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Edited by Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner

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*Edited by
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Introducing the language–politics nexus

Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner

Sketching out a long history

Given the significance of actual language use, and meaning-making more generally, in politics since at least the rise of rhetoric in Ancient Greece, and the ever more discursive nature of late modern politics in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics* contributes a single-volume reference work to this field. More specifically, this handbook adds to existing scholarship by providing a comprehensive overview of influential theoretical approaches, as well as common methodologies, classic genres and contributions on salient, socio-cultural challenges.¹

In this introduction, we situate the 45 contributions to this volume both historically, that is, in a wider context of how language use has been viewed in relation to politics, and theoretically, that is, pointing to perspectives when approaching the language–politics nexus. We close with an overview of the various contributions to this volume.

Research in the field of language and politics has expanded enormously in recent years (for example, Cap & Okulska 2013; Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; Wodak 2011; Wodak & de Cillia 2006; Chilton 2004). From a Western point of view, the significance of skilful, persuasive language use is, of course, connected to rhetoric in Ancient Greece. Starting with councils as advisory bodies and, ultimately, the emergence of democracy in Athens, the art of persuasion (rhetoric) became an increasingly necessary prerequisite for successful participation in public life (Murphy et al. 2013; Fuhrmann 2011). This significance of actual language use for politics is visible, for example, in Aristotle's *Politics* (for an overview of thoughts on the co-evolution of language and politics, see Chilton 2004, pp. 16–19; for the following, see also Chilton, 2004, p. 5). The treatise is concerned with the polis, the political community and its best constitution; in a well-known passage, Aristotle addresses man as a 'political animal', stating that it is clear why:

man is a political animal in a greater measure than any bee or any gregarious animal [...]. For nature, as we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man alone of the animals possesses speech. The mere voice, it is true, can indicate pain and pleasure,

and therefore is possessed by the other animals as well [...], but speech is designed to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong [...]

(Aristotle 1944, 1253a)

This quote captures our attention due to its emphasis on ‘speech’ in the process of sharing viewpoints. And even though today’s understanding of politics is not limited to Aristotle’s concern for households and city states, the importance of speech, and here, we include other modes of meaning-making, such as writing, visuals, music etc., in politics has hardly diminished. Indeed, rhetoric has evolved in manifold ways throughout subsequent centuries until today.

With the development of mass communication in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, interest in language use, in communication and its effects, entered a new stage. Seminal texts were stimulated by the (perceived) effectiveness of mass media and propaganda at the beginning of the twentieth century in ‘the manufacture of consent’ (Lippmann 1998 [1922], p. 248) and include, besides Walter Lippmann’s and John Dewey’s (1927) work, for example, Harold Lasswell’s *Propaganda techniques in the World War* (1927). Important research was, furthermore, conducted by Jewish refugees in the United States, such as Paul Lazarsfeld in the context of the *Office of Radio Research* and later the *Bureau of Applied Social Research*. After the Second World War, Lasswell and Nathan Leites (1949) published one of the most important studies on quantitative semantics in the field of language and politics, developing approaches from communication and mass media research. Another tradition characterised by a more qualitative orientation is that proposed by members of the Frankfurt School, such as Theodor W. Adorno (Adorno et al. 1950) and Leo Löwenthal (Löwenthal & Guterman 1949).

Influenced by the use of propagandistic language during the Second World War and in the emerging Cold War era, research on the intricate links between language and politics (re-)emerged throughout Europe. Here, the dystopian novel *1984* by George Orwell (2008 [1949]) was a significant point of departure for the development of an entire new field. In Germany, critical linguistic research into the interdependence of language and politics during National Socialism was primarily conducted by Victor Klemperer (1947) and by Rolf Sternberger, Gerhard Storz and Wilhelm Emanuel Süskind (1957). Klemperer as well as Sternberger, Storz and Süskind sampled, categorised and described the words used during the Nazi regime: many words had acquired new meanings, other words were forbidden (words borrowed from other languages, such as *cigarette*), and neologisms (new words) were created; similar language policies were adopted by former communist totalitarian regimes (Wodak & Kirsch 1995). Controlling language in this way implies an attempt to control (the thinking and practices of) people.

