

The Student Stakeholder:
A Critical Discourse Analysis of
Regulations in Universities in Great Britain

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Abstract

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The aim of this research is to explore linguistically how equitably students as primary stakeholders are constructed within a corpus of regulatory texts from fifty British universities. A critical discourse perspective is developed in order to understand how power relations are encoded in these regulations. A mixed methods approach is used, with analysis of quantitative data derived from the corpus as the starting point. Observation of lexical frequencies and patterning in the corpus drives the selection of subsequent data for clausal analysis rooted in systemic functional linguistics. It is noted that there is a low occurrence of verbs that encode material processes of *doing*, and a high occurrence of modal verbs and mental verbs, with a particularly high usage of the verb *will*. The implications of these occurrences and also of the high incidence of the passive voice and nominalization are discussed in relation to the encoding of organizational ontology, where students may be constrained, marginalized or even excluded. The thesis, moving beyond analysis and interpretation at the level of the lexeme and the clause, considers two main ways stakeholders may be excluded at a broader textual level. First, the texts may be encoded at such difficult levels of readability that they fail to empower student-stakeholders in high-stakes situations where they may be in conflict with the organization. Second, Theme/Rheme analysis bears out the corpus patterns that show the student is rarely in a strong agentive position in the text. The thesis urges the construction of more dialogic and empowering texts, both at universities and in other contexts where stakeholders risk being disempowered by the organization's anonymous authors. The conjoined efforts of organizational and linguistic research can provide the principles for writing more emancipatory texts that serve the stakeholder better by minimizing unilateral institutional encoding of dominance and redressing social inequalities.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AOIR	Association of Internet Researchers
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BNC	British National Corpus
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CCO	<i>communicative constitution of organization</i>
FK	Flesch –Kincaid (readability index)
FOI	Freedom of Information Act 2000
FRE	Flesch Reading Ease
L1 –L5	Left 1 –Left 5, word position on corpus tables in relation to nodal word
OIA	Office of the Independent Adjudicator for Higher Education
R1-R5	Right1-Right5, word position on corpus tables in relation to nodal word
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the Research Problem

1.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Student rights in universities in Britain are constructed within a hierarchy of texts. These hierarchical texts, in descending order, include Charters, statutes and ordinances, regulations, codes, frameworks, and rules. It is virtually certain that students have had little or no input into the construction of these powerful texts that author their rights. Such rights may exist in a state of tension with the overall institutional rights of universities, as efficient organizations, to exercise control for the greater good. The student stakeholder, who might wish to mount challenges to the organization within the parameters allowed by these texts, is placed, at best, in a disempowered negotiating position. The Office of the Independent Adjudicator for Students in Higher Education (OIA) *Annual Report* (2009) states that ‘the evidence suggests that when complainants first come to the OIA they are already seriously disenchanted with the processes universities use to address their complaints and the length of time taken to deal with them’ (p. 6) and note in the *OIA Report of the Directors and Financial Statements* (2008) that ‘the year-on-year rise in numbers of complaints continued undiminished’ (p. 2). Students’ first encounter with complaints procedures is most likely to be in university texts. OIA (2009) refers to student understanding. ‘There were numerous instances in disciplinary proceedings of a failure to provide the student with sufficient information or time to ensure an understanding of the charges’ (p. 7). This summary may miss the point. It is not the sufficiency of the information that is questionable, but its comprehensibility. Similarly, the lack of student understanding of the charges may be attributable not only to a lack of time, but also to the complexity of the author’s encoding choices. Frequently, regulations are written at a level of linguistic complexity that makes the

decoding of them a challenging task. Fowler and Kress (1979) in an article on the language of student regulations at the University of East Anglia make several points so pertinent to my own study more than thirty years later that it becomes clear the issues are not bound by time, space or institutional ideology. They note that the language of these regulations is so far removed from what the human voice would speak in a meaningful social context that it is literally unspeakable. My argument, in the following research, is that problems such as those noted by OIA do not arise from a lack of information or time or a student's limited decoding ability. They arise from the nature of the texts themselves, as encoded by hegemonic organizations.

Rather than continue referring in the abstract and in general to the institutional texts of universities, it might be well to read, in a cursory preliminary way, through samples of problematic text and to consider some of the issues these texts raise.

Text 1.1: This Code is not intended to create rights beyond our legal obligations.

Text 1.1 serves to introduce a Code of behavior for students at a British university. It is of interest here for several reasons:

- It is not different in language and content from several similar texts which I have compiled from 50 British universities.
- The text wishes to minimize inference and to turn its intention into a legal-sounding fact. Because this text, or Code does not *create rights*, (whatever that means), stakeholder-students should not read rights into their construction of the subsequent text's meaning.
- The sentence signals the power of text: a Code can create rights, or not, as its author sees fit or advantageous. It can maximize its own position while undermining the position of its readers. The code is ascribed agency.
- *Beyond our legal obligations* creates boundaries which obfuscate. The stakeholder will need specialist help and special access to a body of other texts to determine what the university's legal obligations are, and what constitutes

the realm of *beyond*. *Legal* refers to another body of texts and perhaps layers of judicial bureaucracy beyond the parameters of the university.

- The text has a pragmatic function. The negative *not intended* is authored to sound like a legal disclaimer, as in the management *is not responsible* or *bears no liability* in the written notices of establishments where customers might mount well-founded legal challenges if they suffer injury and/or loss.
- Apart from the legal disclaimer, the text may serve pragmatically as a warning. It could be decoded as: *Don't expect to see your rights enshrined here*. This is a Code, a finished monolithic text.
- The concepts of students' rights and the institution's legal obligations remain vague: *beyond our legal obligations*.
- Critical analysts of power-encoding in language note aspects such as formatting and punctuation. Here, the capital letter in Code accords power to the text, commanding respect for the written word. Elsewhere, most functionaries and offices of the university are capitalized, contrasting with the lower-case student-stakeholder.
- A Code has the power to impose limits upon a) institutional intentions, b) institutional rights and c) stakeholder rights.
- It is not stated who the participants are in this right-creating or right-denying textualisation of relationships. The code is *not intended* (by whom?) to create (whose?) rights. Who does *our* refer to? Does it set itself up in opposition with a non-stated *your* (the reader) to exclude students in this sentence, although elsewhere students are included as members? Does this *our* fail to recognize a partnership between the institution that authored the text and the body of students served by that institution?

In Text 1.2 below, a high-stakes event for the stakeholder is constructed with reference to another Code. The drastic act of expulsion will be carried out (expressed in the passive voice) *in accordance with* a document of Procedures. A text which is written/read will govern a hearing which is spoken/heard. The text or Code is accorded power.

Text 1.2: A student may be expelled following the outcome of a disciplinary hearing in accordance with the Student Code of Behavior and Disciplinary Procedures.

In Text 1.3, below, *hearings* are undertaken *in accordance with* textualized references in appendices and subsections which may often be remote, not easily retrieved or easily decoded and interpreted by stakeholders, enshrined as they are in institutional referencing and codification.

Text 1.3: Disciplinary hearings conducted by the Disciplinary Committee will be undertaken in accordance with the procedures in Appendix 2. Hearings conducted by Directorate members or deans of faculty/heads of department (in accordance with 8.5a) and 8.5 b) above) will follow the same principles.

In text 1.4 below, the university states its goal of dealing with student rights clearly and fairly. In the same sentence, however, clarity is lost as soon as there is a reference to the legalistic Ordinance, with no link to it.

Text 1.4: The University's disciplinary procedures seek to deal with student discipline clearly, promptly, fairly, in compliance with natural justice, and with the provision of Hearings where specified under Ordinance 40.

It might be argued that it is too easy to take sentences out of context, both their textual and social contexts, in order to make them serve the researcher's particular bias or rhetorical purpose. Indeed, that is a main criticism leveled against CDA, but I shall show in Chapter 3 how corpus linguistics can minimize the researcher's bias.

1.2. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

My third assignment for the EdD was a small scale study relating to the issues introduced above (Sheehan, 2007, unpublished MS). The sample text consisted of 205 words excerpted from a handbook of student regulations not unlike countless others of its genre. I noted that

student conduct is governed by an authoritative system of verbal warnings, written warnings, suspension and dismissal. This is a system of 'disciplinary measures' (with measures in the legalistic sense) which are 'imposed' by a governing institute upon its members for 'breaches' (as defined by the institute) of 'responsibilities' in sections variously titled: *Disciplinary Measures Imposed for Breach of Academic and Personal Responsibilities*; *Disciplinary Measures Imposed for Breaches of Student Responsibilities*; and *Disciplinary Measures Imposed for Breaches of the Attendance Policy*.

In my small-scale study, the mismatch between students' decoding abilities and the linguistic features of the text was extreme, with the result that the text was largely inaccessible to students. My initial focus was on readability issues. I discovered through a critical application of readability indices that (1) this text, produced in English for students whose first language is Arabic, was at a barely accessible level of readability for its target readers primarily because of its encoding choices, and that (2) readability indices in themselves were an inadequate, and even unreliable, analytic tool. This initial study encouraged me to carry out further investigations into how readers are disempowered by organizational texts, even in their own first language and I switched my focus to students at British universities. Students both in my initial research in 2007 and in my current research appeared to be disenfranchised by difficult texts in educational contexts as other stakeholders were in non-educational contexts (Courtis, 1998; Estrada et al, 2000; Fanguy, Kleen, and Soule, 2004; Friedman, Hoffman-Goetz, & Arocha, 2004; Gough, 1997; Hochauser, 2001; Longo, 2004; Russell et al, 2005).

1.3. MY RESEARCHER POSITION

This study happens to be within the field of education where I occupy a number of different roles. First, as a teacher within a tertiary institute, I am instrumental in sometimes authoring, but usually enforcing, the rules, regulations and procedures that govern student behavior in many areas such as attendance, deadlines, academic standards, plagiarism, conduct within the college, use of facilities, and so on. Second, as a postgraduate student in two British universities over the last ten years, I have sought to decode such rules, regulations and procedures in relation to my own rights, activities and sense of self. Whether as student or faculty, one is encouraged to accept that the rules are the rules. Third, as a teacher of English to students whose first language is not English, I can see the mismatch between the students' decoding ability and the language in which regulatory text is frequently encoded. I have often had to rephrase these regulations at a level of English which is intelligible to students but without loss of essential meaning. I believe that texts which are difficult to decode by the primary stakeholder are a form of disempowerment, especially as there are more readable and empowering alternatives.

1.4. RATIONALE FOR A CRITICAL APPROACH

This research is situated within a conceptual framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) wherein texts are viewed both as analyzable artifacts and as complex constructivist devices within a hegemonic institutional discourse. Although the focus is on language in my research, language analysis in CDA is not an end in itself:

For CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why CDA often ... critically analyses the language use of those in power; those who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and the opportunity to improve conditions. In agreement with its Critical Theory predecessors, CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how

language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power. (Wodak & Weiss, 2003, p. 14).

My research specifically seeks to examine how students, as the primary stakeholders in institutes of tertiary education, are constructed linguistically in the texts of regulations that affect them most. A critical discourse approach is adopted here because ‘formal texts are genres in which organizations reproduce power relationships through constituting ideologies discursively’ (Putnam and Fairhurst, 2001, p. 111). Texts in organizations represent, or enshrine, authority.

