforms of positivism. It is against the concept of paradigm of Kuhn and Lakatos where it combines all aspects of research. So, the paradigmatic mentality is the biggest danger that engulfs the discipline. A survey conducted in 2009 in 10 countries reveals that 90% of IR literature of leading journals dedicates itself to certain paradigms (Maliniak, 2009). Now the tendency has reached at another juncture in this decade. It is the geographical affiliation of theories. The tendency arises when the authoritarianism of the discipline gets a national face. Most of the scholars representing the mainstream face of the IR are from the west. So the critics from the rest who blame the lack of representation in IR introduce their theories. Two recent such efforts are Qin's book that proposes Chinese school of IR theory (Yaqing, 2007) and Acharya and Buzan's book on Asian IR (Acharya & Buzan, 2007). All these divide the discipline into compartments. These are the responses to the challenges of the orthodox IR and their assumption that there is no theory from the rest limiting the theory to mainstream definitions.

Another disciplinary strategy of conventional International Relations is labelling particular pattern of production of knowledge as scientific knowledge. What is a valid knowledge? The most approved answer in the discipline is the scientific knowledge. What are the science and its criteria? The discipline has a very vague answer. It is because, the term is used as disciplinary device. The term has vivid appearances in conventional texts. According to Morgenthau, only scientific study can produce knowledge (Morgenthau, 1978: 18), but his book is silent on what is a scientific

research. E.H. Carr also claimed his illustration of world politics as science (Carr, 2001: 87). He also did not specify what the science is. Both of them were using the term "science" to justify their projects (Jackson, 2011: 5). The debate between traditionalism and behaviourism dismissed general understanding of science proposed by Car and Morgenthau, but limited it to quantification, testable hypothesis, and formal models (Jackson, 2011: 6). Thus, it expelled the traditionalist studies out of the premises of scientific IR. This version dominates the definition of science in intentional relations (King, et al. 1994). Thus disciplining and silencing alternatives reached to such an extreme in which the alternative explorations are illustrated as storytelling, philosophical jargons and efforts without benefits (Jackson, 2011: 18).

The scientific claim of orthodox International Relations derives from its affiliation to positivism. Positivism tries to import modes of production of knowledge in natural sciences to human sciences. Positivism has a solid base in social sciences. According to Steve Smith, it has three different variations in the history. First is August Comte's early notion of positivism, which is the third stage of knowledge production after theological and metaphysical knowledge. Second is logical positivism that advocates that science is the only genuine mode of production of knowledge and statements are meaningful if it is verifiable by the empirical instances. So, one cannot study unobservable. For example, one cannot study in IR unobservable like international structures and systems. Third variant that emerged out of logical positivism relaxes its criteria of considering what knowledge is. Carl Popper is most famous among those who support this view. According to him the validity of knowledge is based on falsifiability. Falsifiability thesis argues predictions of scientific theories should be possible to be falsified. The difference between verification and falsification helps to illustrate these two concepts of demarcation clearly. The former advocates that a theory is correct if it is verified. So one cannot say a theory is true because the verification is an endless process. So the falsification principle can only say that; a theory is false (Popper, 1992 (1934)). This variant is most famous and dominant in the positivist literature in International Relations (Smith, 1996: 15). Smith (1996) argues the use of positivism in the discipline is based on four assumptions. Firstly, it believes in the unity of science including social sciences. The idea has influenced IR very much for the orthodox IR theories think that international system is similar to natural world. Secondly, it distinguishes between facts and values and eventually argues the

possibility of an objectivist research. Thirdly, it believes that there are regularities among international events as it is in the natural world. The assumption allows the production of casual explanation of international incidents. Finally, it argues the validly of a theory is done through falsification (Smith, 1996: 16-17).

The disciplinary practice is powerful to form the meanings and identity of the discipline. It is because, the earliest efforts to counter the hegemonic meanings in the discipline has to confine to a certain level of boundaries. The alternative approaches have to fold its critical projects to get acceptance and make an approvable claim among the vast majority of scholars. The fate of constructivism illustrates the above-explained situation in the domain of knowledge production in International Relations. Constructivism was revolutionary move in the discipline. Its introduction of explanation of ideational factors into theory of international politics has ended power-interest concentration in the theory of international politics (Wendt, 1987, 1995, 1999). Constructivism advocates the social world is not given but socially constructed. Constructivism's primary logic constitutivity implies a search for particular, for there are many constructed worlds, culture and individualities. So it has to question the universalism pertaining in positivist theories. But in the process, constructivism turned back to positivist mode of doing research. It limits the social construction to a certain aspect of social process. For example Epstein believes that constructivism considers the language as universal category and argues its naturalness (Epstein, 2013: 504).

Thus, many of them escaped to a middle ground by shifting the epistemological position to scientific realism (Wendt, 1987, 1999; Checkel, 1998; Guzzini, 2000). The politics of discipline also influenced in this move because they intended to get relief from the label of postmodernism and take a significant step on their way to science (Checkel, 1998: 325). They explicitly stated their desire to occupy a position at the centre of IR theory (Kratochwil, 1993: Doty, 2000; Arfi, 2010). For instance, Wendt says "when it comes to epistemology I am a strong believer in science" (Wendt, 1999). The tendency divided constructivist camp to thick and thin constructivism. The thick notion of constructivism views the language as constituting reality contrary to the thin notion of constructivism that assumes it as part of reality. So aim of thin constructivism is to get to a middle ground between rationalism and radical constructivism that includes post-structuralism (Katzenstein, 1996; Adler, 1997; Price

& Reus-Smit, 1998; Wendt, 1999; Zehfuss, 2001: 39). Epistemologically the move changed the constructivist idea of research driving them back into the positivist camp. It is because it approved the causality and variability as important in research programmes (Price & Reus-Smit, 1998: 279; Wendt, 1999: 55). Addressing the question of why constructivism became a part of mainstream IR, Guzzini (2000) says it is because it did not "succumb to the sirens of post-structuralism, which critics have turned into a radical idealist position increasingly emptied of any intelligible meaning" (Guzzini, 2000: 148). As this statement indicates, although constructivism advocated certain changes in the research status quo of IR, it also neglected other radical approaches as part of its efforts to be considered in mainstream IR.

Discourse Analysis in IR Research: Challenges and Possibilities

Analysis of the development of discourse analysis should be contextualised with the above explained prevailing situations in the discipline. An alternative approach to the research has to struggle to articulate its meanings especially in a discipline like International Relations. A similar situation has happened in other areas of studies also. The case of *perestroika* movement in political science is an important instance. *Perestroika* movement in political science was the result of dissatisfaction with the bias towards quantitative, behavioural approaches. So the dissident scholars called for opening up the discipline (Monroe, 2005). Discourse analysis is a perestroika movement in international relations which altered the nature of production of knowledge in the discipline. In this section, the chapter explains alternative discourses articulated by discourse analysis on the nature of production of knowledge and doing research.

Ontology, epistemology and methodology, three important terms in the philosophy of science concerns the production of knowledge. The mode of research in a research programme depends on how they view these concepts. Ontology is a domain where the research takes place, epistemology concerns the nature of researched knowledge, and the methodology is about the process of doing research. Positivism and post-positivism are dominant modes of thinking in philosophy of science that define the above-written concepts. The positions of positivism have been stated in the above lines while describing the research positions of mainstream theories. Post positivism; an alternative thinking in research is the base of different critical engagements in international relations including critical theory, postmodernism, post-structuralism

and discourse analysis. Post positivism advocates a constructivist understanding of reality and interpretivist production of knowledge. So it eschews positivist stable social world and objective knowledge. Methodologically, it possesses reflexive approach advocating that one should analyse social realities from a position of a subject rather than an observer. So researcher's positions are important in the production of knowledge (Fox, 2008).

Discourse analysis that affiliates to the post-positivist philosophy of social science has a discursive ontology and discursive epistemology. As it is, the case in post-positivism discursive ontology denies the importance of the existence of a reality outside the research and the researcher has to find it out. But the ontology is discursively constructed. It means the world out there gets existence through the language in which discourse produces the meaning. The reality has vivid existences in different ideologies. Hence, there is no true meaning to reality outside the linguistic representations (Shapiro, 1981: 218). So ontology is political (Howarth, et al. 2000: 104). For instance, if Africa is ontologically constructed as underdeveloped, the colonisation becomes the politics towards it. For this reason, Shapiro argues that policy documents that construct certain problems channelise specific policy towards it at the same time (Shapiro, 1988). In this view of the ontology, the distinction between idea and matter should be dismantled. It is, for this reason that discourse analysis does not view idea and matter existing separated from each other and having separated meaningfulness. It does not deny ontologically the existence of material object but orients the research concern to when it embeds to the meaning.

The epistemology also is a discursive epistemology. Derrida invited rethinking in the epistemological positions of traditional research that aims to match the theories with world out there. His concept of metaphysics of presence rejects the idea of knower as given but as construction of language and culture and questions reasonableness of reason of the subject (Smith, 1996: 30). It means the nature of knowledge acquired is subjective and interpretive. Epistemology, in this sense, it rejects the argument that the knowledge produced is rational and objectivist. Accordingly, the division between ontology and epistemology is rejected for the former is formed in the process of knowledge production. So there is no existential preference of ontology over epistemology and vice versa contrary to mainstream international relations thinking

81

where there is certain pre-existing ontology and the work of researcher is to find out that. Here the research constitutes the knowledge and thus the reality.