A similar focus characterised the development of French discourse analysis in the 1960s and 1970s, that is, the work carried out by Michel Pêcheux on automated discourse analysis (for example, Pêcheux 1995). Here, language use was analysed in order to uncover deeper, ideological meanings. This interest in language was part of a wider shift towards recognising its significance in the 1960s (albeit with its roots in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). Among others, language plays an important role in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann’s *The social construction of reality* (1991 [1966]), as well as, although in a different manner, by focusing on discourse in post-structural approaches most prominently represented by Michel Foucault.

From 1990 onwards, research on *political discourse* expanded further (for example, Wilson 1990). Studies were conducted on communication within political organisations (for

example, European Union committees and decision-making processes, Krzyżanowski & Oberhuber 2007; Muntigl, Weiss & Wodak 2000; the United Nations, Holzschneider 2010; the European Parliament, Wodak 2011), as well as on the unique (charismatic) style of politicians (for example, Tony Blair, Fairclough 2000; Jörg Haider, Wodak & Pelinka 2002; US senators, Duranti 2006), on political speeches and the politics of the past (for example, Austerlühl 2014; Heer et al. 2008; Charteris-Black 2004; Ensink & Sauer 2003; Martin & Wodak 2003), on right-wing political and fascist rhetoric (Richardson 2017; Wodak 2016, 2015; Wodak et al. 2013), on legitimation and persuasion (for example, Cap 2010; Chouliaraki 2006; van Dijk 2006; van Leeuwen 1996), and on interviews with politicians in the media (for example, Tolson & Ekström 2013).

Against the background of this diverse research, Armin Burkhardt, among others, proposed a typology by emphasising the use of:

“political communication” as a generic term comprising all types of public, institutional and private talks on political issues, that is, all types of texts and genres typical of politics and political action, as well as the use of lexical and stylistic linguistic instruments characterizing text and talk about political contexts.

(Burkhardt 1996, p. 5)

While attempting to transcend purely hermeneutic or philological approaches to text and talk, he lists four different procedures as particularly promising methods and techniques to be used for ‘ideological reconstruction’: *lexical-semantic techniques* (analysis of catchwords and value words, of euphemisms, and of ideological polysemy); *sentence and text-semantic procedures* (analysis of tropes, of semantic isotopes, and of inclusion and exclusion strategies); *pragmatic text-linguistic techniques* (analysis of forms of address, speech acts, allusions, presuppositions, argumentation, rhetoric, quotations, genres and intertextuality); and finally, *semiotic techniques* (icon, symbol and semiotic analysis). These distinctions have recently been taken up and further elaborated by German-speaking scholars (for example, Reisigl 2008, 2007) – but however these categories are defined, language use is intrinsically linked to them, and to what we label ‘doing politics’ (Wodak 2011).

Understanding politics

Mentioning Burkhardt furthermore raises the question of what constitutes ‘political issues’? For Burkhardt, political communication is concerned with all types of public, institutional and private talk about political issues; thus, the topics are clearly marked as dealing with official political agendas. But as feminists have long argued, the boundaries between the private and the public, what is traditionally viewed as the sphere of the political, are shifting. Subsequently, and in light of both the plurality of theories in general and the wide range of perspectives held by contributors to this volume in particular, this handbook abstains from offering one stable, single definition or understanding of ‘politics’ and ‘political issues’.

One such understanding could refer to individuals coming together in order to take decisions, and this is famously illustrated by Hannah Arendt’s work in which political power is perceived as the result of acting in concert, that is, of actors coming together in order to achieve a certain purpose. Political power is thus based on consent and rational exchange, and not on coercion. As Arendt (1972, p. 151) notes, ‘[p]ower springs up

whenever people get together and act in concert’ – and it is in such a realisation of potential, coming together and deliberating, that power (that is, political power) can be considered to be legitimate; it is reproduced as such through constant deliberation.