In this study, I am interested in ‘discovering the specifics of domination through power’ with the focus on the specifics (Rogers et al 2005, p. 368). Since ‘critical theorists generally agree that language is central in the formation of subjectivities and subjugation,’ (Rogers, et al, 2005, p. 368) this study has language as the object of its specific analysis. Hegemony as used in my thesis refers in particular to cultural encoding and enforcement of power, rather than the seizure of power by force or mandate (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemonic texts are used to win the consent of those who are dominated by offering the criteria of organizational efficiency and universal acceptance. Hegemonic texts are accepted, most often uncritically, by the majority because they appear to be based on common sense rather than on the interests of those who encode them. CDA seeks to expose the mechanics of hegemonic encoding and suggest more inclusive alternatives. For this reason, I situate my research within a CDA framework.

1.5. KEY TERMS

Certain problematic terms used in this study (e.g. *text*, *identity*, and *stakeholder*) are explored in more depth in Chapter 2. Three other key terms can be dealt with more summarily here in order to understand how they operate in the thesis: discourse, register and genre.

Language analysis primarily has the linguistic features of the language in focus, whereas the term *discourse* in this thesis refers to how language constructs and is constructed by the social context in which it operates. While discourse encodes social processes and realities, it also enacts them. In other words, it is not only descriptive, but agentive. While it appears, disingenuously, simply to encode identities, it may also seek, more potently, to construct those identities. Baker (2010) states that discourse ‘is sometimes viewed as language which occurs above the level of a sentence’ but my thesis will argue that it also occurs below that level, at the level of the lexeme and the clause, or, lower still, even at the visual or graphic level of encoding such as capital letters versus small. Baker also refers to the common distinction between spoken and written discourse, but it is only the written which concerns me in this research. It is Baker’s reference to Burr (1995, 48), which ultimately links my concept of discourse back to Foucault, and comes closest to the meaning of discourse within a critical context. Discourse is

a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements, and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events... Surrounding any one object, event, person, etc., there may be a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about the world, a different way of representing it the world. (Baker, 2010, p. 121)

This definition of discourse has an incipient recognition of the dialogic. While texts such as regulations seek to construct particular events or versions, objects or people, there is always the potential challenge of alternative representations in a constructivist dialogue.

While *discourse* is an open-ended concept that refers to the social potentiality of language, the often related terms *register* and *genre* challenge this openness and attempt to delimit this potentiality within namable parameters. The sociolinguistic conceptualization of register, dating back to Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens (1964) is developed through the interrelated concepts of text and context: Field, Tenor and Mode (See Section 2.2.2. below). These three levels of specification enable the identification of texts that can be differentiated according to register: Legal, medical, scientific and so on. My data belong to a legal register in that they are codified regulations that shall be binding within an institutional context, with references to

hearings, penalties etc. Regulations themselves may be perceived as a genre that employs legislative language, with characteristics that distinguish them from other legislative genres such as contracts. Trosborg (1997) points, for example, the semblance of encoding a symmetrical relationship with the reader in contracts, differing from the asymmetrical encoding of relationship in regulations. A critical analysis of discourse may be conducted more precisely at the level of the genre (Bhatia, 1983, 1993); Fairclough, 1995; Swales, 1990) in which the discourse is articulated. This involves looking at the rhetorical purpose of the genre (legislation and regulation); the intended audience (students, staff, and other university stakeholders), the content of the regulations, their linguistic structure and features. Critical analysis, however, has a social agenda which must go beyond genre analysis. Genre analysis, in itself, could serve a variety of non-critical purposes, such as pedagogic or ESP-related ones.

1.6. RELATIONSHIP TO PREVIOUS STUDIES

Fowler & Kress (1979) contrasted the linguistic encoding of power relations in swimming pool regulations with university regulations, being interested in exploring the relationship between language structure and social structure. They contrast the more tentative and democratic encoding of power relations in the social context of the swimming pool, where communal membership is a consideration, with the authoritarian encoding in a university text. I share their observations of the pervasiveness and effects of nominalization and the use of the passive. My findings differ from theirs, however, in many other respects, or modify them, or add to them, based on my use of a much larger sample of texts, corpus analysis, and critical analysis that makes more detailed application of the six processes of systemic functional linguistics. For example, I disagree with them on some principles. ‘As a general principle, we propose that the greater the power differential between the parties to a speech act of command, the more “direct” the syntactic form (e.g. imperative) which may be used’ (Fowler & Kress: 1979, p. 29). My own findings do not bear this out; direct commands are avoided and control is exerted by indirect means, particularly by constructing an institutional narrative of what constitutes the norm, universally accepted, for the common good. In fact, it might be argued that the

imperative and overt commands are more likely to be used in familiar relationships where the power differential is minimal. I also disagree with the conclusions they draw from their very limited textual evidence. For example, Fowler and Kress note the negative effect of pluralization of .e.g. students; seeing it as ‘refusal to treat the individual addressee as an individual person’ However, my corpus notes the higher frequency of the singular *student* in relation to essentialization of identity, so that the singular/plural distinction is not worth emphasizing. Finally, they lay claim for how modals operate, based on a small amount of data. Fowler and Kress note the heavy burden of authority carried by modals: shall, must and may. However, my corpus analysis of frequency of modals (Chapter 4) shows the predominance of *will*. While they note that *must* means an absolute condition, my corpus analysis shows a relatively low frequency of *must*.

Fowler and Kress’s study of regulations is important for three main reasons. Firstly, it contains the kernels of many sociolinguistic truths that may apply to larger ranges of regulatory texts than the two small samples they identified. Secondly, the linguistic data they dealt with has scarcely changed in 30 years and university regulations have not become more community oriented and democratic. Thirdly, there has been little sociolinguistic research interest in regulations since they published their findings. The closest area of relevant research has to do with the language of legislation, as distinct from the language of the law (Bhatia, 1983)

The reason for this lack of critical and corpus-based interest in the language of regulations may be owing to a misconception of the nature of the language of legislation and a corresponding view of the nature of genres. It is asked why investigate the overly familiar. Fairclough (1995) claimed that genre analysis could demonstrate that news media were *routine, formulaic* and reduced content to often rigid formats (p. 86) and genre analysis is often concerned with grand Moves and Steps to develop a greater pragmatic and rhetorical understanding of the operation of the genre. In a similar vein, Bhatia, Langton and Lung (2004) shy away from corpus analysis of legislative texts, claiming that ‘...in legislative genres, the form-function correlations are almost formulaic, and it is often not necessary to base findings on larger corpora.’ Much recent research, particularly critical, into legal language has chosen to focus instead on forensic science and spoken language in legal contexts (Gibbons, 1999). Critical discourse analysis, however, has the responsibility of

deconstructing the textually familiar and challenging the assumptions that sustain the formulaic. The following sections state why that is so.

1.7. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.7.1. Realize critical aims

The primary aim of all critical research is grounded in social life. In my thesis, the first critical aim is to show, by means of textual analysis, how students in British universities may be disempowered within texts which encode their rights and interests. Such disempowerment may be achieved by organizational authors at two levels. First, students may be constructed textually in terms that delimit their freedoms and negatively construct their identities. Secondly, as readers of the legislative texts rather than as subjects or topics of the text, students may experience difficulty in accessing the texts and using them efficiently in their own interests because of the extremely complex encoding choices.

The second critical aim in this study is to suggest more empowering alternatives, so that students can be constructed more positively as participants in the organization's processes and so that they can utilize these texts with greater ease and effectiveness.

1.7.2. Realize methodological aims

The next major aim is primarily methodological. It seeks to establish a suite of integrated and linguistically oriented research methods which enable the researcher within an interdisciplinary context to expose power structures in textualized discourse. The aim of this suite is to build up a multi-layered description and multi-faceted analysis of the textual data, so that interpretations are demonstrably grounded in data and not derived from the researcher's sociopolitical biases.

1.7.3. Develop an interdisciplinary model for analysis

A more narrowly defined aim of this study is to develop an interdisciplinary model for analysis of institutional text that enables researchers to develop a discursal means of uncovering power dynamics in organizations, within a conceptual framework that

draws upon management and organizational theory as well as upon applied linguistics. Van Dijk (2001) notes

On the whole there is still a gap between the more linguistically oriented studies of text and talk, on the one hand, and the various approaches in the social sciences on the other hand. The first often ignore concepts and theories in sociology and political science on power abuse and inequality, whereas the second seldom engage in detailed discourse analysis. Integration of various approaches is therefore very important to arrive at a satisfactory form of multidisciplinary CDA (p. 363).

Grant and Iedema (2005) note that in many special issues of management and organizational journals, 'few if any of the papers therein reference linguistics-based approaches to discourse analysis' (p.38). They note also that *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Schiffrin et al, 2003) and *The Handbook of Pragmatics* (Verschueren et al, 2003) do not contain chapters 'that specifically look at the contribution of discourse analysis to the study of organizations, and both make only limited reference to organizational discourse.' (p. 39). Conversely, they note, journals with a primarily linguistic focus contain scant reference to organizational and management theorists. They would like to see more of a *crossover* between linguistic and organizational research.

In addition to the interdisciplinary focus, there must also be an intertextual focus that goes 'beyond simple examinations of verbal and written interaction' and situates texts in relation to other texts not only in terms of their linguistic features, as a genre, but also in terms of their political or institutional contexts and roles. It is not only the particular characteristics of a text within a local context that are of interest, but their shared characteristics in terms of language, institutional goals and power dynamics.

1.7. 4. Realize sociolinguistic objectives

To realize these aforementioned aims, a number of precise objectives have been developed for this research.

- Compile an adequate corpus of bureaucratic text in the public domain from tertiary education websites in the UK. A corpus of texts from 50 such institutions has been compiled to provide data for this study.
- Interrogate how the textual features of text reveal power structures, through their linguistic methods of encoding student identity, temporal and spatial controls, action constraints, and stakeholder goals.
- Evaluate the methodological strengths and limitations of readability indices, lexical frequencies derived from corpus linguistics software, and Hallidayan clause analysis as a means to approach text from a CDA perspective to describe and analyze power issues in organizations.
- Propose alternative modes of linguistic encoding that empower stakeholders rather than marginalize or subjugate them.

1.8. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Four questions will be explored.

1. To what extent are students, as primary stakeholders, empowered in regulatory texts across a wide spread of British universities?
2. By what linguistic mechanisms are students, as primary stakeholders in institutions, constructed in institutional texts?
3. How adequate are linguistic methods such as corpus analysis, SFL analysis and Theme/Rheme analysis within a critical framework? Can they provide a sufficient basis for interpretation and generalization related to how power is encoded in organizational discourse?
4. Does linguistic and organizational analysis provide means for constructing alternative texts that are more empowering of student stakeholders?

1.9. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The primary assumption of this study is that it can make a modest contribution to an ongoing constructivist dialogue at an interdisciplinary level about the linguistic mechanisms that empower or disempower stakeholders in organizations. This investigation into textualized organizational power and the alienated stakeholder could reasonably take place within many kinds of social institutions in the twenty-first century where the primary stakeholder, whom the institution ostensibly exists to serve, is alienated: financial, medical, governmental, educational and so on. The primary stakeholders whom these institutions exist to serve are constructed facilely within the institutional literature as, for example, the borrower, patient, citizen, or student. All individuating differentiation is removed, very often along with stakeholder rights. The contribution of my research can be both at the level of theorization and methods. While this study happens to be in a cultural context (tertiary education) that matters, and is accessible to, the researcher, it is hoped that similar research studies that share these ideological assumptions of disempowerment may take place wherever language is used as a device to disenfranchise other groups of stakeholders. The research is limited to sample data from the regulatory texts of fifty British universities which provided a corpus of just under half a million tokens, but the issues considered have a wider social relevance.