Yosef Lapid (1989) advocates the change in the concept of knowledge production through novel thinking on ontology and epistemology has allowed the emergence of new researchers in International Relations. The research discourses of discourse analysis challenged the meanings of production of knowledge by disturbing the habitual ways of thinking in it (Derian, 1989). It is because, it was part of discipline defining debate; the debate between positivism and post-positivism (Lapid, 1989: 236). It is because the realism, liberalism, Marxism and other rationalist approaches in the discipline begin the research from a pre-established ontology where their research is limited in that terrain. The key problem of research in orthodox IR is the idea of mind-world dualism that put the ontology at first (Jackson, 2011). It means, in mind-world dualism, there is a world outside the researcher and he wants to understand it. Hence ontology comes before epistemology. So the research project will be committed, for instance, to a particular kind of world like structural determinacy of anarchy as proposed by realism or a global class relation as proposed by Marxism. Putting ontology first also limit the epistemology and method of research. Then the aim of a researcher will be to reach the reality and find the possible way for that. For instance, the research question, whether new social movement erodes state borders, takes the existence of state borders before embarking on research. So the conduct of research also will be channelised accordingly (Jackson, 2011: 28). On the other hand, discourse analysis is open to all sort of research. According to it, knowledge production of world politics and the world politics are discursive and the researcher need not to establish a specific ontological truth.

Methodology of orthodox International Relations is like a moulding device with strict patterns. It insists on causality as an important factor. According to them, one has to check whether variable "A" causes variable "B". King, Keohane and Verba's book on International Relations research argues the establishment of a causal relationship as the prime agenda of a research and discourse analysis lacks the point (King, et al. 1994). So even in the case of multiple causalities, one should not avoid casual inference, But, have to make precise understating of each casual effect using counterfactual conditions. They name any research project without causal hypothesis as a mere description. Although thin constructivist like Wendt and others have

rejected the argument that everything without a casual hypothesis is mere description they still continue testing of the hypothesis which is part of causality thesis (Wendt, 1999: 89). It is for this reason that Derrida links methodology to disciplinary strategies of positivism and states deconstruction as non-method. The radical position has initiated wide criticism; and linking discourse analysis with methodological anarchy. In fact, what he opposes is a specific concept of methodology not the idea of methodology. Positivist methodology is rejected because causality in rationalist sense is limited and rigid and used in the meaning of "because" which cannot be applied to human relations (Hansen, 2006: 9). Causality is impossible for the discursive ontology. It is because it does not prefer the existence of a dependent variable before an independent variable. For instance, no causal relationship is possible in the case of identity and foreign policy because both of them constitute each other (Hansen, 2006: 24). So, in terms of discourse analysis, methodology can be viewed in a broader way as Hansen (2006) points out "as a way of communication choices and strategies" that all research must make (Hansen, 2006).

The methodology is more important than methods. There is commonly an unnoticed difference between them. It is concern about methods, "a concern with the logical structure and procedure of scientific enquiry" (Sartori, 1970: 1033), but, methods are techniques for doing research. Social science and especially International Relations gives a bigger space to methods than methodology like debate whether case study is better than comparative analysis and how to do a case study better (George & Bennett, 2005; McKeown, 1999). According to discourse analysis, the methodology is more important in research because it directs on using methods. It is for this reason that discourse analysis is vocal on its significance. Once the assumptions on methodology are clear, one can use different methodologies under that umbrella. Following this point, discourse analysis has accommodated methods commonly known as competing with each other. Jorgensen and Phillips have accommodated different methods from and outside of discourse analysis in their integrative discourse analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 153). In International Relations scholars have used case studies (Hansen, 2006; Epstein, 2008; Holzscheiter, 2010), ethnographic studies (Neumann, 2002, 2012) and other methods. The crucial point is that method is not important but how to use it is the concern of discourse analysis. One can incorporate quantitative methods in discourse analysis like surveys and other

statistical methods. So discourse analyses are not both method driven and theory-driven approaches, but it is a problem driven approach (Shapiro, 2002: 601).

The above-described concepts of knowledge production carry the debate to theory. The theory is a contested concept in International Relations. The dominant version of the theory defines it as an abstraction about the phenomena under study. The complexity intensifies while considering the relationship between theory and the phenomena under study. The scholastic attempts in IR have claimed that they are proposing a theory but, there are less substantive studies in the discipline on what a theory is. Kenneth Waltz is one among the giants who considered the theory seriously. Later, scholars like Rosenau (1980) and Patrick Jackson (2011) afforded substantive attempts to deals with theory in the discipline. According to Waltz, theories are "statements that explain them" (laws). "Theories are qualitatively different form laws. Laws identify invariant or probable associations. Theories show why those associations obtain" (Waltz, 1979: 5). This definition of theory presupposes certain patterns of international issues and the role of theory in IR is to explain it. That is why Rosenau says that to be a theoretician "one must be able to assume that human affairs are founded on an underlying order" (Rosenau, 1980). Theory of this meaning is an explanatory theory. The purpose of theory is to explain the causes responding to the question "why it happens" for instance why did the cold war end? (Dunne & Hansen, 2013: 407). In this understanding of theory, it is considered as a tool. This view separates between theory and theorists. Theorists are people like those who are in academic positions studying the objects of theory like behaviours of diplomats in foreign policy and the theory is product of their efforts. Similarly, it distinguishes between theory and the real world and argues the existence of international events before the theory about it. It implies that what a study should include and what not. It is because; one thing should be out there to conduct a study about it. So this understanding of the theory itself has an impact on limiting the discipline. This understanding of theory has to approve the value of enlightenment rationality. The hidden purpose of a theorist in modernist social science is to highlight the value of enlightenment (Zalewski, 1996). Critical Theory also proposes a similar definition of theory. The similarity however is in the function of theory not in the goal. Critical theory is for change and explanatory theory is to explain. In critical theory, knowledge production gets a moral dimension. Critical theory is not to

understand the world as it is but it is to understand how the world got to be as it is. It also dismantles the divide between theory and theorist and the priority of theorised events over theory (Linklater, 1996).

A substantial change in the concept of the theory starts when the constitutive power of the theory is realised. It is a concept of theory as practice. This understanding or theory emerged against both structure and agency oriented theories. These types of theories advocates either structure causes agency or agency causes structure. On the other hand, practice theory advocates that every act carries its own rules of formation. So an act is constituted in practice. Hence one should study how the social practices are formed. In the constitutive theory, the question of study changes from why to how. According to this view, theorising is an act, so one has to theorise the act of theorising also (Onuf, 1989). The theory is a part of social and world politics. So what affects international politics are not the actions of policy makers only, but every act including that of academicians. Hence, everything is a real issue and the real issues are not limited ones. The theory is not an abstraction of reality as the mainstream International Relations viewed. Instead, the theory itself constituted the reality. It is a political project as Robert Cox argued "theory is always for someone and for some purpose" (Cox, 1981: 128). Discourse analysis also upheld the constitutive concept of a theory.

Discourse scholars' findings about mainstream International Relations theory show how they create alternative meaning of research in the discipline. Derain disturbs International Relations for the knowledge developed in the discipline is through arbitrary textual significations. It reveals the power hidden in the pattern of knowledge production in the discipline by analysing "placement and displacement of theories in which one theory gets prestige over other theories" (Derian, 1989). He argues that existing theories in International Relations are not more about world politics but politics of discipline that is like "reigning dogma to discipline insurgent antithesis" (Derian, 1989: 7). Walker establishes how realism is a political project (Walker, 1993). He says the discipline is the result of state sovereignty. It is not explaining world politics but it is part of it. He says "theories of international relation are more interesting aspects of contemporary world politics that need explained than as explanations of contemporary world politics" (Walker, 1993: 6). The claim of the tradition of political realism is a myth. The affiliation to Hobbes, Machiavelli and

Thucydides is intended as a legitimating device against what should be studied and argued in IR (Walker, 1993: 29).

Dislocation or Antagonism? Subject Positions in the Research

Laclau and Mouffe argue that discourse is articulated in the hegemonic struggles to produce meaning and identity. The dominated meaning will pursue social antagonism that excludes other meanings. That meaning can be dislocated by the excluded ones or a new one if the former cannot accommodate the new contexts. Mostly dominant meaning adjusts itself to accommodate the new articulations of meanings. If this is not possible, the dislocation happens. The articulators of the meaning in the discourse are active participants, so the concept of subject positions replaces subjectivity. Subjectivity is rejected because it implies that state like structure imposes meaning. On the other hand, subject positions are positions within the discourse (Laclau, 1985a: 115). An actor's position in discourse makes its identity. So the advantage of this position is that one can analyse the formation of identity by looking at the position taken by an actor at different stages of discourse like antagonism, accommodation and dislocation. The earlier part of this chapter has explained how the mainstream theories of International Relations have created the meanings on research and how it has created a distinct identity of the discipline. This meaning has to be articulated continuously accommodating the alternative voices. In the case of constructivism, it has described how discourses in the discipline altered constructivism by its dismissal of constitutivity and the adjustment in the mainstream International Relations by accepting the potential of ideational factors. Later hegemonic struggle for meaning has been intensified with "discipline defining debates" (Lapid, 2003) of post positivism. Here, in the case of discourse analysis we have seen how the discourse analysis articulates its meaning in the struggle against mainstream theories. So now the final section examines what and how it happens in the discipline after all; is it through antagonism or through dislocation.