Although within a different framework, Jürgen Habermas’ (1979, p. 9) model of communicative action and discourse ethics radicalises this approach to the extent that understanding and co-operation are rooted in ‘*the intuitive knowledge of competent subjects*’. Consequently, procedures should warrant a deliberative exchange of arguments and the ability to discuss one’s interests in light of norms that are acceptable to all those involved and affected (Habermas 2002, 1997). The deliberative model is thus one in which legitimate power is exercised collectively – and decisions that affect a group must be based on more or less free and equal exchange between individuals.

Such a conception does not deny conflict and disagreement – indeed, it is based on the very fact that disagreements exist, although framed by an orientation towards understanding and agreement. A sharp foregrounding of the conflictual dimension of politics (and beyond) is highlighted in Marxist-inspired approaches that stress class antagonism as the driving force of political developments. Here, politics is not – at least not in a classic understanding – viewed as an autonomous field, but ultimately tied to economic relations. Expanding and going beyond this view, Pierre Bourdieu argues that:

[...] politics is a struggle to impose the legitimate principle of vision and division, in other words, the one that is dominated and recognized as deserving to dominate, that is to say, charged with symbolic violence.

(Bourdieu 2005, p. 39)

Such a focus on conflict and struggle, on attaining hegemony, is most strongly associated with post-foundational approaches such as those from Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (Mouffe 1999; Laclau 1994; Laclau & Mouffe 1985), who view politics as a matter of exclusion and decision, as that type of action which aims, ultimately, to implement one single perspective as hegemonic. Here, politics concerns the fixing of meaning, of social relations, in a context of radical contingency. Mouffe (1999) links such an understanding to the distinction between *politics* and *the political*. The latter refers to the ontological level, where antagonism is viewed as a principle characterising human relations. *Politics*, in contrast, concerns actual party programmes, institutions, and so on – the ontic level – and ‘indicates the ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions which seek to establish a certain order’ (ibid., p. 754). In Mouffe’s (ibid.) agonistic model of democracy, politics ‘consists in domesticating hostility and [...] trying to defuse the potential antagonism that exists in human relations’ by turning enemies into adversaries on the basis of shared principles of liberal democracy, liberty and equality, in turn, on the basis of a basic consensus.

Vis-à-vis the aforementioned, we have not adopted an understanding of politics being either restricted to the sphere of government and policy, elections and so forth, or a specific theoretical tradition. As such, politics here is broadly viewed as being ubiquitous, as being about the ordering of social relations in both public and private life. Making something ‘political’ (or aiming to do so) thus concerns changing social relations, that is, negotiation and struggle over the distribution and use of power and resources. Indeed, where there is power, there is politics, as Colin Hay (2002, p. 3) maintains.

David Held and Andrew Leftwich offer a similarly broad working definition of politics, defining the latter as:

a phenomenon found in and between all groups, institutions (formal and informal) and societies, cutting across public and private life. It is involved in all the relations, institutions and structures which are implicated in the activities of production and reproduction in the life of societies. It is expressed in all the activities of co-operation, negotiation and struggle over the use, production and distribution of resources which this entails. [...] Thus politics is about power; about the forces which influence and reflect its distribution and use; and about the effect of this on resource use and distribution; it is about the 'transformative capacity' of social agents, agencies and institutions: it is not about Government or government alone.