This research is intended to have practical applications. The OIA data show that complaints about regulations at universities are on the increase and these problems may be partly due to students' feelings of disempowerment in universities, particularly in high-stakes situations, and partly due to students' limited comprehension of key regulatory texts that may fail to serve them. University regulations need to construct the primary stakeholders more inclusively as members of the organization with clearly stated rights; these texts need to be written at a more easily readable level. This study will suggest some practical means for constructing such types of empowering text.

1. 10. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Since the data for this research are textual, Chapter 2 explores the different meanings that the word *text* has. It also explores the literature of organizational theory to discover how texts can function in hegemonic organizations to encode power structures that may disenfranchise stakeholders. Chapter 3 explores problems that arise when adopting both a critical perspective and a mixed-methods approach to the textual encoding of power relations in organizations, and describes how these problems were addressed in the research. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 all analyze the corpus of texts at different levels. Chapter 4, with lexical frequency data derived from the corpus, explores how modality constructs reader relations and institutional reality. The analysis is primarily at the level of lexemes and collocation. Chapter 5 shifts the focus from a primarily lexical to grammatical exploration, at the clausal level, using the categories of Systemic Functional Linguistics to understand how institutional processes, identities and circumstances are encoded. Chapter 6 moves beyond the clausal to a broader textual level, using Theme/Rheme analysis and readability data to discover what patterns of encoding choices emerge. Chapter 7 returns to the research questions, in a discussion that synthesizes the findings from Chapters 4 to 6. There is a critical evaluation of this research project, and suggestions are made for further research and application.

CHAPTER 2

Investigating Text in Organizations

2.1. SETTING PARAMETERS

Even the initial stages of an investigation into how power is linguistically encoded in organizational texts will activate a number of protean concepts, such as power, identity, organization, discourse, text and context. Each of these concepts is a problematic area in itself, while an exploration of the interrelatedness of the concepts contributes to their multi-layered texture. What the researcher may seek to establish is the kind of definition that demarcates what the concept means in one piece of research in a specific field, how it can be operationalized, how it may be realized linguistically, and so on. Yet, concepts such as identity, power and organization resist easy demarcation. For example, ‘identity, it seems, can be linked to nearly everything’ (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas, 2008, p. 5). The overriding challenge for the researcher may be to choose one concept above all others that might draw these disparate but tenuously connected concepts together into a unity that will articulate a coherent view and permit systematic investigation. One researcher might choose the problem of what an organization is as the overarching concept and therein explore associated issues such as power, ideology and discourse, in order to develop a more finely tuned understanding of organization. Other researchers might choose to put identity, or power, for example, at the centre of their investigation and relegate the other concepts to ancillary status. Given my area of research, I aim to show in this chapter that the central synthesizing concept is *text*. I shall argue in this chapter that text is an open-ended problematic concept upon which demarcations may be imposed, while it is recognized that these demarcations are arbitrary simply for the purpose of constructing a conceptual framework for this research.

In this chapter, the main aim will be to establish the centrality of texts as a data source for understanding how organizations encode power. The primary question is what role texts, in particular, and text in general, can play in organizations. I

distinguish between particularized texts, analysed in their particularity in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and text explored as a conceptual generality in this chapter. The localized data extrapolated later in this study from a corpus of fifty selected text should derive fuller resonance from being located in a study that explores the potentiality of text. Chapter 3 will propose a methodology for investigating the role of texts in organizations critically, but first this chapter looks at the most fundamental question of what text is, within organizations, and what text can accomplish.

Firstly, the various perceptions of what text is will be explored. It will be posited that while text is an analyzable artifact, it is also a process of dynamic encoding. Second, some ontological aspects of text will be considered. In particular, it will be considered how problems are encoded in organizational text, as well as how power structures are encoded particularly in terms of limiting potential problems such as challenges to power. It will also be considered to what extent the organization can encode itself in text. Third, three textual techniques for sustaining power will be considered: transtextuality which connects multiple contexts in a bid for an appearance of universal legitimacy; second, a monologic voice; and thirdly, the essentialization of identity of organizational members or stakeholders. These techniques are often considered separately, and sometimes they are not even perceived as techniques, but in this chapter they are considered as part of a concerted attempt to serve an institutional agenda. Fourth, a more dialogic approach to text construction in organizations will be considered. Stakeholder theory offers an empowering alternative to essentialization, and sensemaking theory in organizations suggests how monologic knowledge and power structures can be challenged. Finally, it will be asked what the perspectives on text developed in this chapter can bring to an analysis of texts.

2.2. TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF TEXT

Text has been variously conceptualized. Barker and Galasinski (2001) for example, view text as ‘any phenomenon that generates meaning through signifying practices. Hence, dress, television programmes, advertising images, sporting events, pop stars, etc., can all be read as texts’ (p. 5). For Hodge and Kress (1988), the objects that constitute the material world constitute a text particularly once they take on cultural

significance and become objects of interpretation. Objects such as toys, for example, become part of the social or cultural semiotic can be construed as texts designed to shape gender differentiation (Caldas-Coulthard, & van Leeuwen, 2002). Text can also be viewed as an artefact (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), a string of words (Coulthard, 1994), a conduit (Axley, 1984), a process (Halliday, 1977) a site (Taylor and Van Every, 2000), an environment (Hardy, 2004) and a phenomenon (Egins, 2004; Martin & Rose, 2003). The literature that interests itself in text includes organizational analysis (Keenoy, Oswick, & Grant, 1997), discourse analysis (Scollon, 2001) and grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). One might attempt an initial definition of text, necessarily loosely, as any kind of language with a communicative purpose. Egins (2004), in explaining text, claims that ‘in contemporary life, we are constantly required to react to and produce bits of language that make sense. In other words, we are required to negotiate *texts*’ (p.1; italics as in original.). Her examples of texts include singing along to CDs and chatting to pets. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) show a similar initial liberality of definition in stating that text ‘refers to any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who knows the language’ adding that to a grammarian, it is ‘a rich many-faceted phenomenon.’ (p. 3). Below, I explore how text can function firstly as an object or artifact, secondly as a process and thirdly as an agent.

2.2.1. Text as object

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) establish two main angles from which to view a text: ‘one, focus on the text as an object in its own right; two, focus on the text as an instrument for finding out about something else’ (p.3). They point to the complementary relationship of these views. As an object in its own right in a particular context, text can be viewed as an artefact, while as an instrument for finding out about language, it can be regarded as a specimen. ‘When grammarians say that from their point of view all texts are equal, they are thinking of them as specimens’ (p.4). In the following study, I approach texts primarily as artefacts, looking at their particular power in given contexts. I am not interested in texts as providing illustrative specimens of the language system. I hope more can be learnt about the operation of organization than about the operation of modals, for example, from my study. This purpose would not be achievable without analysing the encoding coherence which

Halliday and Hassan (1976) define as *texture*, which they see as meaningful relationships between clauses. How such analysis can be carried out will be the subject of the next chapter.

Such broad definition of text is difficult to operationalize usefully in organizational discourse analysis. I would prefer to view text more narrowly than Halliday & Matthiessen's *any instance of language in any medium*, or Eggins' *bits of language that make sense*. Text, in my research, primarily means 'a relatively permanently inscribed symbolic formulation' (McPhee, 2004, p. 365). In other words, it is written language with a systematic symbolic encoding of words and numbers. McPhee (2004) would exclude 'most embodied performances and everyday social activities from the realm of "text"' (p. 357). His example is a family meal with its rituals and conversation.

We cannot "read" it in the normal sense of "read." Of course we can transcribe the talk of the meal and read the transcript – it would be a text. And we can compose a description of the meal – another text. But thinking that the meal is itself a text is confusing map and territory. (p. 357).

McPhee's narrowing of the definition to relatively permanent inscribed documentation is useful in organizational analysis because it allows the researcher to set apart and analyse the written characteristics of text as distinct from the quite different characteristics of conversation that may produce texts. Conversation may function as a dynamic organizing process at work, constituting activity that sustains and develops the organization. Text is a surface of language structures from which the organization can be read. (Fairhurst and Putman, 2004; Taylor & Van Every, 2000). Aspects of organization can be seen in one way in conversation: turn-taking, topic selection; and in text through how relations between entities are constructed in the grammar .

This grammar in text provides researchers with an analyzable aspect of an organization's materiality. 'Texts are distinctively functional in their accessibility to

multiple people, their ability to be preserved in a legitimate form, and their flexible utility' (McPhee, 2004, p. 359). While the systemic functional grammarians such as Eggins and Halliday & Matthiessen may disagree with organizational analysts such as MCPhee on the range of what constitutes text, they resemble each other in rendering text as object. Words such as *artefact* and *texture*, and MCPhee's focus on inscription and permanence, create an image of text's materiality.

2.2.2. Text as process

In addition to having a material manifestation, text may also be construed as a dynamic process. It is dynamic in two senses. First, there is dynamic authoring. Second, there is the dynamic of the relationship between author, text and reader. The author is faced with a multiplicity of encoding choices, each one affecting the ideational representation of reality and the relationship between author, text and reader in different ways. 'I prefer to see any given text as just one of an indefinite number of possible texts, or rather **possible textualizations**, of the writer's message' (Coulthard, 1994, p. 1; bold as in original). One moves then from viewing text as an object to viewing it as a phenomenon. Martin & Rose (2003) see texts as 'very dense **phenomena**, because they derive from social semiotic systems and these are the most complex systems to have evolved on our planet' (p. 213). They provide endless possibilities for encoding choices. Text is a continuous process of making semantic choices. Halliday (1977) sees text as the construction of meaning, wherein a social reality is made intelligible and orderly while being constantly subject to change and reconstruction. Text, for Halliday, primarily represents the means of interaction between members of an organization, constructing social meaning in a shared context which is not and never will be fixed and bounded. The semiotic structure of the social situation consists of the *Field* of social action, *Tenor* of role structure and the *Mode* of symbolic organization. These provide useful categories in which to show, either as a projection or summatively, the range of text analysis in a given research project. See Table 2.1 below for a representation of my own research project within these categories.

Table 2.1 Field, tenor and mode

Field	Student conduct. University exercise of authority and control. Students and other members of universities engaged in actions such as registration, exams, complaints and appeals processes. Texts/documents, as well as human participants, may be agentive in this field.
Tenor	The activities of students, and other entities, are regulated, with the university authorities in a hierarchical power position in relation to students, as enshrined by what is customary in the institution, legalized within the institution or encoded in institutional documents.
Mode	Written. Regulations. Legal format, frequently, with alphanumerical organization of sections, subsections and paragraphs.

These categories happen to relate to my subsequent analyses of organizational discourse, although I did not design the project around these relationships. The lexical data for Chapter 4 will, by virtue of the frequency of modals, focus attention mainly on Tenor and how it is realized through modalization, while the Field or ideational aspect will be dealt with mainly in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 will consider mainly some of the larger textual features related to Mode.