Orthodox theories accepted the existence of an antagonism over meaning on doing research between them and discourse analysis at the end of the 1990s. Here are two examples as proof of this approval. One is the invitation of Ashley and Walker to edit a special issue of *International Studies Quarterly* in 1990. And the second is the distinction between rationalist and reflective approaches to IR by Robert Keohane in his presidential address of 1988 at ISA annual convention (Keohane, 1989). Now

Discourse analysis has asserted its place in theoretical and methodological IR (Holzscheiter, 2010: 7) and the response of mainstream theories has shifted from "down right rejection" to "critical dialogue" (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 22). Here is the list of important achievements of discourse analysis in the discipline that affected the identity of discipline.

Change in the concept of theory building is one of the seminal developments that affected the meaning of doing research. The existence of forceful theoretical debate during 1980 and 1990 have hindered the development of discipline but now the culture of theory building in IR changed, and there is less production of meta-theories (Lake, 2013). Dunne and Hansen (2013) depending on their editorial experience in *European Journal of International Relations* argue that there is a theoretical peace in International Relations. They explain two patterns in this regard; firstly, there are less "Inter theoretical debates across the paradigms" and secondly, even though the sole aim of the writing is not theory building, still theory plays a vital role in it (Dunne & Hansen, 2013: 407). It is not the end of theories in the discipline as the critics accused. But, Epstein in the EJIR debate on the end of theory advocates what is actually happening is end of theory with a single stable centre (geographically): United States and end to linear and single direction to theory building like inductive rationality of Waltz (Epstein, 2013: 500).

The shift from paradigmaticism to pluralism is another change affecting the identity of the discipline. The retreat from paradigmaticism indicates the maturity of the discipline (Wæver, 2007). Scholars problematise incommensurability thesis of Kuhn, which was used by dominant paradigms to ignore the criticism. The incommensurability upholds the assumption that the vocabularies of one paradigm are not translatable, and so the discussion is not possible between alternative approaches. Scholars counter the argument by saying, the untranslatability do not prevent from learning it and thus communicating with it and thus making the negotiation possible (Davidson, 1984; Rorty, 1991). Pluralism is a feature of a tolerant discipline (Bernstein, et al. 2000; Makinda, 2000; Suh, et al. 2004; Zurn & Checkel, 2005). After the third debate, there is abundance in the emergence of different theories which has legalised pluralism and fragmentation. What should be the nature of pluralism is a question of importance. Some scholars have expressed their anxiety over existing pluralism in the discipline (Biersteker, 1989) some calling it "flabby pluralism"

(Lapid, 2003). There is methodological pluralism, but there are no criteria to choose among them. It is not possible to form a theoretical synthesis and middle ground. A solution came from discourse scholarship is Dunne and Hansen's suggestion for "integrative pluralism" in the discipline for a better production of knowledge (Dunne & Hansen, 2013: 407). It approves theoretical diversity. But they argue for engagement among diverse theories where in the process some theories can be lost, and some may be modified. Some of the scholars have found the existence of eclectic theorising in the discipline which means "features of analyses in theories initially embedded in separate research traditions can be separated from their respective foundations, translated meaningfully, and recombined as part of an original permutation of concepts, methods, analytics, and empirics" (Katzenstein & Sil , 2008: 110-111). All these indicate the change in the paradigmatic identity of discipline and the opening up of tolerant research space that was proposed by discourse analysis.

Finally, the concept of research and the research agenda of the discipline has been broadened. The state centrism that is evident from the naming of discipline "international" limits the studies in the discipline. Kenneth Walt's *International Politics* shifts the levels of analysis of Morgenthau to the international level. The change became possible based on organising principle of anarchy. It is the moment where the difference between "political" and "relation" came into existence and it divided the labour between Political Theory and International Relations (Epstein, 2013: 503). The state centrism also limits the discipline in the high politics like military, war, interventions. The silenced "low politics" in the discipline like ecology, human right, and inequality invited little attention (Booth, 1996: 333). It also limits the discipline's dealing of the history to the history of governments and their mutual relationship where the people and their narrations remain silent. It's another impact is that it idealises the state as the perfect end of formation of political community. Everything in the discipline has to begin from state and end with it. Instead, discourse analysis problematises the state. So the achievements of discourse analysis in broadening the subject matter of IR research start from its diversion from "international" politics to world politics.

The nature of the development of research agenda before the discourse analysis is the change in the nature of the focus of study. The discipline which initially started to deal with relations and governmental activities outside the national boundaries

engaged with the questions of war and peace after the First World War. The idealist dreamt of cooperation oriented discipline's attention to international organisations. The rise of lack of confidence about international organisation initiated the first great debated in the discipline that brought the focus on strategic studies and deterrence on one side and the diplomacy, disarmament on the other side. During these periods societies living in decolonised societies brought their questions to the core of the discipline. It introduced economic and dependency themes. The development of technology and its implication on time and space brought the discipline to the globalisation studies, transnational politics and environmentalism. During the period, the dissidents on ideational and ideological questions proposed its importance to the centre of the study. In short, there is an introduction of new research agendas into the discipline. All these have contributed to change the meanings of research in the discipline. In this context, discourse analysis differs because of its tracing of the process of meaning in the world politics has an all-encompassing influence on the research agenda because it concerns every aspect of global politics. It does not distinguish between trivial and real issues. The third chapter has illustrated clearly how discourse scholars have utilised some aspect of the potential. They studied the process of meaning in the international relation theory, its core concepts like security sovereignty and anarchy and other aspects of world politics like child rights anti-whaling discourse, popular culture and other issues. As an illustration of the advancement, following part illustrates it by juxtaposing with research agenda of constructivism.

Discourse analysis has to do something more than constructivists. The latter were radicals in some aspects of the social enquiry. Wendt changed the focus from the structure to the agency: where Waltz looked at structures of anarchy, Wendt looked at how the anarchy is made (Wendt, 1987). The epistemological move taken by Wendt is a retreat from rationalist analysis of IR shifting from causality to constitutivity (Hansen, 2006). But Wendt's idea of "essential state" drops its radicalism in front of the questions it raised. It is because the concept argues that there are certain things as given. Some constructivists have dismantled the notion of power in their effort to the domain of science. If the social meanings are constructed as they argue, there would be other alternatives meanings that are neglected in the process. The privilege and the formation of existing construction are part of power. So the relationship with meaning

and power and the case of alternative meanings are out of the constructivist's radar (Epstein, 2008: 9). Constructivism which started as a critique of material givenness, merely shifts the location of givenness to the ideas from the material entities. They have a concept of atomised ideas and already formed entities that cause the material. They start their explanation from this point and neglect the most important aspect of the social process through which the ideas forms in discourse. On the other hand, discourse analysis argues that ideas do not exist outside the discourse and promise the explanatory value of explaining the social process. Similarly, constructivist's study of norms in international politics also falls into the trap of naturalising the norms. But, discourse analysis begins questioning the normalisation of norms in the discourse (Epstein, 2008: 14).

Constructivism has also introduced the study of identity to international politics. But, it treats identity as given (Zehfuss, 2001), and the process of identification remains unnoticed. Discourse analysis has perusing take on the identity. It distinguishes between subjectivities and subject position and shifts the focus from the former to the latter where the former is the domain of constructivists. The subject position is a position within discourse, and every subject position is a discursive position (Laclau, 1985: 115). In the discursive process, the subject talks a particular discourse and makes its subject position and thus its identity. It is different from internalising a position and is against the concept of "subjectivities" that indicates external assigning of the identity of the subject. It is because, one's subjectivity is not his identity for either he or she may adapt to that or may be conforming to it. So one's identity can be identified through the positions they take or talk in discursive articulation. So the study of identity has to focus on its nature. Discourse analysis focuses on this point increases its explanatory power, for it analyses how the identities are constituted by tracing actors' subject positions. According to Epstein, this position of discourse analysis has two advantages in the research of international politics. Firstly, international system can be approached as a social system for the discourse is articulated there. Although English school takes the privilege of advancing society dimension to international politics, it has limited its domain to "society of states" excluding other aspects like non-state actors. Secondly, it solves the level of analysis problem in international relations like whether it is man, state or international. The

subjects that take position in discursive articulation include individuals, state, and non-state actors.

The analysis has to focus on another dimension of antagonism to get a clear picture of the process of production of meaning on research in the discipline. That is the factors that hinder the acceptance of meanings of research of discourse analysis produced in the discourse. These are two types; one is hegemonic articulation of mainstream theories against discourse analysis and the other is inefficiency in the articulation of meaning from the side of discourse analysis. The following section examines this side of antagonism in the discipline. Orthodox approaches in the International Relations try to hinder the process of dislocation claiming against the potential of discourse analysis. Most importantly the followings arguments are being raised against discourse analysis. Firstly, it promotes idealism by denying the existence of reality. Post-structuralist discourse analysis does not deny the existence of a reality and does not bother about it. It only concerns about the reality that is represented. So reality is discursive. Secondly, it is criticised on its relativism that implies the denial of particular truths, morality and valuable. The criticisms are correct because discourse analysis does not promote eternal truths and virtues. It is because the prevalence of such moralities is a matter of power. It also does not mean that every knowledge production is equally true because a theory has to consider the formalities of knowledge production and produced knowledge is open to contestation. In the process only appealing knowledge gets acceptance. Thirdly, discourse theory is not an explanatory theory. Discourse theory denies the distinction between description and explanations. It is because every description contains an explanation and description as positivism imagines is not possible (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 17-20).