(Held & Leftwich 1988, p. 144)

By thus going beyond a focus on government, orienting instead towards scarcity and diversity, towards the negotiation of interests, we view politics as being concerned with conflict and co-operation, as being the kind of human activity that revolves around dealing with diverging interests (differences in opinion, over scarce resources, etc.). This can result in either *imposing* a particular perspective, which is subsequently recognised as 'legitimate' by others, or reaching a collectively binding understanding of what to do through means of *deliberation*. Both perspectives, however, concern formal and informal practices that address a demarcation between the public and the private, a debate about the definition of what is (or might be) a legitimate (public) topic, the use and distribution of resources, and an attempt to affect the balance of forces within political institutions, such as the state, but also beyond them, and within different groups involved in these activities.

Language and politics – an interdisciplinary endeavour

Currently, language and politics are being studied from the perspectives of a number of disciplines, including political science, journalism and communication studies, sociology, law, economics and management studies, linguistics, psychology, philosophy and education. Each of these fields and approaches tends to presuppose certain sets of theoretical and methodological points of departure, which may not always be compatible with or easily comparable to others. However, there seems to be a consensus among most scholars that research on political communication generally requires some kind of inter- or transdisciplinary approach.

Clearly, this follows from the aforementioned: if every social process is potentially political – one concerned with the distribution of power, with power relations – then economic and social processes, for example, are part of this scope of understanding, to the extent that they affect these relations (Hay 2002, p. 4). A perspective that is thus able to capture the economic, the bodily, natural life, and so on, is therefore needed – be it called inter-, post- or transdisciplinary.

When analysing political communication and, more specifically, political 'spin', Brian McNair (2004) points to *source-centred approaches* to political communication (if they focus on politicians' strategic actions as information sources). Moreover, we can also distinguish *message/ discourse-centred* approaches (if the focus is on the linguistic analysis of language use in the manifold genres of political text, talk and images), the mediatisation of politics (if mainly interested in the practices of media professionals as transmitters of political information), or *reception-centred* approaches (focusing on how citizens participate in political communication).

Scholars who adopt a source-centred approach focus on the communicative behaviour of powerful groups and individuals in society: rulers, political elites. For example, McNair (2003, p. xv) emphasises how the actions of politicians and journalists influence media content and focuses ‘on the nature of the interface between politicians and the media, the extent of their interaction, and the dialectic of their relationship’. Many studies, moreover, illustrate how politicians use numerous strategies and techniques to *attract public attention*, present themselves in a positive light and their adversaries in a negative one, convince audiences to support certain policy programmes, and so forth. These activities are labelled in manifold ways, such as political public relations, strategic communication, political propaganda, political media management, political marketing (Henneberg et al. 2009), political (or party) branding, ‘spin’ or ‘spin-doctoring’ (Hood 2011), image-making and mass self-communication (Castells 2009), and so forth.

Furthermore, we can observe an increase in the ‘*mediatisation of politics*’ – a process by which politics (and society in general) becomes more and more dependent on the media (Strömbäck 2008); this contributes to the increasing professionalisation of political communication. Importantly, public office-holders’ communication seems to be influenced by their preoccupation with individual blame avoidance (Hansson 2015), a perceived risk of mediated scandal (Allern & Pollak 2012) and constant concern with their organisational reputation (Carpenter & Krause 2012). More specifically, scholars working within *Discourse Studies* (Angermüller et al. 2014) and *Critical Discourse Studies* (Flowerdew & Richardson 2017; Hart & Cap 2014; Wodak & Meyer 2015) have developed innovative tools for systematic and detailed analyses of political text and talk. This *discourse-centred* research includes, among other topics:

- Studies of political metaphor and discursive framing in persuasive political text and talk.
- Cognitive and evolutionary linguistic analyses of political discourse, with a focus on expressions of spatial, temporal and modal dimensions.
- Corpus-assisted and qualitative research on political parties and/or politicians.
- Studies of rhetoric and argumentation in parliamentary debates, speeches, committees, and government reports.

In sum, we would like to emphasise that understanding politics, the procedures of decision-making, conflict and conflict resolution are not only of theoretical interest as an interdisciplinary endeavour; analysing, understanding and explaining the dynamics of everyday politics on the frontstage and backstage are also of eminent relevance in practice. As politics is increasingly perceived as an elitist endeavour, with participation by citizens often seen as lacking, this volume also hopes to contribute to making politics more transparent.