2.3. TEXTUAL ONTOLOGY

The categories of Field, Tenor and Mode represent how aspects of power and knowledge can be encoded in text to create an ontological framework. Within this framework, authors can construct and categorize entities in organizations with the aim of directing their beliefs and behavior, and relations with each other. A primary aim of this research project is to analyse ‘how knowledge, or that which is taken to be knowledge, is communicatively constructed and how knowing gives preference to particular interests’ (Kuhn and Jackson, 2008, p. 474). Published university regulations are one means of constructing knowledge inside an institution, and may the interests of certain groups while weakening the interests of others.

2.3.1. Encoding organizational problems

Regulations exist to construct a shared understanding of potentially problematic situations and develop consensus on how to deal with these situations. ‘A problematic situation is the state of affairs formed by a stream of past and projected practices in which actors perceive a need to take action to address a threat (current or potential) to ongoing action’ (Kuhn and Jackson, 2008, p. 457).

In my data analysis, it will be seen that students are problematized as a threat to the ongoing smooth running of the institution. The regulations derive the weight of authority from being grounded historically in practices that have developed over time to establish themselves as the unquestionable norm. The regulations construct a hypothetical site of projected practices in which the actions of problematized student stakeholders may deviate from the norm and will need to be curtailed according to the practices legitimately at the disposal of the institutions according to their own texts.

Kuhn and Jackson (2008) conveniently divide problematic situations into *determinate* and *indeterminate*. In determinate situations, ‘participants evince confidence that others will employ similar interpretive schemes, use a common code, agree about the grounds and meanings of activity, and understand the action requirements’ (p. 459). The regulatory texts that form my corpus are authored to maximize the occurrence of determinate situations. Indeterminate situations exist where there are conflicting interpretations of and regard for institutional activities and codes. ‘In highly indeterminate situations, information transmission will never be adequate’ (p. 459) because there will be conflicting views of its use and relevance. There may also be challenges to the authors’ legitimacy in their roles as claimants of truth or authority.

2.3.2. Encoding power relations

In the view of regulations developed above, there is a correlation between the authorship of institutional knowledge and the exercise of power. Power, in Foucault’s view, ‘is anything that tends to render immobile and untouchable those things that are offered to us as real, as true, as good’ (Foucault, 1980/1988). Power is not owned by, and vested in individuals, but it permeates all human relations and is exercised in the course of interactions. I would view text as one of these interactions, and published

regulations as an exercise in power in that text codifies other institutional interactions from a privileged rather than egalitarian perspective.

Relations of power are not in themselves forms of repression. But what happens is that, in society, in most societies, organizations are created to freeze relations of power, hold those relations in a state of symmetry, so that a certain number of persons get an advantage...to the detriment of others. (Foucault, 1980, 1988)

Foucault's view of power is now an essential part of organization studies. Litvin (1997) and Mumby and Stohl (1991), for example, show how dominant groups privilege themselves, while other groups within the organization are marginalized. Foucault (1980; 1988) states 'God knows I'm not a structuralist or a linguist or any of that' and organization analysts too will frequently avoid linguistic analysis of text even while acknowledging its powerful role in organizations (see Section 2.6 below). Foucault's articulation of power also plays an essential part in critical discourse analysis, including textual analysis. Analysts such as Fairclough (2001, 2003) and Van Dijk (1989; 1996) operationalize his concepts of power in textual analysis. Van Dijk (2001) asserts that CDA 'primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted' (p. 352). I shall consider Van Dijk's view of power briefly, because it is primarily his situating of Foucaultian concepts of power within a CDA context that I wish to operationalize in this study.

Van Dijk (1989) views power as 'a property of the relationship between groups' (p. 19). Person A seeks 'control over the cognitive conditions of actions of B, such as desires, wishes, plans, and beliefs' (p. 20). The emphasis on the cognitive as a framework for action is important, and in Chapter 5 I shall examine how mental processes are encoded in institutional text. Van Dijk recognizes that the exercise of power is *indirect*, in that those who construct a cognitive framework for the action of others will be more effective if they manage information and opinions. My analysis of regulations will bear this out in that there is no occurrence of the imperative to command action. However, Van Dijk sees that power can be exercised through

exploiting a fear of sanctions among certain stakeholders, and my data will bear this out too. Restricting access to power is an essential part of maintaining hegemonic relations. Van Dijk (1989) sees that A needs resources to exercise power over B: ‘These resources usually consist of socially valued, but unequally distributed attributes or possessions, such as wealth, position, rank, status, authority, knowledge, expertise, or privileges, or even membership in a dominant or majority group’ (p.20). An essential resource is discourse, and it matters who controls the production and distribution of discourse. Those who control discourse have the power to marginalize others at worst; at best, they seek to shape their actions, often by consensus and persuasion, within a pre-constructed cognitive framework. They establish that their own wishes and desires are normative. Procuring consent through such manipulation of cognition is a form of hegemony. ‘For most formal, public, or printed discourse types...the less powerful are usually only recipients’ (1989, p. 21). In my corpus of regulations, all the institutional responses to the problematic areas are designed to be viewed as part of the naturally occurring system. When students seek to contest the order of things, or the judgments of the organization, through complaints or appeals, their very process of contestation is also strictly regulated within the encoded hierarchical order.

2.3.3. Encoding the organization

One view of text developed so far in this chapter would argue that textual regulations have the power to constitute organizational reality by shaping the subjectivities of its members, controlling organizational and individual action, and establishing the parameters of the organization.

The concept of *organization* is problematic in itself. I do not view organization as constructed exclusively through discourse. Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) distinguish between three main ways in which organization is conceptualized in the literature. They state that an organization may be seen, first, as ‘an already formed object with features and outcomes reflected in discourse... [second] in a perpetual state of becoming through the ways that the properties of discourse shape organizing. Finally, organizations may be grounded in action, anchored in social practices and discursive forms’ (p.5). All three conceptualizations have their own

validity, and Fairhurst and Putnam advocate their co-working or synthesis. In the object view, 'the organization exists prior to discourse, remains stable over time, and has specified features or components that shape language use' (p.9). I would argue that the authors in organizations such as universities construct their regulatory texts based on these perceptions of durability, stability and specificity. Texts are artefacts that reflect the unambiguous non-relativist non-constructivist view of organization. Critical realists such as Reed (2000) share this managerial view that organizations can be objects whose materiality imposes constraints upon members. Authoritative texts may play their material part, just as much as the hierarchical symbolism encoded in the physical layout of a space such as a campus where different spaces permit different levels of access to different levels of members. Against this reified view, organizations can be seen as in a constant state of becoming, specifically through discourse. 'In this perspective, discourse exists prior to organizations because the properties of language and interaction produce organizing' (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004, p. 13). Here, language is a constructivist process, not an artifact. I believe both views of organization are compatible in my analysis of text where I view the text as an analyzable artifact that can reveal the constructivist processes through their grammar of construction. The third view of organization, based on structuration theory, views organizations as grounded in action. Discourse, including text, may be viewed as part of that action, and below I will consider how texts can be agentive in organizations. 'Organizations shape language patterns... discourse shapes organizational processes' (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004, p. 17).

2.3.4. The limits of encoding

The narrower focus of this study is on the written text-form of university regulations. If these texts are viewed within a broader framework of organizational communication, their potential to encode knowledge and power may be better understood. 'Communication, as distinct from discourse, is a related but broader construct that encompasses research residing outside discourse studies, for example, network analysis, information processing, and message flow' (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004, p.7). Until recently, major management studies viewed communication, when not simply as an object-text such as a memo or report, as a neutral process of transmission (Axley, 1984) in that essential messages are passed up and down the

organization hierarchy in an efficient conduit, with no reference to power dynamics. Communication was an activity that happened with text as an unproblematic medium inside an organization, and the quality of communicative processes and texts could be studied as something entirely separate from the organization that produced them.

Now, there are evolving theories of organization communication as constitutive, culminating most recently in the moniker/acronym CCO: *communicative constitution of organization*, wherein it seems to be the predominant belief that discourse creates organization. (Mumby and Clair, 1997; Oswick et al 2000; Putnam and Cooren 2004; Searle 1995; Taylor and Van Every 2000). The parameters of CCO remain to be set (Bisel, 2010; Putnam & Nicotera, 2009; Reed, 2010). Putnam & Nicotera (2010) state that CCO researchers ‘address how complex communication processes constitute both organizing and organization and how these processes and outcomes reflexively shape communication’ (p. 159). The usefulness of CCO as a lens through which to view organizations for research purposes is open to debate. ‘CCO theories may represent conceptual reductionism in that these theories describe the complexity of organization in terms of a single domain’ (Bisel, 2010, p. 129). The constitutive view regards organizational reality as constructed and reconstructed constantly through communication. Communication is not simply about efficient information flow, but about constructing the organization itself through the process of constructing its action and identities and the circumstances wherein these actions and identities operate.

However, McPhee and Zaug (2000) warn against simply equating the existence of organization with communication. In this research project, I shall eschew, as an extreme, the constitutive view of text, in favour of a more constructivist approach rooted in a CDA perspective. Fairclough, (1992, 1995) rejects the purist constitutive role of texts in organizations and see texts as having a participating role in the construction. Hardy (2004) distinguishes between critical and constructivist approaches in that the critical focuses on power. ‘Not all researchers are so explicitly interested in power, however, and constructivist studies aim at understanding the intricate way in which discourses lead to the creation and reification of certain phenomena rather than exploring who is advantaged or disadvantaged by a particular socially constructed reality’ (p. 416).

A false dichotomy may be being created here. What Hardy calls the creation and reification of certain phenomena can have adverse power implications for certain participants in an organization, and therefore are of interest to critical analysts as well as to constructivists. In addition, an exploration of who is advantaged or disadvantaged by a particular socially constructed reality can benefit from a constructivist approach as well as from a critical approach. In Chapter 3, I shall show why I include both approaches, working jointly. Text/communication is an analyzable object whose lexico-grammatical choices reveal processes that construct power dynamics in organizations.

2.4. TEXTUAL AGENCY

The view that texts may be designed to shape the cognitive framework within which the actions and mental states of individuals may be manipulated, directed or controlled has already been discussed here. In this view, the agents or architects of knowledge and power are human, and texts are instrumental. Their discourse power strategies are linguistically analyzable. This is a more modest claim for the power of text than the extreme view discussed above that discourse, including the wide-ranging view of text, constitutes organization. I have also discussed the agentive power of people to construct and reconstruct discourse within the structures of an organization, particularly with reference to a type of sense-making that might oppose the structures of discourse favoured by the organization.

Texts as well as people are active, or agentive, in organizations, even if they fall short of constituting organizations. This agentive view is developed variously in Hardy (2004), McPhee (2004) and Putnam and Cooren (2004). It is asserted that ‘discourse is more than an artifact or a reflection of an organization; rather it forms the foundation for organizing’ (Putnam & Cooren, 2004, p. 323). The concept that *discourse forms the foundation for organizing* is easier to operationalize than the absolutist contention that discourse is the organization. This concept recognizes the centrality of discourse in organizing-- if organizing means constructing cognitive frameworks for the exercise of power in unequal relationships. The agentive view of discourse is important to my research because it widens the focus beyond the people in organizations, the invisible or anonymous authors and places more emphasis on

text. In my data derived from universities, regulations take on a material and authoritative existence of their own, entirely separate from the people who authored them.