In the antagonism, some of the discourse scholarships have started to take the subject position of positivist and hegemonic approaches of the discipline. The practice turn advocated by Adler, Neumann and supported by Hansen possesses the seed of slipping back to positivism (Adler & Pouliot, 2011; Neumann, 2002; Hansen, 2006). Practice turn, as third chapter elaborates it in detail, emerges from a crisis in the discourse analysis. Neumann (2002) says that discourse analysis in IR is limited to narrative discourses and rhetoric and it avoided the crucial question of how politics is affected by it. So the study ends with how discourses are formed and does not deal with how it affects action and political practices (Neumann, 2002: 627). Hence, there

is a distinction between practice and discourse in their concept in contrast to the view where the discourse is encompassing the whole. The revisionism emerges from the positivist division of idea and action and matter. Similarly, Holzscheiter, who expressed the confidence in the practice turn (Holzscheiter, 2014: 158) says her books on child rights in International politics tries to bring the discourse analysis to the core of IR studies (Holzscheiter, 2010: 9). The "moving to the core" has decided the fate of constructivism in the discipline. Although her study is most substantive recently published account on discourse analysis in International Relation, her analysis turns around the edges of positivism. She distinguishes between macro-structural and micro interactional discourse analyses. The analysis argues that the IR has abundance in micro international approach, and there is need of studies in macro structural approaches. Micro interactional approaches are pragmatic, actor based and action-oriented approaches to the discourse. So, their analysis focuses on single issues and particular texts in specific context. They do not expand the study of that text in other contexts. For instance, in the case of humanitarian intervention, the study documents how the actors justify the external intervention to another sovereign country. On the other hand, macro-structural discourse approaches study discourse "as all-embracing structures that govern actors" behaviour. For instance, in the case of external intervention, the focus is on the meaning structures existing in the background of the term "intervention" from history to contemporary (Holzscheiter, 2010: 5; 2014). While micro interactional approach limits its scope of analysing to small events, macro-structural approach expand the scope to different contexts and texts enlarging through histories. The position taken by Holzscheiter, the micro interactional approaches neglect the structure and the macro-structural approaches neglect the agency is problematic because it comes from her division between structure and agency. There are no stable structures and agencies in discourse analysis. Structure in its existing meaning can be an agency in another context and vice versa. If researchers focus more on specific nature of research problems; on "agency" in Holzcheiter's terms, it is not a methodological weakness of discourse analysis as a whole.

To empower the subject position of discourse analysis and to articulate its meaning on research in the discipline, the tendency to go back into positivist camp is not promotable. Instead, it needs internal engagements to solve inefficiencies. Howarth argues there is need of considering some significant advancement. One is to

substantiate the analytical value of discourse analysis by conducting more empirical research. The call for more empirical research also concerns with the cause of the emergence of practice turn. It is because they accuse scarcity of empirical studies which deals with practice. The reason is genuine and the solution adopted is not proper one. So, the studies in the discipline have to consider all aspects of the discourse enlarging its reach. It is for this reason, that there is a need for more empirical studies than theoretical and methodological illustrations (Holzscheiter, 2014: 160). Methodological debates in discourse analysis in IR cannot be dropped or marginalised for its presence is sufficient to make appealing arguments. Secondly, it has to expand study from soft topics like gender and identity to hot topics like diplomacy, security and strategy. Although the division between soft and hard or hot is not justifiable, the argument propose an appealing plan to the discipline for the expansion of research topics indicates its efficiency. This point needs to be analysed especially in the context of Holsti's worry on the potential of reflexive approaches to deal with issues of "ethnic cleansing, fourteen new international peacekeeping efforts, starvation in Africa, the continued shadow of the Balkans and The Middle East, and arms racing in Asia?" (Holsti, 1993: 407). This is the nature of common attitude. So discourse scholars have to take the issue seriously to fill the gaps existing in their contributions (Howarth & Torfing, 2005: 25).

Adding to Howarth's arguments, discourse analysis in the discipline has to take some more significant steps to make its subject position clear. It has to deconstruct certain positivist terms as it deconstructs the concepts, especially terms like causality and science. Post positivism has nothing to lose while calling their research programme as science. It is because, the above section has illustrated the science in its limited meaning is just a disciplining technique and one cannot use it as a demarcation criteria. So every research project is a science if science equated with an inquiry to produce knowledge. In this understanding, the question changes from whether the work is "scientific" to whether it is a good piece of work (Jackson, 2011: 19). The term "science" changes its meaning to indicate an excellent piece of research. Weberian definition of science accommodates good efforts to produce knowledge. He defines science as "systematic empirical analysis that aims to produce knowledge rather than to produce inner-worldly effects." The deconstruction of the meaning of science can stop the rhetorical use of science in the discipline and its disciplinary

strategies. Secondly, there is need of deconstructing the meaning of causality. Causality is viewed with fear in reviews of discourse analysis in the discipline. For instance, Holzscheiter (2014) finds causality in Epstein's (2008) thesis. She illustrates the argument finding the causality in her thesis, in the statement "anti-whaling discourse was produced by a specific set of actors, environmental activists." It means environmental activist's discourse has caused the anti-whaling discourse and political action based on it. Is this causality in rationalist sense? Causality in rationalist research projects is intended for generalisations. For instance, nuclear weapons cause deterrence. The researcher is analysing a specific case in which nuclear weapon has created deterrence and generalises it as nuclear weapon the cause of deterrence. Then the causality argument of the researcher in that particular case is a matter of empirical contestation and not epistemological. One can counter the argument, but cannot say that social action do not cause other. The problem is not in arguing causality but in establishing regularity in similar cases. For instance, if one says "I voted for the specific party because they gave me money," the problem with causality derives when one generalises and concludes money causes the voting behaviour, not in arguing that money caused his voting behaviour in that specific case. So the deconstruction of the terms should be the next agenda of discourse analysis to empower its articulation of the meaning and terms should not cease to be used just because positivist literature uses it. So, one can even erase the difference between constitutivity and casualty if these terms are deconstructed. It is because, there is no linguistic difference in the statement between nuclear weapons cause deterrence or constitute difference. It is because the difference between these two terms derives in the context of particular meaning assigned to each term and the monopoly occupied by different research programs where positivist occupied "cause" and post-positivists occupied "constitute." The discourse analysis has deconstructed many research terms like ontology, epistemology, methodology, theory and methods. So the remaining deconstruction will reduce fear towards science and causality.

In short, the discipline continues in the process of antagonism of different subject positions producing meanings about doing research in world politics. It has not reached a stage of dislocation where the new meaning replaces the old one. As it is analysed, the discipline has faced changes in its identity, especially changes in the structure of discipline, by dismantling the paradigmaticism and opening the space for

alternatives, in the nature of knowledge produced, by ending the culture of meta-theories and in the research agenda, accepting the process of meaning, representation and identification as important aspect of world politics.

Conclusion

The chapter has detailed the engagements of discourse analysis with conventional approaches and its achievements in the discipline of International Relations. The analysis examines through the lenses of discourse analysis itself, based on Laclau and Mouffe's perspectives. According to them, discourse is articulated in the hegemonic struggles to produce meaning and identity. The constructed meaning will pursue social antagonism to exclude the other meanings. The dominant meaning is open to be dislocated by the excluded ones or a new one if the former cannot accommodate the new contexts. Commonly, dominant meaning adjusts itself to accommodate the new articulations of meanings. If the incorporation did not take place, the dislocation happens. It is an endless process. In the case of International Relations, the meanings on doing research were articulated by dominant positivist theories like realism and liberalism. It practiced disciplinary strategies like paradigmaticism and scientific knowledge to limit the rise of now meaning of doing research. The chapter has explained how the dominant meaning accommodates the new initiative in the example of constructivism. Constructivism proposed its radical assumptions of constitutivity to reorient research on world politics. But later, in its efforts to reach the core of the discipline, it dropped its positions. Discourse analysis develops in this context prevailing in the discipline. It created discourses of discursive ontology, discursive epistemology and constitutive theory to redefine meanings of doing research. The counter discourses transformed the identity of the discipline in some aspects. It rejects the legitimacy of paradigmaticism and meta-theories those were the features of conventional approaches. It included research on the process of meaning, representation and identification in the research agenda. At the same time the discourse of conventional theories is also powerful because it diverts the attention of the projects of discourse analysis as the practice turn indicates. So the situation remains in antagonism. Discourse analysis has to empower its meaning-making by improving its contributions in empirical analysis, especially in conventional topics like security, foreign policy and diplomacy and deconstructing the positivist terms like causality and science that still continues as disciplinary words.

Chapter five

Conclusion

Here is the end. The study comes from the contemporary trend in International Relations to deal with the disciplinary history. Such studies have implications for sharpening and strengthening the strategies of knowledge production after assessing the existing status of the discipline or a particular research programme. The problem addressed in this study is the development of discourse analysis in the International Relations and its achievements and advantages for enquiries concerning world politics. Existing literature on the above themes limits the focus of analysis to the conventional literature reviews and explanation or classification of currents trends and possibilities within discourse analysis. This context necessitates the present study for it is not a mere literature review, but it examines its advantages, achievements, negotiations with other approaches and its role in the constitution of the identity of the discipline. So, as a study of the development of a research programme within the context of the discipline it offers more subtle platforms to comment on the research system and mechanisms. The methodological imprints utilised in this study are that of discourse analysis itself. Here the discipline of the International Relations in seen as discourse. The contributions of the discourse scholars in IR are seen as texts that are the primary source of discourse research. The study that traces the development of discourse analysis in International Relations also is an instance of doing discourse analysis. These specificities have helped to make an appealing presentation of the arguments as the chapters prescribed above prove.