Outline of *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics*

This volume is divided into five sections: *Theoretical approaches to language and politics*, *Methodological approaches to language and politics*, *Genres of political action* and two final sections containing studies on salient debates that utilise various theories and methods, thus offering a series of analyses of ‘language in/and politics’.

The first section on *Theoretical approaches to language and politics* outlines perspectives on how, on a fundamental, conceptual level, this nexus has been understood. This is not to suggest that approaches and theorists not presented in this section are not relevant, but developments sometimes beyond the editors’ remit have prevented the inclusion of further

chapters. In the first chapter, Sara Rubinelli reconstructs the development of rhetoric, the classic area in which language and politics have first met, by examining relevant authors from classical Greece to the beginning of modernity. This is followed by Bob Jessop's chapter on Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser, in which he introduces and compares their thoughts on language, ideology and politics, emphasising continuities as well as discontinuities, and assessing their contemporary relevance.

The third chapter by Simon Susen deals with Jürgen Habermas' attempt to locate the normative grounds of deliberative democracy in the rational foundations of language. Indeed, Susen maintains that Habermas's conception of democracy is inseparably linked to his conception of language. Although sceptical of the extent to which aspects of this deliberative model of democracy can be applied to large-scale societies, the chapter concludes by addressing a number of issues that arise when confronted with the task of assessing both the validity and the usefulness of Habermas's communication-theoretic account of democracy.

Reiner Keller's discussion of Michel Foucault's work introduces the latter's focus on the modern subject as being established through 'games of truth' and power/knowledge regimes, including discussions of key concepts, such as archaeology, genealogy, discursive formations, *dispositif*, bio-politics, governmentality, and analytics of power. In his chapter on Jacques Lacan, Yannis Stavrakakis reflects on the role of language in psychoanalytic theory, especially Lacan's original reworking of Saussurean linguistics, and thus Lacan's psychosocial conceptualisation of the *symbolic*, before examining how Lacan shifted his attention from language to *jouissance*. Christoffer Kølvrå discusses Ernesto Laclau's discourse theory and the emergence and dynamics of political hegemonies therein. After elaborating on a post-structuralist understanding of discourses and their dislocation, Kølvrå points to how affect and emotion function as core elements in political discourses struggling for hegemony.

Andrew Sayer introduces Pierre Bourdieu's tension-laden relationship with actual language use and discourse by discussing the main concepts through which Bourdieu interprets social practices (such as habitus, field, capital and symbolic power), and reconstructs the relevance of Bourdieu's work for understanding the interdependence of language and politics.

In Chapter 8, Jan Ifversen turns to conceptual history and its analysis of basic social concepts in their range of semantic relations. The history of concepts, he maintains, is interested in the emergence, stability and changes to concepts in different historical contexts. Indeed, concepts are viewed as indicators of specific historical changes. The final chapter in this section, by Bernhard Forchtner and Ruth Wodak, introduces Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), a heterogeneous framework that facilitates the analysis of meaning-making in relation to wider societal (power) structures. As CDS recontextualises various concepts from a range of social theories, which subsequently influence empirical analysis, this chapter is characterised by a certain overlap of theoretical and methodological foci and thus serves as a transition towards Section 2.

Methodological approaches to language and politics introduces a range of methods for analysing 'language and politics'. Instead of attempting to offer an overview of the greatest possible number of methods of data analysis, we have attempted to provide a useful overview of tools for the analysis of *semiosis*. The opening chapter of this second section is provided by Roberto Franzosi, who discusses content analysis. He traces the development of this quantitative method of text analysis and illustrates a novel approach – Quantitative Narrative Analysis – by investigating newspaper articles reporting lynchings in Georgia (1875–1930).