In my research into discourse in organizations, the interest is on this agentive role, and how it is linguistically constructed to be effective. Three methods of achieving textual agency will be considered below. First, a text may seek to increase its apparent legitimacy by connecting its particular *context* with a range of other similar external contexts in a process of transtextuality (See 2.4.2 below), so that its claims appear universalist. Another method of implementing textual agency is through a *monologic* voice, the official voice of the institution, through which knowledge, power and organizational action are mediated. Finally, the monologic voice can protect itself against dialogic contestation through the *essentialization* of those organization members or stakeholders who are potentially problematic.

2.4.1. Context: particularizing and universalist

Thus far, it has been assumed that text is produced and functions within organizations and that organizations are a context for text. Critical discourse analysts have been accused of removing text from context (Widdowson, 2004) and using it in such a selective way that the context is no longer recoverable from the text (Sillince, 2007). The word *context* poses problems in itself and the relation between text and context adds to the difficulty (Bowcher, 1999; Keenoy, Oswick & Grant, 1997; Ghadessy, 1999). Goodwin and Duranti (1992) state the problem of defining context: ‘Such a definition may not be possible’ (p.2), and Fetzer (2004) asserts that ‘in spite of its omnipresence in the domains of pragmatics, discourse analysis and ethnomethodology, the concept has remained fuzzy and seems almost impossible to come to terms with’ (p. 3). There is a view that sees context in a constructivist way as something that is co-constructed by participants in interaction based on their shared knowledge of institutional norms. (Schegloff, 1997; van Dijk, 2006). For Fetzer (2004), the participants themselves are part of the social context, along with their physical environment, time and other referents that may affect participants. It may be difficult to separate text from context if they are mutually constructive or constitutive. ‘Context and text are not completely separate phenomena. They do not simply co-

occur. The process of instantiation involves a special kind of relation between the text and the situation, a dialectic' (Bowcher, 1999, p. 143).

The theorizing of this dialectic should differ considerably depending on whether one views text as an inscribed permanent artifact, constructed in the process of discourse, or as everything communicative, including conversation. My theorizing of context is both narrow and universalist in relation to my research data. My definition of text is narrowly restricted to the written, in this study, and I believe a different concept of context would need to be operationalized for ethnographic aspects of organizational communication, such as conversation. Goodwin and Duranti (1992) argue that context serves as a means of explaining an event in terms of, for example, 'cultural setting, speech situation, shared background assumptions' (p. 5). Context is thus a particularising ethnographic concept; it enables thick description (Geertz, 1973) of given participants in a given situation at a given time. While thin description narrates only on what is immediately observable, thick description produces a narrative derived from analysis of the interlinked meanings of behaviors such as winks to their social context, explicable to the extent that an outsider can understand their signification.

Because my texts are drawn from 50 different organizations, a view of context is required that transcends the local. The noticing of linguistic trends that transcend these local contexts to establish recurrent patterns will suggest that there may be interactions between a singular local articulation of context and manifold echoes across texts in similarly positioned institutions with similar goals. In my data, the local discourse appears to be constructed in relation to other similar institutions in different geographical areas.

The choice to analyse textual data, at least initially, by means of corpus linguistics, permits the researcher to go beyond the evidence of particular texts situated in local contexts in order to notice linguistic similarities across a multiplicity of texts. The results may point to the existence of a genre, or national trends, in encoding. In other studies, such noticing of features that transcend one context might be used to define the evolution or existence of a genre. In this study, however, they will be used mainly to denote the prevalence of a similar encoding of power relations across contexts. A primary issue in my study is what linguistically connects local and

remote contexts to each other to construct a social entity recognizable as a university beyond its local context.

2.4.2. Monologism, intertextuality and transtextuality

The concept of *intertextuality* (Kristeva, 1980) challenges the concept of textual boundaries and sees each text in innumerable conceptual and allusive relationships to other texts, synchronically and diachronically. Barthes (1974, 1977) takes this notion of the unoriginality of text further by undermining the cultural concept of the importance of the author. In my corpus of texts, it is clearer than in other texts, such as literary ones, that the author is irrelevant. Kristeva's original concept of intertextuality, however, has been used by subsequent researchers to focus mainly on conceptual similarities and allusive echoes, despite its consideration of codes which link the horizontal interrelationship of author and reader with the vertical relationship of texts with other texts. The concept of intertextuality needs to be expanded, or made more precise, to serve the needs of CDA and organizational discourse analysis (Allen, 2000; Keenoy, 2004; Reder & Davila, 2005). Intertextuality, by its open-endedness, may refer to similarities which are accidental or unintended or unconscious echoes of other texts in infinite complex interplay among an infinite variety of what have been termed loosely as texts, but a different conceptualization may be needed to account for more deliberately constructed encodings of similarity. Genette (1997) develops a concept of *transtextuality* to go beyond the conceptual and allusive similarities and develops five categories, of which intertextuality is but one, to explore the multiple modes in which texts can be interrelated. While intertextuality, in Genette's taxonomy, occurs at, for example, the level of quotation, allusion, or plagiarism, *paratextuality* refers to such extra features as indexes, typeface, font size, choice of paper, binding and so on. Similar organizational choices in such matters may also link texts together in culturally determined concepts of what is appropriate or effective. *Architextuality* comes close to a concept of the codified features of genre to satisfy, or subvert, reader expectations, such as act and scene divisions in a play or chapters in a novel; the architextual features of regulations may include headings, and alphanumeric divisions of information into paragraphs, sentences or clauses. *Hypertextuality* refers to a linked network of texts; regarding regulations, these may be linked, and sometimes cross-referenced, to acts, codes and other related texts

sharing a legal register (See section 1.1) in order to strengthen its authoritative voice. *Metatextuality* is of interest in that it recognizes a critical perspective, or dialogic challenge. Metatexts may confront, criticize and challenge texts that have gone before.

At the production stage of regulatory text in organizations, there may be a tension between competing monologic and dialogic aspirations before the dominant voice or institutional consensus is encoded. Bakhtin (1984) views language and discourse as primarily dialogic, while arguing that authors seek to construct *monological unities* in order to develop a single dominant voice. The artificially unified voice of the organization expressing its authority in text is deliberately depersonalized. The text cannot accommodate what Bakhtin terms dialogism or polyphony. Monologism is an artifice in regulatory organizational discourse in that it disregards the two key aspects of dialogism that can threaten its authoritative voice. First, regulatory texts in institutions such as universities are likely to be produced in dialogic conditions such as meetings at different hierarchical levels. These texts are likely to be reviewed or updated regularly when a new consensus needs to be reached. Second, regulatory texts are part of an institutional dialectic between author and readers, particularly where their authority might be negotiated or challenged in the conversations of an organization. These challenges may arise, for example, when the institutional author uses terms such as *appropriate* or *desirable* to encode the monologic voice of the organization, and will disregard the potential for intersubjectivity between organization and reader.

Despite the particularist challenges to the monologic voice of the organization that may exist within a particular context of interaction, monologism gains strength from going beyond the particular or local to encode according to forms that appear universalist, while still repressing dialogism. What Reder and Davila (2005) call transcontextualizing components can be encoded beyond the local by virtue of intertextuality (Kristeva, 1980).

Concepts of text that transcend local and particular conditions of production are brought together by Keenoy and Oswick (2004) in what they call *textscapes*. Both the temporal and spatial are incorporated. 'In terms of temporality, we contend that an instance of discourse is informed by a retrospective context, a real-time context, and a

projective context' (p. 138). With reference to a university's encoding of regulations, it is clear that this concept of temporality can include particularized institutional memory, its particular population and activities at a given moment, and anticipation of how these regulations may be actualized or articulated in future situations. However, the retrospective context can also include professional familiarity with how similar situations are encoded in similar institutions, probably in accordance with external bodies such as government guidelines and national law. The metaphor of textscape is usefully comprehensive in providing a rationale for going beyond the notion of text as a bounded artifact occurring in a bounded space, in an organization, at a particular moment. The metaphor provides the means

to represent the conceptual-theoretic realms of intertextuality,... to refer to the multiplex intertextualities which inform and underpin the meaning(s) of any given piece of discourse.... a socially constructed account of some phenomena which, for its multitude of possible meanings, embodies continual (and often covert) reference to a wide variety of other texts and other possible texts. (Keenoy and Oswick, 2004, p.140).

While detailed analysis of text only within its local context of production has ethnographic value, this alternative approach points to the broader social resonance texts gather as they can be seen to connect with other texts in other contexts. Hardy (2004) notes 'the way in which texts become embedded –adopted and incorporated by other organizations – to become part of standardized, categorized, generalized meanings' (p. 430). Lemke (1995) points to the social aspects of the universalist approach. 'What is important are the relations between text or event and formation or genre on the one hand, and those between formations or genres and larger issues of social structure and processes on the other' (p.3).

2.4.3. Essentialization of identity

Institutional texts may become agentic, shaping the knowledge and power and behavior of its members, through their repression or exclusion of the dialogic, and through their intertextual resonance. Their particularist encoding when viewed in relation to other similar texts seems like a universal truth and confers legitimacy in that the combination of texts sustains the belief that this is how things are done everywhere. They can achieve and sustain both their depersonalized monologic voice and their intertextual resonance through essentialization. This involves removing all individuating or differentiating characteristics from the individual member or stakeholder (be it patient, customer, or student) in order to construct an essentialized identity of, for example, the student.

The literature, or discourse, of identity, is recognized as problematic (Gaudelli, 2001). In one type of identity discourse, which I believe to be the predominant one in much of my research data, the individual is *essentialized*, according to a broad social category of what it means to be a student, or indeed manager. Various ‘uncategorizable’ (Gaudelli, 2001, p. 63) aspects of individual students’ identities lie beyond the schema of the organizational authors and are therefore never textually legitimized, or even recognized. The tendency to categorize institutional identity, such as that of *student* is a matter of convenience, but that does not make it inherently acceptable. ‘The tenacity of humans to view one another in terms of observable identity categories remains a significant concern for identity scholars’ (Gaudelli, 2001, p.64). The consequence of this trend in the *otherisation* of identity is the ‘*totalizing*’ of individuals into a conveniently coherent whole. If the ‘prototypical renderings’ (Gaudelli, 2001, p. 68) of identity are not challenged, primary stakeholders are marginalized in a discourse of otherisation, such as students in educational settings, as whole populations were in colonial settings. ‘The tendency of “other” is a product of a hierarchical Western education that implicitly, and even explicitly, rank-orders historical and contemporary peoples (Gaudelli, 2001, p. 67). Gaudelli sees the solution to this problem with the discourse as a combined working of rationalist and constructivist perspectives, a solution with which I do not entirely agree. He argues that a rationalist perspective would reconstruct the essentializing, categorizing and totalizing of individuals in a more positive discourse by giving more prominence to the ‘universal character of humanity, or those seedbeds of cognition

that are innate and shared by us all' (p. 69), drawing on Chomsky's concepts of the universal and innate. However, even leaving aside that Gaudelli accepts the foundations for Chomsky's view uncritically, the rationalist perspective may do little more than put an attractive 'spin' on what is fundamentally a very limiting view of identity. The constructivist view of identity hardly seems to need the support of a rationalist perspective, in arguing that 'humans have a limitless capacity for self-invention' (Gaudelli, 2001, p.72). There is a certain risk, however, in this constructivism, as Gaudelli argues while referring to Foucault's concept of *subjectification*, because a lot depends on what pre-existing or inherited categorizations the individual draws upon in the construction of identity. 'In subjectification, the person activates their categorization. The process of self-categorization involves a process aimed at self-understanding, but reliant upon an external authority figure' (Gaudelli, 2001, p. 73). The result may be that individuals such as students are both constructed and construct themselves as essentialized students within the limits of a pre-assigned category in a hierarchy. These essentialized identities can also be contested, but not within the hierarchical texts that provide my data. Identities functioning within the textualized parameters of the institution have, inconveniently for the authors, bases of knowledge, power and alternative senses of self that may ultimately enable them to contest their essentialized representation in text. Knowledge of how they are textualized may enable them to contest their represented identity more powerfully and to be less willing participants in subjectification.