The study has been presented in the five chapters including introduction and conclusion. The introduction contextualised the study in the discipline and explained its research methodology and questions. Broadly, the "discourse" means written or spoken communication or debate and "discourse analysis" means the analysis of the language-in-use in a social system. It is because the discourse analysis has been used in different ways, this study has adopted a working definition based on common points. So it is an analysis of the process of formation of meaning or being meaningful in a society. It assumes that language is not neutral and natural but it is constituted

and constituting the social world. In the process, individual, social and political identity is formed. So, as an "object" of study, it considers the meaning seriously and analyses its formation, questioning its givenness, naturalness and truthfulness. Text is the primary data in this analysis, but the sense of the text has different interpretation according to the diverse positions on discourse.

The second chapter has explained the concept and idea of discourse analysis. It outlines the concept going through its origin and interrogations in different sectors of social enquiry. The chapter proceeds through various stages of evolution of a research programme. It begins from the realisation of some of the authors that language and its meanings are not abstract and isolated, but it is part of social structures that control the language. So the words and the sentences in the everyday context gets meaning because of the context of its utterance. The semiotics is crucial to the beginning of the concept of discourse. Semiotics is a study of the process of meaning of the signs. After that, there emerged different streams in linguistics that problematised the language. In the next stage, the problematising of meaning in linguistics is imported to the social theory by Althusser, Gramsci and Foucault. Althusser's ideological state apparatus, Gramsci's hegemony and Foucault's Archaeology are concepts that introduced discourse to social science. Later, scholars from linguistics developed the discourse analysis's terrain following the concerned developments in social theory. They introduced Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which is a framework to trace the power hidden in the language production. Scholars in this stream has diverse research programmes like Siegfried Jager's discourse and dispositive analysis, Ruth Wodak's discourse-historical approach, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, Norman Fairclough's multi-disciplinary CDA and Ron Scollon's mediated discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

At last, post-structuralism possesses the credit of enlarging the terrains of discourse. It advanced the proposition that all social actions are texts, and everything is formed in discursive articulation. Thus the chapter advocates that discourse analysis is a complete package for research, which includes assumptions about dimensions of a research programme: ontological and epistemological positions, theoretical arguments, methodological stands and techniques of analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 4). Discourse analysis dismantles the distinction between theory and practices. It is because the theory itself is a practice (Shapiro 1988: 93). In conventional

97

research, there are pre-existing theories, and the empirical analysis is intended to prove it. In discourse analysis, each empirical analysis is done separately, and the current theories are open to be adjusted according to the findings from the ground (Howarth et al. 2000). Discourse research is neither method driven nor theory-driven research. It is because, method driven research focuses on the strict use of methods, and theory-driven researcher either applies a theory or tests its validity. On the other hand, discourse analysis is a problem-driven research. The research is done to address a problem (Shapiro, 2002).

After the explanation of the development of discourse analysis the third chapter documents the discourse research in International Relations. The chapter surveyed the discourse literature in the discipline. The aim of the chapter is to collect primary sources of this study. Here, the books and articles on discourse analysis have been collected to review theoretical and methodological standpoints of those studies. Then it is analysed and explained according to the patterns in the theory and method of research used in those studies. It finds three possible periods in the discourse literature in IR. It is initial periods, security turn and practice turn. In initial periods, the studies addressed the challenges of a new research programme such as shaping the positions on issues in philosophy of social science related with research. So the ontological epistemological and methodological positions of discourse research in IR are stated in these studies. Some of the writings delegitimised the current dominant theories like liberalism and idealism establishing its subjective relationship with politics. Later in security turn, which is the second stage in the evolution, there increased empirical and conceptual studies dealing the questions of security. These studies criticised the conventional versions of conceptualising security as a concern of pre-established states in international politics. They argued that the state and its identity are constituted through security discourses. So, the state needs the construction of security discourses by projecting dangers, one after another. Discourse studies during this period analysed the policy documents, political speeches and events that proliferated after 9/11. When most of the studies addressed the security issues, it faced criticism for not dealing with other aspects of world politics. The critics accused that discourse analysis cannot deal with "real problems" in global politics. Thus, the era of practice turn began. There were two sorts of responses to the criticism. Some of them considered the criticism seriously and started more empirical and policy-related

discourse studies like studies on foreign policy and diplomacy. Others, who are proponents of practice turn, advocated that there are some internal problems to practice research because it limits research on discourse and eschews the practice. So they distinguished between the two and argued to revise discourse study to include political actions and practices with the study of language and meaning. During this period as the chapter documents that the research in discourse analysis flourished and expanded its domains to include real and direct issues related to international politics.

Thus after collecting and arranging the primary sources, chapter four explains the crux of the study. It examines the engagements and achievements of discourse research, illustrating the difference in its approaches to the research, its advantage on the conventional programmes and its accomplishments in creating new trends and identity to the discipline. The investigation is done using the guidelines of post-structuralist discourse analysis, primarily which was proposed by Laclau and Mouffe. The chapter analyses the contexts in the discipline in which discourse analysis originated nurtured and developed. The discipline is seen as a domain where different perspectives of research produce and articulate the meanings on doing research. So the identity or the legitimacy of a particular research programme or the emergency of a new project depends on the process of articulation. The dissertation argues the existence of an antagonism between different approaches to research that forms the borders of International Relations. The conventional streams like liberalism and realism engaged in constructing meanings on how to do research and what should be the subject matter of the discipline. These approaches managed a sort of hegemony in meaning making through claims of scientific research and paradigmaticism. The post-positivism emerges in this context. It questions the possibility of natural science model of research in social science. Discourse analysis from this stream problematises the naturalness of already established meanings in the discipline. So it was articulating new positions on how to do research in world politics and what should be the subject matter of IR study. Through its engagements in the discourse of the discipline, it tries to dislocate earlier notions such as concepts of theory and method, ontological, epistemological and methodological positions, "objects" of analysis, research agenda and relationship between different approaches to research. After analysing the antagonism between discourse analysis and other conventional streams, the study does not argue the dislocation has happened, and orthodox meanings have

been overtaken. Instead, it argues that IR is in a stage of antagonism between discourse analysis and conventional approaches. The situation changed the identity of the discipline to a new form where it rejects the paradigmaticism, meta-theories and opens the door to pluralism of competing approaches and expansion of research agenda to include study of meaning-making in world politics in terms of political ideologies and political practices, representation, identity and identification.

In short, over the past three decades, discourse analysis has exercised a vital influence on International Relations and emerged as an alternative research programme. It has enlarged the system of enquiry in the discipline, introducing the discourse as a key domain of analysis to the study world politics. Still, the study reveals the current crisis in discourse analysis between the proponents of practice turn and its opponents. Here, the practice turn has been viewed as a return to the positivist logic. The case is similar to the fate of constructivism, and its falling to the positivist trap from a critical endeavour. So the discourse scholars need to take the practice turn seriously and address the contexts that necessitated its emergence by bringing more empirical studies and dealing with hard issues in international relations. It will strengthen the power of discourse analysis in the current antagonism (in the discipline) between it and other conventional approaches. It is a better that a research program intends for a radical shift in assumptions on conducting research than searching for a middle ground as the practice turn advocates.

References

(* Indicates Primary Source)

Acharya, A and B. Buzan (2007), "Why is there No Non-Western International Relations: An introduction", *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific,* 7 (3), 287-312.

Adler, E. (1997), "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics", *European Journal of International Relations*, 3 (3), 319-363.

Adler, E, and V. Pouliot (2011), "International Practices", *International Theory*, 3 (1), 1–36.

Althusser, L. (1971), *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

*Alvarez, J. E. (2006), "Re-thinking (In) Security Discourses From A Critical Perspective", *Asteriskos*, 2 (1), 61-82.

*Andersen, N. A. (2005), "Political Administration", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 139-169

Arfi, B. (2010), "Fantasy in the Discourse of "Social Theory of International Politics", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 45(4), 428–448.

Ashley, R. (1986), "The Poverty of Neorealism", In R. Keohane (ed) *Neorealism and its Critics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 255-300

*Ashley, R. K. (1988), Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique, *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 17 (2), 227-262.

*Ashley, R. K. (1989), "Living on Border Lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War", In Derian and Shapiro (eds.) *International/Intextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics*,. New York: Lexington Books, 259-322.

*Ashley, R. K. and R.B.J. Walker (1990), "Introduction: Speaking the Language of Exile: Dissidence in International Studies", *International Studies Quarterly*, 34(3), 259-268.

Ashley, R. K. (1996), "The Achievements of Post-Structuralism", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 240-253.

Atkinson, M. and J. Heritage (1984), *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Austin, J. L. (1962), *How to Do Things with Words*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

*Ayyash, M. (2007), "The Appearance of War in Discourse: Discourse: The Neoconservatives on Iraq", *Constellations*, 14 (4), 613-634.

Babst, D. (1964), "Elective Governments: A Force for Peace", *The Wisconsin Sociologist*, 3 (1), 9–14.

*Balzacq, T. (2005), "The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context", *European Journal of International Relations*, 11 (2), 171-201.

*Balzacq, T. (2010), *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve*, London: Routledge.