Chapter 11, by Amelie Kutter, reviews corpus analysis, that is, computer-aided statistical analysis of large samples of digitised texts. Kutter provides an overview of the tool-kit of corpus linguistics and illustrates this method by drawing on an analysis of crisis discourse in financial commentary.

Christopher Hart subsequently turns to cognitive linguistics and the significance of conceptual structures that are invoked by language, and the ideological potential of those conceptual structures, in communication contexts. He argues for a connection between cognitive linguistics and multimodal approaches, and illustrates his claims by analysing discourses on political protests. Chapter 13, by Jonathan Charteris-Black, is also concerned with cognition and introduces the reader to conceptual metaphor, looking at the use of the 'competitive race' metaphor in debates of the British parliament.

The next chapter, by Theo van Leeuwen, offers an overview of ways to analyse multimodal legitimation in discourse and highlights three types of legitimation – legitimation through authority, moral evaluation legitimation and rationalisation legitimation – which are exemplified by a plethora of examples. Anna De Fina introduces narrative analysis in much detail and emphasises its significance for the study of politics in Chapter 15. Among other things, De Fina discusses 'master narratives' and the narratives as an everyday, context-sensitive practice. She concludes her chapter with a brief discussion of video narratives posted by members of the 'Dreamers' as part of their campaign to push for migration reforms in the United States.

The subsequent chapter by Claudia Posch discusses rhetorical analysis by first looking at the interdependence of rhetoric and politics. She then presents a number of rhetorical devices and their functions for the interpretation of persuasive strategies in political language. Ruth Amossy subsequently elaborates the meaning of political argumentation in Chapter 17 before approaching argumentation in relation to discourse analysis. Amossy illustrates the 'argumentation in discourse' approach to political discourse via an analysis of a speech delivered by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at the United Nations. Steven E. Clayman and Laura Loeb introduce the method of conversation analysis as an adequate approach to the detailed study of interaction in language and politics, including the characteristic forms of data that are employed and methods of analysis. This is illustrated by reference to exemplary work in the analysis of radio phone-in shows, political speeches and interviews.

In Chapter 19, Endre Dányi considers ethnography as an entry point to understand the connection between meaning-making and politics. The author illustrates a way of analysing a 'politics beyond words' by using the Hungarian parliament as a case in point and demonstrates how ethnography sheds light on the complex relationship between bodies, texts, symbolic objects, communication technologies and many other entities.

Section 3, *Genres of political action*, moves on to the description of a range of ways in which politics is performed. Cornelia Ilie's opening chapter reconstructs the particular ratified practices underlying parliamentary debates, drawing on a series of examples. Here, Ilie illustrates the mechanisms of deliberation, adversariality and polarisation that underpin political negotiation and power struggles. Focusing on government communication, Sten Hansson provides suggestions as to how communication practices of executive government institutions can be conceptualised. Hansson supports his analysis with examples taken from an extract from a UK Cabinet Office news release, a controversial campaign by the UK Home Office and public policy consultation papers on education. Next, Mats Ekström and Göran Eriksson examine another relevant genre in and through which politics are publicly performed and negotiated: press conferences. More specifically, they introduce a

range of relevant aspects, from the history of the genre to press conferences as resources in news production and related practices of quoting and recontextualising political actions. Chapter 23, by Kristof Savski, describes the particularities of policy documents and laws. His analysis focuses on: first, the language of politics and laws; second, the analysis of policy genres in institutional contexts; third, the genesis of policy texts; and, fourth, the trajectory of policy meanings.

This is followed by Martin Reisigl's account of the genre of political commemoration. He argues that commemoration needs to be viewed as a multimodal process and event which serve the (trans)formation of political identities. Chapter 25, by Michael Higgins, examines the relationship between media and political language by deploying the concept of 'mediatisation', that is, of political discourse being ever more entwined with the logics and imperatives of the media. Higgins claims that the political use of language continues to evolve in parallel with ongoing developments in media technology and practice, and provides a range of examples.