Rather than settle for an uneasy compromise between so called rationalist and constructivist views of identity, it may be more useful for my research focus to present a view of identity which is post-modernist and then observe to what extent the hegemonic texts of twenty-first century tertiary institutions either permit or disallow the realization of such contemporary aspirations towards selfhood. Gee (2001) presents four ways to view identity. In post-modernist texts, all of these views should be capable of representation, or aspiration, and be inter-related. However, I would argue that in my textual data, one of these views predominates, the other three being either irrelevant or shaped to fit in with the process of essentialization or otherisation. Gee sees Nature (*N-*) *identity* as having nothing to do with individual accomplishment or social origin, deriving its force from nature, or genes. However, natural aspects of

identity, such as being a twin, unlike having a spleen, need to be considered meaningful by the self and others before they become subsumed into identity, to use Gee's examples. I anticipate that N-identity will have no bearing on the textual construction of student identity in my data. Gee's second perspective, the institutional or *I-identity*, is the one that may predominate in my data. His own identity as a professor is based on a position granted and sustained by the power of an institution. 'The process through which this power works is authorization; that is, laws, rules, traditions, or principles of various sorts allow the authorities to "author" the position of professor of education and to "author" its occupant in terms of holding the rights and responsibilities that go with that position' (Gee, 2001, p. 102). Gee's third perspective is a discursive or *D-identity*, based on looking at how an individual's traits, such as charisma, are viewed 'in the discourse or dialogue of other people.' (Gee, p.103). Because D-identity 'is not something that some institution creates and upholds,' it might seem at first glance that it is probably not accommodated in institutional text. I would argue, however, that the entire published text may be a form of D-identity representing a distillation of several institutional texts such as meetings, minutes of meetings, informal conversations among an elite group ascribing an essentialized identity of the non-elite category, students. In my data, the linguistic process of ascribing these identities is what matters. Finally, the affinity or *A-Identity* is based on the individual espousing like-minded individuals in order to share interests and participate in practices with them. Gee points out that institutions seek to create, or sanction, affinity groups such as efficient teams who ostensibly do not need to be managed. This may usually be for the institution's benefit. Gee asserts that the literature on modernism sees pre-modern society dominated by an I-identity perspective where the individual functioned within bounds authorized by church and state. I have noted above that ascribed D-identities are not necessarily liberating when the discourse is constructed within hierarchical institutional bounds, and that affinity groups can be manipulated to serve institutional ends.

For Gee, and for my research position, postmodernism means, in part, 'a foregrounding of, or stress on, *semiotic (representational, interpretive) processes*' (Gee, 2001, p. 114). It is an attempt to understand not the individual or the components of the individual's entity but rather the processes 'through which identities are created, sustained and contested. This is as true for many people living

in the world as it is for academics who research or theorize ‘postmodernism’ (Gee, 2001, p. 114). From a CDA perspective, I hope to show how an analysis of linguistic processes in the textualization of power and identity within institutions can contest ‘the ways in which the historical workings of texts, institutions and social practices, aligned in certain ways, set limits to what can be meant or how things and people can be recognized as meaningful at given time and places’ (Gee, 2001, p.115). There is a tension between dialogic perspectives on identity and monologic textual efforts at managerial control. This tension shows hegemonic discourse can be challenged: ‘Organizational members are not reducible to passive consumers of managerially designed and designated identities’ (Alvesson & Wilmott, 2002, p. 621).

How organizations attempt to regulate identity in textual construction needs to be critically deconstructed, with research attention being paid ‘to the role of organizational elites and discursive regimes in orchestrating the regulation of identities and the resulting political and material consequences’ (Alvesson, Ashcraft, and Thomas, 2008, p. 16)

2.5. TOWARDS THE DIALOGIC

The view of knowledge, power and identity constructed above is too simplistic in itself. Individuals within organizations have the right to find the means to do their own more complex identity work in order to challenge the monologic essentialization of their identity in institutional text. They do not need to consent to have their mental representations of reality and their actions unquestioningly manipulated, or indeed constituted, by a powerful elite. This acquiescence may be what the elite aspire to achieve in regulatory texts, constructing idealized member-readers as mere recipients. The recent development of stakeholder theory may provide an alternative to essentialization. The sense-making processes available to stakeholders may enable them to construct their own alternative discourses of knowledge and power.

2.5.1. Stakeholder theory

Essentialization of identity in organizational discourse may appear inescapable. For reasons of efficiency and easy reference, essentialization is potentially a positive way to avoid tedious itemization of individuating characteristics that may ultimately be

irrelevant or unnecessary within shared social contexts of interaction. Its downside, however, is that it may permit power abuse whenever identity can be constructed solely within limits that suit the agenda of the authoring authority. It is important, therefore, to find more enabling, rather than circumscribing, concepts to develop identity within organizations. Texts, in organizations, including regulations, can be a facilitating resource or a disempowering constraint.

Stakeholder theory provides one alternative means of constructing identity more positively, and more dialogically, within organizations. This is despite some theoretical problems, mainly to do with the breadth or vagueness of the stakeholder concept (Orts and Strudler, 2009). Friedman & Miles (2006) refer to ‘the widely recognized “muddle” that has accompanied the popularity of the stakeholder concept’ (p. vii). The muddle may provide opportunities, however, in that it is easier to contribute to a theory that is still in the earlier stages of development and recognition. Freeman’s (1984) definition of the stakeholder is the seminal one that is gradually becoming more refined in the literature (Fassin, 2009). A stakeholder is a group or individual who can affect or be affected by the organization in pursuit of its organizational goals (Freeman, 1984).

Friedman & Miles (2002) arguing from the perspective of ‘a realist theory of social change and differentiation... highlight why it is so important to distinguish different stakeholders’ (p. 2) in order to understand a range of possible relationships that may exist between stakeholder and organization. My own corpus analysis shows that the student can be constructed, rather tentatively, as a member of the organization. There are 1,744 occurrences of member* (singular and plural) in the corpus, but there are only 42 concordance lines for *student members*, who are thus designated at only twelve of the fifty corpus texts. A cluster analysis of *member* concordance shows the tentativeness of the *student member* construction with the explicit construction *student member* ranking 14th., well below *staff*, *academic* and *senior* members. See Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2 Cluster display of MEMBER

N	Cluster	Freq.
1	MEMBER OF THE	330
2	A MEMBER OF	298
3	MEMBER OF STAFF	283
4	OF THE UNIVERSITY	134
5	ANY MEMBER OF	82
6	OF THE ACADEMIC	61
7	BE A MEMBER	60
8	SENIOR MEMBER OF	58
9	OF STAFF OR	55
10	THE MEMBER OF	53
11	BY A MEMBER	50
12	THE ACADEMIC STAFF	44
13	MEMBER OF ACADEMIC	39
14	STUDENT MEMBER OF	33
15	DESIGNATED SENIOR MEMBER	32
16	THE DESIGNATED SENIOR	31

The notion of the student-stakeholder relates to the developing literature commodifying education (Hill, 1995; Lawrence & Sharma, 2002; Willmott, 1995). The commodification of education may mean that the student is perceived with increasing frequency as a client or customer in relation to the organization. While membership implies belonging, with communal rights, as in the kind of swimming pool membership referred to by Fowler & Kress (1979; see Section 1.6 above), the customer/client relationship views the student as external to the organization, bound to it possibly by contractual obligations, and the relationship is therefore potentially more problematic, subject to negotiation, arbitration, and so on.

Friedman & Miles (2002) usefully adapt Archer's (1995) typology to show such variation in stakeholder relations in a matrix. I have combined and adapted their two models below, and added Students in the **D** quadrant. The greatest accord between stakeholder and organization is likeliest to occur in the **A** position, where the connections are necessary or mutually beneficial, the struggle for control of resources is minimal and there is a meeting of interests. Relations in the **B** and **C** positions, because they are contingent, or tenuous, rather than necessary, are likely to lead to only intermittent or incidental conflict, and the relationship may frequently be a

matter of indifference to all parties. The D position, however, is likely to produce the greatest conflict of interests in that the parties are closely bound to each other by connections which are necessary while their different perspectives and aspirations, or interests, are incompatible.

Table 2.3 Differentiated stakeholder relations

		Connections	
		<i>Necessary</i>	<i>Contingent</i>
Sets of ideas and/or structures of material interests	<i>Compatible</i>	A Shareholders Top management Partners	B The general public Companies connected through common trade associations
	<i>Incompatible</i>	D Trade unions Low-level employees Customers <i>Students</i>	C Some NGOs Aggrieved or criminal members of the public

While Friedman and Miles are primarily interested in contractual relations (explicit, or implicit), defining ‘contracts as relationships entered into with some degree of freedom and in accord with at least some of the interests of the parties’ (p.7), I have noted a distinction in Section 1.5 between the genres of contracts and regulations, although contractual obligation can be written into regulations, or indeed can remain unwritten and implicit. The potential for contentious relations in the D position accounts for the existence not only of trade unions, as mentioned in the table, but also student unions and an ombudsman who may advise and arbitrate within a restricted range. It is also noteworthy that students may share some of the characteristics of customers, on the one hand, as positioned in the Table, with consumer rights but also the potential to contribute to the organization financially; on the other hand, students

may share some of the characteristics of low-level employees whose position in the organization is often vulnerable, and contested in industrial conflict.

Two diverging traditions appear to have developed. First, there is the concept of the stakeholder who is potentially problematic to the organization, and who needs to be *mapped*, managed and controlled (Reed, 1999; Zakhem, 2008). Second, there is the concept of the stakeholder as an entity recognized in the discourse as a being with needs, rights and a voice, within an organization re-conceptualized as an entity with responsibilities, a sense of ethics and inclusiveness (Freeman, Harrison & Wicks, 2007; Philips, 2003). A *Special Research Forum on Stakeholders, Social Responsibility, and Performance* conducted in *Academy of Management Journal* captures this tension with articles that emphasize the management of the stakeholder in the organization's interests (Agle, Mitchell and Sonnenfeld, 1999; Ogden and Watson, 1999) and those that have an incipient view of stakeholder rights and organizational compromise (Harrison and Freeman, 1999; Weaver, Treviño & Cochran, 1999). It is reasonable to assume, despite the monologic voice, that stakeholders and organizations can in fact share many goals and interests (Zakhem, 2008, p. 400). In educational contexts these may include: standards (academic); efficiency (in teaching and administration); ethics (academic honesty); and values such as anti-discrimination.

The potential exists for institutional texts to move from the monologic to the dialogic. The underlying reasons for this should be based on a reconceptualization of organizational relations and a recognition of the student, for example, as a primary stakeholder. The stakeholder relationship between student and university may be construed as problematic. On the matrix constructed by Friedman & Miles (2002), one might locate the student-university relationship as *necessary but incompatible* at certain moments in the student's career when s/she falls foul of the regulations or they are perceived as an imposition.