*Balzacq, T. (2014), *Contesting Security: Strategies and Logics*, London: Routledge.

Barnes, B. (2001), "Practice as Collective Action", In T. R. Schatzki, K. Knorr-Cetina, and E. Savigny (eds) *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*, London: Routledge, 17-28.

*Bartelson, J. (1995), *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Bastow, S. and J. Martin, J. (2005), "Third Way Politics Today", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 211-230.

Bazzi, S. (2009), *Arab News and Conflict A Multidisciplinary Discourse Study*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Bell, D. (2001), "International Relations: The Dawn of a Historiographical Turn?", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 3 (1), 115-126.

Bell, D. (2003), "Political Theory and the Functions of Intellectual History: A Response to Emmanuel Navon". *Review of International Studies*, 29 (1), 151-160.

Bernstein, S. et al. (2000), "God Gave Physics the Easy Problems: Adapting Social Science to an Unpredictable World", *European Journal of International Relations*, 6 (1), 43–76.

Biersteker, T. J. (1989), "Critical Reflections on Post-Positivism in International Relations", *International Studies Quarterly*, 33 (3), 263-267.

Blommaert, J. (2005), *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Booth, K. (1996), "75 years on: Rewriting the Subject's Past - Reinventing its future", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 328-339.

Bourdieu, P. and L. Wacquant (1992), *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bull, H. (. (1966), "International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach". *World Politics*, 18 (3), 361-377.

*Burgis, M. (2008), "The Promise of Solid Ground: Arab Territorial Disputes and the Discourse of International Law Michelle Burgis", *International Community Law* Review, 10 (1), 73–99.

*Burgis, M. L. (2009), *Boundaries of Discourse in the International Court of Justice; Mapping Arguments in Arab Territorial Disputes*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Burton, J. W. (1972), *World Society*, London: Cambridge University Press.

Buzan, B. (1996), "The Timeless Wisdom of Realism?", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 47-65.

Campbell, D. (1988), "Recent Changes in Social Theory: Questions for International Relations", In R. HT (ed.) *New Directions in International Relations: Australian Perspectives*, Canberra: Department of International Relations, 11-67.

*Campbell, D. (1990), "Global Inscription: How Foreign Policy Constitutes the United States", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 15 (3), 263-286.

*Campbell, D. (1992), *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

*Campbell, D. (1993), *Politics without Principles: Sovereignty, Ethics, and the Narratives of the Gulf War*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

*Campbell. (2001), "Time Is Broken: The Return of the Past in the Response to September 11", *Theory and Event*, 5 (4),

*Campbell, D. (2005), "The Bio Politics of Security", *American Quarterly*, 57 (3), 943-972.

Carr, E. H. (2001), *The Twenty Years' crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

*Carta, C. (2013), "Use of Metaphors and International Discourse: the EU as an Idiot Power, a Deceptive Pangloss and a Don Giovanni in His Infancy", *Cooperation and Conflict* 49 (3), 334-353.

Checkel, J. T. (1998), ''The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory''. *World Politics*, 50 (2), 324–348.

Chernoff, F. (2004), "The Study of the Democratic Peace and Progress in International Relations", *International Studies Review*, 6 (1), 49–78.

*Chilton: (1996), *Security Metaphors: Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common House*, New York: Peter Lang.

*Chilton: (2002), "Do something!: Conceptualising Responses to the Attacks of 11 September 2001", *Journal of Language and Politics*, 1 (1),, 181-195.

Chouliaraki, L. (1998), "Regulation in "Progressivist" Pedagogic Discourse: Individualized Teacher–Pupil Talk", *Discourse and Society*, 9(1), 5–32.

Chouliaraki, L. (1999), "Media Discourse and National Identity: Death and Myth in a News Broadcast", In R. Wodak, and C. Ludwig (eds.) *Challenges in a Changing World: Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis*, Vienna: Passagen, 37-62.

*Chouliaraki, L. (2005), "Media Discourse and the Public Sphere", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 275-295.

Chouliaraki, L and N. Fairclough (1999), *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

*Chowdhury, A and R. Krebs (2010), "Talking about Terror: Counterterrorist Campaigns and the Logic of Representation", *European Journal of International Relations*, 16 (1), 125-150.

*Clohesy, A. M. (2005), "The Human Rights Act: Politics, Power, and the Law", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 170-189.

*Collet, T. (2009), "Civilization and Civilized in Post-9/11 US Presidential Speeches", *Discourse and Society*, 20 (4), 455–475.

Cox, R. (1981), "Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 10(2), 126-155.

Cox, R. (1987), *Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Davidson, D. (1984), *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

*Derian, J. D. (1987), *On Diplomacy: A Genealogy of Western Estrangment*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

*Derian, J. D. (1988), "Philosophical Traditions in International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 17 (2), 189-193.

*Derian, J. (1989), "The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations", In J. Derian, and M. Shapiro (eds.) *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics*, Lexington: Lexington Books, 3-10.

*Derian, J. D. (2011), "Quantum Diplomacy, German–US Relations and the Psychogeography of Berlin", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 6 (3), 373-392.

*Derrida, J. (1976), *Of Grammatology, Baltimore*: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

*Derrida, J. (1978), *Writing and Difference*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Deutsch, K. W. (1964), *The Nerves of Government*, New York: The Free Press.

*De-Vos: (2005), "Right-wing Populism and the Radical Centre: Explaining the Electoral Growth of the Vlaams Blok in Belgium", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 190-210.

DiCicco, J and J. Levy (1999), "Power Shifts and Problem Shifts: The Evolution of the Power Transition Research Program", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43 (6), 673–704.

Dijk, T. v. (1985), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Vol. 4: Discourse Analysis in Society*, New York: Academic Press.

Dijk, T. v. (1991), *Racism and the Press*, London: Routledge.

Dijk, T. v. (1993), "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis", *Discourse and Society*, 4 (2), 249-283.

Dijk, T. v. (1998), *Ideology*, London: sage.

Dijk, T. v. (2001), "Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity", In R. Wodak, and M. Meyer (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London; Sage Publications, 95-120.

*Dijk, T. v. (2005), "War Rhetoric of a Little Ally: Political Implicatures and Aznar'S Legitimatization of the War in Iraq", *Journal of Language and Politics*, 4 (1), 65-91.

*Dirks, U. (2006), "Critical Discourse Analysis of the Iraq Conflict in the British and Germán'Quality' Press", *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, 19, 101-123.

*Doty, R. (1993), "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines", *International Studies Quarterly*, 37 (3), 297-320.

*Doty, R. (1996), *Imperial Encounters: Patterns of Representation in North/South* Relations, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

*Doty, R. (2000), "Desire All the Way Down", *Review of International Studies*, 26(1), 137–139.

Dreyfus, H and Rabinow (1982), *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Brighton: Harvester Press.

Dunne, T and L. Hansen (2013), "The End of International Relations Theory?", *European Journal of International Relations*,19(3), 405-425.

Elephant and the Blind Men, (n.d.), *Elephant and the Blind Men*. Retrieved January 1, 2015, from www.jainworld.com: http://www.jainworld.com/literature/story25.htm

Elman, C and E. Miriam (2003), *Progress and International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Pres.

*Epstein, C. (2008), *The Power of Words in International Relations Birth of an Anti-Whaling Discourse*, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Epstein, C. (2013), "Constructivism or the Eternal Return of Universals in International Relations. Why Returning to Language is Vital to Prolonging the Owl'S Flight", *International Relations*, 19(3), 499-519.

*Erjavec, K and Z. Volcic (2007), "War on Terrorism" as a Discursive Battleground: Serbian Recontextualization of G. W. Bush'S Discourse", *Discourse and Society*, 18 (2), 123-137.

Fairlclough, N. (1989), *Language and Power*, London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge: Polity.

Fairclough, N. (1995a), *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study Of Language*, London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995b), *Media and Discourse*, London: E. Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (1998), "Political Discourse in the Media: an Analytical Framework", In A. Bell, and P. Garrett (eds.) *Approaches to Media Discourse*, Oxford: Blackwell, 142-162.

Fairclough, N. (2000), *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2012), *Political Discourse Analysis*, New York: Routledge.

Fierke, K. M. (2002), "Links across the Abyss: Language and Logic in International Relations", *International Studies Quarterly*, 46 (3), 331-354.

Foucault, M. (1972), *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse*, London: Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M. (1973a), *Madness and Civilization: a History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1973b), *The Birth of the Clinic*, Lond: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1979), *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, Hanoondswonh: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* 1972-1977, New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1981), *History of Sexuality, vol. 1*, Harmondswonh: Penguin Books.

Fowler, R. (1981), *Literature as Social Discourse: The Practice of Linguistic Criticism*, London: Batsford Academic.

Fowler, R. et al. (1979), *Language and Control*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Fox, N. J. (2008), Post-positivism. In L. M. Given (ed.) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage, 659-664.

Fox, W. T. (1949), "Interwar International Relations Research: The American Experience". *World Politics*, 2 (1), 67-80.

George, A. L and A. Bennett (2005), *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

*George, J. (1994), *Discourse of Global Politics; Critical reintroduction to IR*, Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

*George, J and D. Campbell (1900), "Patterns of Dissent and the Celebration of Difference: Critical Social Theory and International Relations", *International Studies Quarterly*, 34 (3), 269-293.

Glynos, J. et al. (2009), *Discourse Analysis: Varieties and Methods*, Essex: National Centre for Research Methods.