Jennifer Sclafani, in Chapter 26, focuses on genres of political speeches, from town hall to inauguration, as *identity performances*. Drawing on interactional sociolinguistics, she illustrates how United States Senator Joni Ernst and Hillary Clinton use particular discourse strategies in various roles (as first lady, senator, secretary of state and presidential candidate) and in different contexts (town hall meetings, debates, campaign advertisements and speeches).

Helmut Gruber introduces genres of political communication in Web 2.0, presenting an activity-oriented genre conception that is adequate for describing and analysing dynamic multimodal interactions on social-media platforms. More specifically, he reviews the vast literature on: first, politician to citizen communication and, second, on citizen to citizen communication. David Machin investigates the particularities of the use of music in politics by looking at national anthems as a genre. He points to the affordances of sound and music in general, and how anthems in particular play an important part in legitimising and naturalising political ideologies.

Chapter 29, by Lina Klymenko, summarises research on the characteristics of billboards and party programmes as genres of political communication. She illustrates how these genres enabled political parties in the 2014 parliamentary election campaign in the Ukraine to approach voters concerning solutions to security and national unity issues. In Chapter 30, Randy Duncan similarly focuses on the visual by introducing caricatures and comics. He points to modes of simplification, techniques of exaggeration and sequencing in order to engage in political rhetoric, facilitating, for example, the undermining of authority. Jo Angouri and Lorenza Mondada close this section by approaching the genre of meetings in terms of social gatherings of small – as well as larger – groups of people for institutional and professional purposes. They discuss examples from political, business and multilingual meetings, while highlighting similarities and differences. The authors argue that this form of institutional talk promotes several important issues, the politics of meetings, such as the right to speak and to be listened to, of choices which lead to varying degrees of participation.

The final two sections illustrate applications of the aforementioned theories, methodologies and genres, pointing to particular links between language and politics. The first of these sections, entitled *Applications and cases I: language, politics and contemporary socio-cultural challenges*, includes eight chapters. Chapter 32, by Anabela Carvalho, addresses the perhaps most urgent challenge of our time: climate change. Here, Carvalho argues that responses to the issue have been increasingly privatised as techno-managerial approaches

have gained currency – though alternative voices do exist. Chapter 33, by Bernhard Weicht, deals with another topic often presented in apocalyptic terms: the construction of ‘the old and dependent’. His analysis stresses that becoming old is not to be understood as a continuous process; associations and symbols create a dichotomy of the young on one side, and an ageing population on the other. While drawing on an analysis of newspapers and focus groups from the UK and Austria, Weicht illustrates how the elderly are represented and how, consequently, the discursive constructions of ‘being old’ define and shape the possibilities of political action and struggle.

The next chapter, by Tanya Romaniuk and Susan Ehrlich, addresses language and gendered politics, that is, the distinctively masculine culture that continues to characterise politics. Following a review of the literature dealing with women in politics – and their representation – the authors analyse the different reception of laughter during the presidential primaries by Hillary Clinton in 2007, and close by arguing that women’s performances as politicians are still evaluated according to a dominant, cultural script steeped in masculine hegemony.

In Chapter 35, Tommaso M. Milani and Erez Levon argue for the queering of multilingualism and politics by focusing on the relationships between mobility, sexuality and citizenship, and the role played by multilingualism and multi-semioticity in mediating such relationships. They illustrate their approach via a detailed analysis of multilingual practices in Israel/Palestine.

The next chapter in this section is provided by Melissa L. Curtin who emphasises refined conceptualisations of globalisation, language and linguistic practices by discussing: first, the ‘language of globalisation’; second, ‘the globalisation of language’; and third, particular linguistic practices and ideologies situated in specific contexts. She concludes with an appeal for a ‘language and globalisation social-justice movement’, which should support positions of alter-globalisation. Chapter 37, by Ngai-Ling Sum, investigates the discourses and practices of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in the context of global, neo-liberal capitalism. She first introduces cultural political economy as an approach to understand the interdependencies of language and politics, and then focuses on the rise of global production-retail chains, such as Wal-Mart and, third, on criticism of the latter’s practices. Sum, finally, argues that CSR operates in terms of a ‘new ethicalism’ which seeks to stabilize and enhance neo-liberalism.