There is recognition by both parties that a contract exists between them, whether implicit or explicit. Organizations compromise, or try to convince stakeholders that they have compromised and addressed stakeholder

concerns. However, there are clear divergences of interests and the relation is primarily antagonistic (Friedman & Miles, 2002, p.10).

A critical approach to the monologic nature of organizational texts, and the recognition of a principled alternative, may minimize the adversarial potential. Friedman and Miles (2002) advocate pluralistic perspectives on the relationship between stakeholder and organization, while Friedman and Miles (2006) propose the organization 'should be thought of as a grouping of stakeholders and the purpose of the organization should be to manage their interests, needs and viewpoints' (p.1). This egalitarian view may be imbued by the discourse principles of Habermas (1991) whose theory of *communicative rationality* is fundamentally dialogic. If it were operationalized, there would be a dialectic of intersubjectivity among stakeholders, because morality, or ethics, or operational principles are constructed through argument, not unilaterally. One of his *presuppositions* is based upon a belief in the principle of equal participation in the discourse, with equal rights among participants, for example to initiate topics or express volition. Texts constructed according to such principles would lose their monologic authority within a new organizational discourse.

2.5.2. Encoding alternative frameworks of power and knowledge

Foucault's schema of power provides the possibility, and critical analysis provides one means, of challenging the aspirations of those who control the production of discourse. Foucault (1980, 1986) asserts that 'no aspect of reality should be allowed to become a definitive and inhuman law for us. We have to rise up against all forms of power.' Van Dijk (2001) implies that in analysis, alternative frameworks for knowledge can be constructed in order to mount challenges against the institutionalized reproduction of inequalities: Discourse analysts create critical texts because they 'want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, verbal interaction or communicative events enact inequality' (p. 300).

The potential victims of hegemonic texts do not need to depend on such linguistic deconstruction. In their organizational interactions, they have the ability to stand outside the cognitive frameworks constructed for them, establishing their

processes of negotiation, reconstruction and *sensemaking* (Bouwen, 1998; Taylor & Robichaud, 2004; Taylor, Cooren, Giroux and Robichaud, 2006; Watson, 1995; Weick, 1995). From the duality perspective of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), their human agency can not only be shaped by but also shape the discourse structures in which they find themselves. That which constrains them can also empower them in ways that cannot be anticipated by the regulatory framework. This human agency lies outside the bounds of my immediate research, in that discourse analysis ‘tries to understand the processes whereby reality comes into being, rather than simply examine how actors make sense of a pre-existing reality’ (Hardy, 2004, p. 416). This delimiting perspective will be justified more fully in Chapter 3, and suggestions for how to go beyond these limits will be made in Section 7.6.

2.6. FROM CONCEPTUALIZATION TO METHODOLOGY

This chapter has explored text as a concept or construct with the purpose of providing some governing principles for analyzing texts. Text has been recognized here both as an inscribed artifact and a dynamic encoding system. It may seek to manipulate beliefs, knowledge and behavior, or even construct them. It can establish institutional hegemony by processes such as transtextuality, a monologic voice and the essentialization of an organization’s members or stakeholders. There are possibilities for constructing alternative discourses, however, within organizations. Stakeholder theory and sense-making theory suggest how two of these alternatives might operate.

In the next chapter, I will explore critical discourse analysis as an alternative discourse. A distinction between a critical theorist and a critical discourse analyst needs to be made. Fairhurst & Putnam (2004) lament the broad focus of critical theorists who tend to ignore discourse details.

Critical theorists who adopt an object orientation are certainly poised to examine a wide array of contextual influences and constraints on agency. Yet, they downplay the formative power of discourse in lieu of the broad, social,

political, or economic influences that are more easily captured through Discourses (p. 21).

Taylor and Robichaud (2004) point to particular instances of such neglect of language in use, noting for example how while certain scholars 'assume that text supports, and indeed instantiates, relationships of power, they fail to show the communicative mechanisms that demonstrate how text is realized in agency' (p. 397). Critical discourse analysts, and textual analysts in particular, while addressing the same power issues as critical theorists, do seek to look at the details of what is encoded and how it is encoded. Putnam & Cooren (2004) realize that 'critical discourse analysts make important contributions to organizational theory by countering essentialist assumptions about organizational life. ... Texts then are not the essence of the organizational phenomenon, but they participate in its daily production and reproduction' (pp. 325-326). Hardy (2004) appreciates that text analysis can 'challenge reified notions of organization.... Systematic techniques of analysis represent a useful resource to organizational scholars' (p. 418).

The next chapter will present an argument for using some of these systematic techniques to challenge reified notions of organizations and essentialized renderings of identity, and the production of a monologic voice to articulate institutional power. Critical discourse analysis will not be presented uncritically. Its strengths and shortcomings will be examined, along with some suggestions for how its shortcomings can be minimized or overcome.

Much of what has been said in this chapter and in Chapter 1 relates to a five-part mode of inquiry, or method, outlined by Fairclough (2003) which I seek to develop in the remaining chapters. First, he advocates beginning with a social problem rather than with conventional research questions. This I have done in referring to the social aspects of stakeholder disempowerment in crucial situations, where stakeholders may be negatively constructed or socially restricted in texts that are unnecessarily difficult to read. Fairclough says this rootedness in a social problem 'accords with the critical intent... to produce knowledge that can lead to emancipatory change' (209). The knowledge, in this case, is primarily linguistic and I address the question of emancipatory change particularly in Chapter 7. Second, he advises

identification of obstacles which may inhibit or discourage research into the social problem and encourages ‘structural analysis: the order of the discourse’ as well as ‘textual/interactional analysis’ (209). This is to examine *the network of practices* in which the social problem is located. This means considering, for example, the linguistic properties of text and what such properties can reveal about how regulatory texts are authored at university level, by whom and to what purpose. Third, Fairclough would consider whether the problem is an essential part of the social order which it would be preferable, from the organization’s point of view, not to resolve. ‘The point here is to ask whether those who benefit most from the way social life is now organized have an interest in the problem not being resolved’ (p. 210). I have discussed how the authoring organization may prefer to problematize the stakeholder rather than problematize its own discursual shortcomings in order that those at the authoring level may preserve the hegemonic discourse of usuality which privileges their position. Fourth, Fairclough notes a crucial stage: identifying how to overcome the obstacles noted in the second phase of the inquiry, in that ‘it looks for hitherto unrealized possibilities for change in the way social life is currently organized.’ I look for how the text can construct stakeholders in more dialogic ways and how it can facilitate the stakeholders’ decoding of texts that affect them socially. Finally, Fairclough stipulates critical reflection upon the analysis itself, which I do particularly in Chapter 7. He states that ‘it is an important addition, requiring the analyst to reflect of (sic) where s/he is coming from, how s/he herself/himself is socially positioned.’ While different studies may require more or less foregrounding of each of these five aspects of critical inquiry, I believe that it is the analytical second stage that is my main focus, and the next Chapter considers methods for such analysis.

CHAPTER 3

Developing a Methodology

3.1. CHAPTER FOCUS AND AIMS

The previous chapter explored how text can be perceived as an inscribed artifact, but it is a complex artifact in that its construction involves a complex process of decision-making based upon strategic utilization of the lexico-grammatical system. The purpose of this study is not to discover if certain organization members are disenfranchised as a result of the encoding decisions made by a smaller privileged group of authors. Critical analysts already know, at least at a common-sense and non-professional level, that social abuses of power exist and have identified who the victims and beneficiaries are. It would be a waste of time to carry out textual analysis simply to confirm what is already known: that abuses of power exist. The textual analyst's job, and the primary purpose of this study, is to discover the linguistic means that others have used successfully in order to establish hegemony, with the ultimate aim of challenging those means and suggesting more equitable alternatives.

While I as a critical analyst know from superficial reading and small-scale studies that power abuses exist in regulatory texts, my first research question (See Section 1.8 for research questions) is to discover how widespread and consistent this abuse may be: is it institutionalized in text across a range of institutions, or is its occurrence local and an aberration? My second research question aims to discover by what linguistic means primary stakeholders are generally or consistently disenfranchised from organizations that exist ostensibly to serve their needs and interests. The answer to the first question is of limited use in itself, within a critical context, unless it is followed up by an analysis and grounded interpretation of how encoding systems work so that they can be challenged from a basis of linguistic knowledge and authority. My third research question is to discover how adequate and effective critical textual analysis is when dealing with organizational issues. Gaps exist between the research priorities and methods of the linguist, on the one hand, and the critical organization analyst on the other. These gaps need to be narrowed or

eliminated at an interdisciplinary level. If a linguistic approach to organizational inequities can be successfully realized, then the potential exists to explore the fourth research question: how to apply textual and organizational knowledge in order to construct more dialogic texts.

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to situate this inquiry, into power in text, within a research orientation of critical research and to present a rationale for the methods. It is hoped that the analysis and interpretations can be seen as emanating from a conceptual framework and grounded in adequate data, supported by a justifiable range of analytic techniques. Many methodological problems needed to be addressed in my research. It will become clear, for example, that this research is being done within a framework which offers a paradigm under construction, related to the fact that the critical perspective is still evolving, methodologically as well as conceptually. Despite these states of flux, there are clear principles and guidelines for constructing a corpus, and categorizing linguistic data within a systemic functional framework of SFL and Theme/Rheme. The methodology problems return when the question of how to measure textual readability is addressed, and some tentative solutions will be described. Validity issues are considered in relation to the problematic terminology of mixed-methods. Finally ethical issues relate primarily to the use of corpora from texts in organizations in the context of internet research. Some consideration is also given to the treatment of human participants in a study where they are not the subjects of the research.

3.2. DEVELOPING A MIXED-METHODS APPROACH

The aims and research questions in this study generate a mixed-method approach. First, because the scale of the research is across the texts of fifty universities to detect trends such as lexical frequency and grammatical patterning, it is reasonable to avail of computerized corpus analysis software. Second, the noticing of the most prevalent trends and frequencies, and their interpretation, warrant a qualitative approach in that the fundamental questions relate to the social issue of how hegemony is linguistically constructed in organizations and the alternative choices that could have been made at the encoding stage. While corpus linguistics excels at producing linguistic data, it

cannot go beyond that to imagine alternative encoding choices or to make informed judgments on the data. Before the strengths and limitations of these methods are described in detail, they need to be situated in an epistemological and ontological framework.

3.2.1. Choosing a research orientation

My research seeks to uncover those linguistic mechanisms that construct institutional processes and circumstances and its members' identity in such a way that the primary stakeholders in higher education, students, consent to the hegemony of a privileged minority. The researcher brings to the research the value judgment that 'consent, systematically distorted communication, routines, and normalizations...produce partial interests and keep people from genuinely understanding or acting on their own interests.' (Deetz, 2004, p. 26). The textual representation of institutional identities, processes and circumstances all operate to win consent and support the hegemonic structures.

In organizational research of a linguistic nature, each epistemological orientation nowadays may find itself working within one of four dominant research discourses: *normative*, *interpretive*, *critical* and *postmodernist*, although there are also strong grounds for plurivocal research that combines elements of these orientations (Deetz, 2004). Deetz (2004) sees each discourse as 'an orientation to organizations, a way of constituting people and events, and a way of reporting on them' (p.16). However, these discourses or orientations do not have the unitary complete nature of a paradigm: a reasonably closed epistemological and ontological set that provides one coherent way of viewing the world and informs the practices of a given research community. Deetz (2004) states that, first, each discourse 'is filled with internal conflict and strife – including theory debates, moments of incommensurability, dilettantes and tyrants. Second, the edges are not demarcated' (p.16).