Goldmann, K. (1996), "International Relations: An Overview", In R. E. Goodin, and H.-D. Klingemann (eds.) *A New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 401-427.

Goldstein, J and R Keohane, (1993), *Ideas and Foreign Policy, Institutions and Political Change*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

*Graham, P. et al. (2004), "A Call to Arms at the End of History: A Discourse Historical Analysis of George W. Bush's Declaration of War on Terror", *Discourse and Society*, 15 (2–3), 199–221.

Grice, H. (1975), "Logic and Conversation", In P. Cole, and J. Morgan (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 3, New York: Academic Press, 68-134.

*Griggs, S. (2005), "Problematizing the Mobilization of Hospital Directors", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing, *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 117-138.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982), *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982), *Language and Social Identity*, Cambridge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J and D. Hymes (1972), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, Chichester: Wiley.

Guzzini, S. (1998), *Realism in International Relations and International Political Economy: The Continuing Story of a Death Foretold*, London: Routledge.

Guzzini, S. (2000), "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations", *European Journal of International Relations*, 6(2), 147-182.

*Hajer, M. A. (2005), "Coalitions, Practices, and Meaning in Environmental Politics: From Acid Raid to BSE", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 297-315.

Halliday, F. (1996), "The Future of International Relations: Fears and Hopes", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 318-327.

*Hansen, A. D and E. Sorensen (2005), "Polity as Politics: Studying the Shaping and Effects of Discursive Polities", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, Houndmills, Basingstoke and Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 93-116.

*Hansen, L. (2006), *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, London: Routledge.

Harding, S. (1991), *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

*Hodges, A. (2007), "The Political Economy of Truth in the 'War on Terror' Discourse: Competing Visions of an Iraq/al Qaeda Connection", *Social Semiotics* 17(1), 5-21.

*Hodges, A. (2010), "Discursive Constructions of Global War and Terror", In N. Coupland (ed.) *Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 305-322.

*Hodges, A. (2011), *The "War on Terror" Narrative Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Hodges, A and C. Nilep (2007), *Discourse, War and Terrorism, Amsterdam*: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

*Holland, J. (2013), *Selling the War on Terror: Foreign Policy Discourses after 9/11*, London: Routledge.

Holsti, K. (1989), "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall Which are the Fairest Theories of All?", *International Studies Quarterly*, 33 (3), 255-261.

Holsti, O. R. (1969), *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and the Humanities*, Boston: Addisson-Wesley.

*Holzscheiter, A. (2010), *Children's Rights in International Politics; The Transformative Power of Discourse*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

*Holzscheiter, A. (2014), "Between Communicative Interaction and Structures of Signification: Discourse Theory and Analysis in International Relations", *International Studies Perspectives*, 15(2), 142-162.

*Howarth, D. R and J. Torfing (2005), *Discourse Theory in European Politics; Identity, Policy and Governance*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

*Howarth, D. et al. (2000), *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis: Identities, Hegemonies, and Social Change*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hurd, I. (2008), "Constructivism", In C. Reus-Smit, and D. Snidal (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 298-316.

Jackson, T. (2011), *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations*: Philosophy of Science and its Implications for the Study of World Politics, London: Routledge.

*Jackson, R. (2007), "An Analysis of EU Counterterrorism Discourse Post-September 11", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 20 (2), 233-247.

Jaeger, S. (2001), "Discourse and Knowledge: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of a Critical Discourse and Dispositive Analysis", In R. Wodak, and M.

Meyer (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: Sage Publications, 32-62.

Jervis, R. (1991), "Realism, Neoliberalism and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate", *International Security*, 24 (1), 42-63.

Jordan, R. et al. (2009), *One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries*. Virginia: Institute for the Theory and Practices of International Relations, College of William and Mary.

Jorgensen, M and L. Phillips (2002), *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, London: Sage Publications.

Kahler, M. (1997), "Inventing International Relations: International Relations Theory after 1945", In M. Doyle, and G. J. Ikenberry (eds.) *New Thinking in International Relations Theory*, Westview: Boulder, 20-53.

Kaplan, M. (1957), *System and Process in International Politics*, New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Kaplan, M. (1961), "Is International Relations a Discipline?", *Journal of Politics*, 23 (3), 462-476.

Kaplan, M. (1966), "The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations", *World Politics*, 19 (1), 1-20.

Katzenstein, P. (1996), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Katzenstein, P and R Sil (2008), "Eclectic Theorizing in the Study and Practice of International Relations", In C. Reus-Smit, and D. Snidal (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 109-130.

Keohane, R. (1988), "*International Institutions: Two Approaches*", *International Studies Quarterly*, 32 (4), 379–396.

Keohane, R. (1989), *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory*, Boulder: Westview Press.

Keohane, R. O and J Nye (1977), *Power and Interdependence*, 2nd.ed, Boston: Scott, Foresman.

Kim, K. H. (2014), "Examining US News Media Discourses About North Korea: A Corpus-Based critical Discourse Analysis", *Discourse and Society*, 22 (2), 221-224.

King, G. et al. (1994), *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kratochwil, F. V. (1993), "The Embarrassment of Changes: Neo-Realism and The Science of Realpolitik Without Politics", *Review of International Studies*, 19(1), 63-80.

*Krebs, R and J. Lobasz (2007), "Fixing the Meaning of 9/11: Hegemony, Coercion, and the Road to War in Iraq", *Security Studies*, 16 (3), 409-451.

*Kress, G and B. Hodge (1979), *Language as Ideology*, London: Routledge.

Kuhn, T. (1970), *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2nd ed.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Labov, W. (1972a), *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1972b), *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Laclau, E. (1985a), "New Social Movements and the Plurality of Social", In D. Slater, *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*, Amsterdam: CEDLA.

Laclau, E. (1985b), *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London: Verso.

Laclau, E. (1988), "Metaphor and Social Antagonisms", In Nelson, and Grossberg, *Marxism and Interpretation of Culture*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 249-257.

Laclau, E. (1990), *New Reflections of the Revolution of Our Time*, London: Verso Press.

Lakatos, I. (1970), "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes", In I. Lakatos, and A. Musgrave (eds.) *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 91-130.

Lakatos, I. (1978), "The Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes", In J. Worrall, and G. Currie, *Philosophical Papers*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lake, D. A. (2013), "Theory is Dead, Long Live Theory: The End of the Great Debates and the Rise of Eclecticism in International Relations", *International Relations*, 19 (3), 567–587.

Lapid, Y. (1989), "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era", *International Studies Quarterly*, 33 (3), 235-254.

Lapid, Y. (2003), "Through Dialogue to Engaged Pluralism: The Unfinished Business of the Third Debate", *International Studies Review*, 5 (1), 128–131.

Larsen, H. (1997), *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis*, London: Routledge.

Lijphardt, A. (1974), "International Relations Theory: Great Debates and Lesser Debates", *International Social Science Journal*, 26 (10), 11-21.

Linklater, A. (1990), *Beyond Realism and Marxism: Critical Theory and International* (2nd ed.), London: Macmillan.

Linklater, A. (1996), "The Achievements of Critical Theory", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 279-300.

Macdonell, D. (1986), *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Makinda, S. M. (2000), "International Society and Eclecticism in International Relations Theory", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 35 (2), 205-216.

Mann, M. (1996), "Authoritarian and Liberal Militarism: A Contribution from Comparative and Historical Sociology", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 221-239.

McKeown, T. J. (1999), "Case Studies and the Statistical Worldview", *International Organization*, 53 (1), 161–190.

McMillan, K. (2012), "Beyond Geography and Social Structure: Disciplinary Sociologies of Power in International Relations", *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 15 (1), 131-144.

Mearsheimer, J. (1994-1995), "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, 19(3), 5-49.

*Milliken, J. (1996), "Prestige and Reputation in American Foreign Policy and American Realism", In F. Beer, and R. Hariman (eds.) *Post-realism: The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 217-238.

*Milliken, J. (1999a), "Intervention and Identity: Reconstructing the West in Korea", In J. Weldes, M. Leffey, H. Gusterson, and R. Duvall (eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities and the Production of Danger*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 91-118.

*Milliken, J. (1999b), "The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods", *Journal of International Relations*, 5 (2), 225-254.

*Milliken, J. (2001), *The Social Construction of the Korean War: Conflict and Its Possibilities*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

*Milliken, J and D. Sylvan (1996), "Soft Bodies, Hard Targets and Chic Theories: US Bombing Policy in Indochina", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 25(2), 321-359.

Monroe, K. R. (2005), P*erestroika! The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Moravcsik, A. (1997), "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics", *International Organization*, 51(4), 513-553.

Morgenthau, H. (1978), *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (3rd ed.), New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Moses, J. (2010), "Liberal Internationalist Discourse and the Use of Force: Blair, Bush and Beyond", *International Politics*, 47 (1), 26-51.

Mottier, V. (2005), "From Welfare to Social Exclusion: Eugenic Social Policies", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing, *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 255-274.

Mumby, D and R. Clair (1997), "Organisational Discourse", In T. v. Dijk (ed.) Discourse as Social Interaction. *Discourse Studies. A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, Vol. 2, London: Sage, 181-205.

*Mutimer, D. (1999), *The Weapons State: Proliferation and the Imagination of Security*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

*Neumann, I. B. (2002), "Returning Practice to the Linguistic Turn: The Case of Diplomacy", *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 31 (3), 627-651.