Chapter 38, by Ruth Wodak and Bernhard Forchtner, investigates increasingly popular television programmes about backstage politics, such as the UK’s *Yes Minister*, Denmark’s *Borgen* and the US’ *The West Wing*. Here, information about politics is provided in an accessible, often simplified way, which appeals to viewers dissatisfied with conventional media-reporting. The authors discuss this development by focusing on two episodes of *Borgen* and *The West Wing* – pointing to differences and similarities between the two.

The final chapter in this section, by Teemu Taira, explores how the modern distinction between religion and the secular has become a contested discursive tool in modern societies. Taira presents two approaches to the study of religion and the secular, one which views the two as analytical concepts, the other one being interested in their actual use.

The final section on *Applications and cases II: language, politics and (de)mobilisation* also deals with challenges. Here, however, we focus on mobilisation and demobilisation – even though the boundaries between the contributions in this and the previous section remain blurred. The first chapter in this section, Chapter 40 by Matthew Flinders and Matt Wood, is arguably the most general in its concern for discursive depoliticisation and political disengagement. The authors propose a typology of three ‘logics of denial’ –

denial in relation to the past, present and future – and illustrate these logics by drawing on speeches from then leading Conservative politicians in the UK.

The next chapter, by Anton Pelinka, deals with identity politics, populism and the far right. The article offers a historical overview of far-right parties and their development since the nineteenth century, followed by a discussion of populism as a concept and its particular understanding of democracy. Pelinka, then, turns to inclusion and exclusion in far-right politics before reflecting, finally, on recent developments. The focus on mobilisation through exclusion is further specified in Chapter 42. Here, Dávid Kaposi and John E. Richardson examine race and racism, and the relations between social ideas, social stratification based on these ideas, and discourse. The chapter analyses, first, a rather clear-cut case of racism, before moving on to less conspicuous and more ambivalent examples, thereby also illustrating the value of close analysis when examining discourse on this topic.

David Block examines the materiality and *semiosis* of inequality, class struggle and warfare by discussing the case of home evictions in contemporary Spain. Exploring this case in closer detail, Block focuses on the struggle between two crucial actors, the conservative *Partido Popular* and the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (the latter being a grass-roots organisation which works on behalf of individuals and families who are threatened with eviction).

Chapter 44, by Andreas Musolff, discusses language use in totalitarian regimes and, in particular, the example of political discourse in Nazi Germany. Musolff arrives at a general characterisation of totalitarian language use as the construction of a strict demarcation between *us* and *them* in the context of latent state-terrorism, with the consequence of stigmatizing, isolating and possibly destroying the latter.

The final chapter in this section, and the Handbook, returns to the present and considers contemporary, discursive underpinnings of war and terrorism. Adam Hodges elaborates how forms of organised group violence are made acceptable or unacceptable, legitimate or illegitimate. More specifically, he analyses terrorism as a form of political communication and focuses the narrative construction of war and the properties of characters which populate these stories, while drawing, *inter alia*, on President George W. Bush's 'war on terror' narrative.

We hope that the focus of all these contributions on the role of language use – and meaning-making more generally – in political activities, offers innovative perspectives to readers who take the power of actual language use seriously for negotiation of the common good.

Note

- 1 For related volumes, see, for example, Semetko & Scammell 2012; Wodak & Koller 2008; Hellinger & Pauwels 2007; Gee & Handford 2012; Kaid 2004; Schiffrin et al. 2003; Shapiro 1984; O'Barr & O'Barr 1976.

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