*Neumann, I. B. (2012), *Diplomatic Sites: A Critical Enquiry*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Nunan, D. (1993), *Introducing Discourse Analysis*, London: Penguin.

Olson, W and N. Onuf (1985), "The Growth of a Discipline Reviewed", In S. Smith (ed.) *International Relations: British and American Perspectives*, New York: Blackwell, 1-28.

Onuf, N. (1989), *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Peirce, C. S. (1883), *Studies in Logic,* Boston*:* Little Brown*.*

Popper, K. (1992 [1934]), *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, London: Routledge.

Price, R and C. Reus-Smit, C. (1998), "Dangerous Liaisons? Critical International Theory and Constructivism", *European Journal of International Relations*, 4(3), 259-294.

Quirk, J and D. Vigneswaran (2005), "The Construction of an Edifice: The Story of a First Great Debate", *Review of International Studies*, 31 (1), 89-107.

*Renwick, N. (2007), "Southeast Asia and the Global 'War on Terror' Discourse", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 20 (2), 249-165.

Reyes, O. (2005), "New Labour's Politics of the Hard-working Family", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing, *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 231-254.

Richardson, K. (1998), "Signs and Wonders: Interpreting the Economy through Television", In A. Bell, and P. Garrett, *Approaches to Media Discourse*, London: Blackwell, 220-250.

Rorty, R. (1991), *Objectivity, Relativism and Truth. Philosophical Papers*, Vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenau, J. (1996), "Probing Puzzles Persistently: A Desirable but Improbable", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski, *International Theory: Positivism and beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 309-317.

Rosenau, J. N. (1980), "Thinking Theory Thoroughly", In J. Rosenau (ed.) *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, London: Frances Pinter, 19-31.

Rosenau, J. N. (1993), "International Relations", In J. Krieger (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 455-460.

Sartori, G. (1970), "Concept Misinformation in Comparative Politics", *American Political Science Review,* 64 (4), 1033-1053.

Saussure, F. D. (1916/1966), *Course in General Linguistics* (transl. Wade Baskin), New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schegloff, E. A., and Sacks, H. (1973), "Opening Up Closings", *Semiotica*, 8 (4), 289–327.

Schelling, T. C. (1960), *The Strategy of Conflict*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Schmidt, B. C. (1994), "The Historiography of Academic International Relations", *Review of International Studies*, 20 (4), 349-367.

Schmidt, B. C. (1998a), "Lessons from the Past: Reassessing the Interwar Disciplinary History of International Relations", *International Studies Quarterly*, 42 (3), 433-459.

Schmidt, B. C. (1998b), *The Political Discourse Of Anarchy A Disciplinary History Of International Relations*, New York: State University of New York Press.

Schmidt, B. C. (2002), "Anarchy, World Politics and the Birth of the Discipline: American International Relations, Pluralist Theory and the Myth of Interwar Idealism", *International Relations*, 16 (1), 9-31.

Schmidt, B. C. (2012a), "On the History and Historiography of International Relations", In W. Carlsnaes (ed.) *Handbook of International Relations*, London: SAGE Publications, 3-28.

Schmidt, B. C. (2012b), *International Relations and the First Great Debate*, New York: Routledge.

Schroeder, P. (1994), *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scollon, R. (2001), "Action and Text: Towards an Integrated Understanding of the Place of Text in Social (Inter) Action, Mediated Discourse Analysis and the Problem of Social Action", In R. Wodak, and M. Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 139-183.

Searle, J. R. (1969), *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Shapiro, I. (2002), "Problems, Methods, and Theories in the Study of Politics", *Political Theory*, 30 (4), 596-619.

*Shapiro, M. J. (1981), *Language and Political Understanding: The Politics of Discursive Practices*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

*Shapiro, M. J. (1987), *The Politics of Representation: Writing Practices in Biography, Photography, and Policy Analysis*, Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press.

*Shapiro, M. J. (1988), "The Politics of Fear: Don DeLillo's Postmodern Burrow", *Strategies*, 1, 120-141.

*Shapiro, M. J. (1992), *Reading the Postmodern Polity: Political Theory as Textual Practice*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

*Silberstein, S. (2002), *War of Words*: *Language, Politics and 9/11*, London: Routledge.

Sinclair, J. M., and Coulthard, M. (1975), *Towards an Analysis of Discourse*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, S. (1987), "Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 16 (2), 189-206.

Smith, S. (1995), "The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory", In K. Booth, and S. Smith (eds.) *International Relations Theory Today*, Pennsylvania: State University Press, 1-37.

Smith, S. (1996), "Positivism and Beyond", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-45.

Smith, S. (2000), "Wendt's world", *Review of International Studies*, 26 (1), 151-163.

Snyder, R. C. et al. (1954), *Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

*Stavrakakis, Y. (2005), "Passions of Identification: Discourse, Enjoyment, and European Identity", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing (eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics: Identity, Policy and Governance*, Houndmills, Basingstoke and Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 68-92.

Suh, J. J. et al. (2004), *Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power, and Efficiency*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

*Sylvan, D. et al. (1998), "A Pilot Study on the Changing Meaning of Sovereignty in International Relations: Rationale, Methodology, and a Preliminary Example", paper

presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association, Minneapolis.

*Tekin, B. C. (2010), *Representation and Othering in Discourse: The Construction of Turkey in the EU Context*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Thies, C. G. (2002), "Progress, History, and Identity in International Relations Theory: The Case of the Idealist-Realist Debate", *European Journal of International Relations*, 8 (2), 147-185.

Thompson, K. (1952), "The Study of International Politics: A Survey of Trends and Developments", *Review of Politics*, 14 (4), 433-467.

Torfing, J. (1999), *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe, and Zizek*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Tripp, E. (1972), "Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-occurrence", In Gumperz, and D. Hymes (eds.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 213-250.

Vasquez, J. A. (1983), *The Power of Power Politics: A Critique*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Vasquez, J. A. (1997), *The Power of Power Politics; From Classical Realism to Neo traditionalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vitalis, R. (2000), "The Graceful and Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 29 (2), 331-356.

*Waever, O. (1995), "Securitization and Desecuritization", In R. Lipschutz (eds.) *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, 46-86.

Waever, O. (1996), "The Rise and Fall of the Inter- Paradigm Debate", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewsk (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 149-185.

*Waever, O. (2005), "European Integration and Security: Analysing French and German Discourses on State, Nation, and Europe", In D. Howarth, and J. Torfing

(eds.) *Discourse Theory in European Politics Identity, Policy and Governance*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 33-67.

Wæver, O. (2007), "Still a Discipline After All These Debates?", In T. Dunne, M. Kurki, and S. Smith (eds.) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 288-308.

*Walker, R. B. (1988), *The Concept of Security and International Relations Theory* (Working Paper No. 3), San Diego: Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California.

*Walker, R. B. (1990), *Contending Sovereignties: Redefining Political Community*, Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner.

*Walker, R. B. (1993), *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walker, T. C. (2010), "The Perils of Paradigm Mentalities: Revisiting Kuhn, Lakatos, and Popper", *Perspectives on Politics*, 8 (2), 433-462.

Wallerstein, I. (1974), *The Modern World System*, New York: Academic Press.

Walt, S. M. (1991), "The Renaissance of Security Studies", *International Studies Quarterly*, 35(2), 211-240.

Walt, S. M. (1998), "International Relations: One World, Many Theories", *Foreign Policy*, 110, 29-47.

Waltz, K. (1979), *Theory of International Politics*, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Waltz, K. (1986), "Reflections on Theory of International Politics: A Response to My Critics", In R. O. Keohane (eds.) *Neorealism and Its Critics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 322-345.

Waltz, K. (1997), "Evaluating Theories", *American Political Science Review*, 91 (4), 913–917.

Waltz, K. (1998), "Interview with Kenneth Waltz", *Review of International Studies*, 24 (3), 371–386.

Wendt, A. E. (1987), ''The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory", *International Organization*, 41 (3), 335-370.

Wendt, A. E. (1992), "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", ''International *Organization*s, 46 (2), 391-425.

Wendt, A. E. (1995), "Constructing International Politics", *International Security*, 20 (1), 71-81.

Wendt, A. E. (1999), *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Williams, M. C. (2007), *Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security*, London: Routledge.

Wilson: (1998), "The Myth of the First Great Debate", "*Review of International Studies*, 24 (5), 1-16.

Wodak, R. (1989), *Language, Power and Ideology: Studies in political discourse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wodak, R. (2001), "The Discourse Historical Approach", In R. Wodak, and M. Meyer (eds.) *Methods of Critical discourse Analysis*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 63-94.

Wodak, R. and M. Meyer (2001), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: Sage Publications.

Yaqing, Q. (2007), "Why is There no Chinese International Relations Theory?", *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 7 (3), 313-340.

*Yongtao, L. (2011), "Discourse, Meanings and IR Studies: Taking the Rhetoric of "Axis of Evil" As a Case", *CONfines*, 11 (6), 85-107.

Zalewski, M. (1996), "All These Theories yet the Bodies Keep Piling up': Theories, Theorists, Theorising", In S. Smith, K. Booth, and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 350-353.

Zehfuss, M. (2001), ''Constructivism and Identity: A Dangerous Liaison", European *Journal of International Relations*, 7 (3), 315-348.

Zehfuss, M. (2002), *Constructivism in International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Zurn, M., and Checkel , J. T. (2005), "Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State", *International Organization*, 59 (4), 1045-1079.