3.2.1.1. Normative discourse

Normative research is largely uncritical. Researchers uphold 'an orderly, well-integrated world, with compliant members and regulated conflicts, and has accepted

without examination existing organizational goals and member positions. They represent communication primarily in information and administration terms' (Deetz, 2004, p. 19). Much of the research aims to improve efficiency, and frequently profitability, by demonstrating how problematic tensions can be resolved in the organization's interest. Deetz (2004) sees it as a dominant discourse that permeates 'applied organizational research everywhere' and claims that 'most textbooks are written in this discourse' (p.19). Clearly, my own research presents an alternative view to this firmly rooted discourse, in seeking means to challenge the concepts of order, integration and compliance, as well as regulated member positioning within the caste system of the organization.

3.2.1.2. Interpretive discourse

Interpretive research can be allied more closely to my critical position. Its focus, rather than being economic, views the organization as a social site or community. It draws from anthropology and uses ethnographic methods. It situates organizational communication within a well developed perception of organizational culture. 'The interest in communication processes is far richer than that of meaning transmission present in normative work' (Deetz, 2004, p.24). Interpretive research is constructivist in that it views communication as not only transmissive of knowledge but also constitutive of organizational reality. It falls short of being critical, however, in that 'the concern with community is often connected with the maintenance of a traditional sense of shared values and common practices' which Deetz (2004) calls 'preservationist' (p.23). My research focus is anti-preservationist if it means preservation of hegemonic structures and discourse. My research, also, does not include an on-site ethnographic dimension, although I can see that such a dimension would not be incompatible with my critical position in that my textual investigations could form the basis for subsequent on-site investigations into stakeholder identity as measured against the monologically constructed text identity.

3.2.1.3. Postmodernist discourse versus critical theory

Critical theory is the third of Deetz's orientations and it will be considered more fully below. While Deetz prefers to use *dialogic* rather than *postmodernist* to describe the

fourth of his discourses or research orientations, I prefer to use *postmodernist* in order to reserve the term *dialogic* for a different purpose: simply to contrast it with *monologic*. Postmodernist research challenges those normative views of organizations which construct organizational reality as a fundamentally orderly structure whose organizational goals can be reached more efficiently as its order is more researched and understood. Normative research is oriented towards finding rational data-driven solutions to organizational problems and these solutions frequently privilege the empowered elite who fund the research and easily access its results. In contrast, the concepts of domination and identity are fluid and even fragmented in postmodernist research, and there is a strong goal of resistance, unlike critical discourse's striving towards ultimate consensus in a new more democratic order of decision-making. Despite sharing some affinities with critical research, the postmodernist research orientation goes far beyond the critical agenda in absorbing the core unresolved tensions of postmodernism. In postmodernism, 'language is inherently unstable' (Putnam and Fairhurst, 2004, p. 115), whereas for critical theorists, it is stable enough, I would argue, to construct alternative rational systems. Critical theory's goal is to develop an alternative grand narrative that is more democratic, more explicitly inclusive of its stakeholders' interests and more reflexively critical of its own articulations of power. 'The goal of postmodernist social science is to develop new questions, not to stipulate answers to old ones' (Conrad and Haynes, 2004, p. 65). In my research, I find that postmodernism's resistance to the normative and its fluid concepts of power and identity are useful up to a point. They provide a conceptual framework for mounting challenges. Critical discourse analysis gives a practical social focus to the mounting of such challenges in that new, better and more inclusive discourses might be created. For this reason, I do not equate *dialogic*, as Deetz does, with the open-endedness of postmodernism, but rather with efforts at consensus building. This dialogic consensus may be evidenced in texts that represent many organizational voices. The following section takes a critical look at critical analysis in order to explain why this is the most suitable research orientation to address my aims and research questions.

3.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA has not yet established precise parameters within which to conduct an investigation of text. Instead, it provides a perspective and orientation. The aim of this section is to develop a necessarily restricted working concept of what CDA means, and what it can achieve, in terms of its theoretical or conceptual framework, its methodological reliability and analytic adequacy. This is to demonstrate the appropriateness of CDA to my research questions.

3.2.2.1. Towards a definition of CDA

Rogers et al (2005) reviewing 5 databases studied critical discourse analysis as an evolving conceptual framework in articles and seminal books between 1980 and 2003. They summarized their findings with a four-part definition of CDA, all of which apply directly to this study in that they provide both the limits and the range of what is intended by CDA here. First, they note that CDA is fundamentally *textually oriented*, with a distinctive combination of goals/aims/functions. Of the four they single out, three are relevant to this study. One aim is to ‘disrupt discourses’ (Rogers et al, 2005, p. 376). In my study, the hegemonic discourse presents itself as one institutional voice that brooks no dissent. CDA should expose the linguistic nature of the hegemony and present linguistic alternatives that would disrupt, and perhaps ultimately reconstruct in a more democratic voice, the institutional discourse. The remaining aims of CDA are to ‘challenge restrictive pedagogies, challenge passive acceptance of the status quo, and reveal how texts operate in the construction of social practices’ (Rogers et al, 2005, p.376). The third aspect of their definition, based on their extrapolation from the data, showed CDA as definable in terms of ‘its association with Systemic Functional Linguistics, critical linguistics, or interactional linguistics’ (Rogers et al, 2005, p.376). The fourth aspect is an analytic framework: ‘Each of the authors referred to the CDA framework as a three-tiered framework and made reference to Fairclough’s work’ (Rogers et al, 2005, p. 376). This framework combines ‘micro and macro analysis, and offers a description, interpretation, and explanation of social events’ (Rogers et al, 2005, p. 376)

It might be possible to synthesise as follows: CDA centralizes text as its field of enquiry. It aims to reason its subversion of hegemonic discourse and to alert passive recipients of text to the processes of textualized disempowerment. The chosen method of such alerting may draw upon SFL or other areas of critical or interactional

linguistics. The interrelations of ideational, interpersonal and textual constructions, as well as perspectives shifting easily from micro to macro within the frame, permit a principled approach to data based on description, interpretation and explanation.

3.2.2.2. Shortcomings in CDA research

One must distinguish between apparent weaknesses of individual studies which lay claim to be part of the CDA enterprise, on the one hand, and the value, strengths and research potential of the CDA enterprise as a whole, on the other hand. Here, I shall consider first the noted shortcomings in a survey of articles, and then examine some major objections that Widdowson has made to the CDA enterprise as a whole, including its theoretical foundations and methods.

3.2.2.2.1. Shortcomings in research articles.

Rogers et al (2005) noted some major methodological deficits. First, as a field-wide issue, they note a lack of parameters and standardization in the diverse array of methods, or ‘vast range of ways’ employed by critical discourse researchers (p. 380). Rogers et al seem to imply that the openness of CDA methodology may be both a blessing and a curse. ‘Researchers and scholars of CDA vary on the question of whether the analytic procedures of CDA should be more standardized across research or whether standardization runs counter to the epistemological and ontological tenets of a critical paradigm.’ (p. 379). They note that Gee (1999) and Bucholtz (2001) celebrate the diversity of CDA as an opportunity to construct and explore. I, however, favour the rigor of Verschueren (2001) who would argue for systematic analysis within a clear theoretical framework that permits exploration. Such a framework would challenge those critics who see CDA as an agenda-driven enterprise where researchers find only what they are predisposed to find and use the data to support their emancipatory arguments or socio-political agendas.

Rogers et al point to the shortcomings of studies in critical discourse analysis by considering separately the three constituents by which the discipline or field defines itself. These so-called critical and analytical studies of discourse may fail to be (i) *critical*, or may not be focused primarily on (ii) *discourse* or may lack an explicit (iii) *analytical* element. All three elements need to be present to lay claim to the field of critical discourse analysis, as distinct from, e.g. critical studies or discourse analysis. Providing transcripts of conversation and identifying ‘the themes

or social narratives' (Rogers et al, p.380) which emerge is not the same as 'analysis of the discursive construction of texts,' and it is correctly stated that 'discourse analysis in this sense seems to be interpreted at the social rather than the textual level and does not attempt to move beyond description to interpretation and explanation' (Rogers et al, p. 380) Similarly, grounded theory that allows themes and categories to emerge without a pre-constructed linguistic and analytical focus does not in itself amount to critical discourse analysis, since the texts may be interrogated for their themes rather than for 'specific linguistic properties' (Rogers et al, p.380). The review-authors summarise a major criticism leveled against CDA:

Why did the author choose certain parts of the text and not others? It appears from the analytic sections of these articles that the authors assumed that, if they had a critical orientation and attended to *some* aspects of language in their analysis, then they would be conducting a critical discourse analysis. (pp. 380-381).

The summary view of the authors is somewhat damning of those CDA studies which fail to fulfill all aspects of the enterprise as they state:

Many of the articles did not provide a clear description of their linguistic framework – an oddity given that CDA is a discourse-based framework. Such unbalanced attention to language theory in CDA in educational research may be due, in part, to the lack of training that education researchers receive in language studies. A real problem for education researchers who are interested in Critical Discourse Analysis is their relative lack of experience in dealing with the micro-structure of texts. (Rogers et al, p. 384).

Rogers et al indicate in their conclusion that ‘the weakest link in all of these studies seems to be the connection between linguistic resources and social practices,’ and that weak link can be initiated equally easily either on the linguistic or the social side.

That is, although some of the authors focused on the linguistic details of interactions and made social claims, they failed to represent the relationship between the grammatical resources and the social practices. Not even the studies that provided an analysis of the micro-linguistic aspects of texts gave a rationale for why those aspects were included or explained how they are connected to social practices. On the other hand, researchers were equally inclined to point out social practices through broad themes or discourses without indicating how such discourses were constructed or constrained by grammatical resources. Clearly, establishing a link between the two levels is necessary. (Rogers et al, 2005, p. 387).

It is in response to such a powerful and well grounded articulation of a fundamental problem in CDA studies that I seek in sections 3.3 and following to construct a methodology that establishes a link between the two levels noted above.

3.2.2.2.2. Problematising interpretation: Widdowson’s critique of CDA.

While Rogers et al focus on the methodological shortcomings of a broad range of research articles laying claim, imperfectly, to the field of critical discourse, Widdowson takes on the giants. In a series of articles (1995,1998) culminating in a book (2004), he challenges the theories, methods, and quality of analysis of three major proponents of CDA: Caldas and Coulthard; Fairclough; and Hodge and Kress. Widdowson, damningly, equates the ingenuity of their analysis and interpretation with the practice of literary criticism. Widdowson (1998) asks ‘what theoretical principles are made operational in these analytic procedures, what actually, are the analyses examples of?’ (p. 136).

At the core of Widdowson's challenge is the issue of interpretation. He points out that this is largely unproblematised in even the most prominent critical discourse studies.

The work that appears in these books exemplifies a whole range of problems about the analysis and interpretation of text, which it persistently fails to examine. Indeed the overall impression that is given is that there *are* no problems of any note. In this respect what is distinctive about Critical Discourse Analysis is that it is resolutely uncritical of its own discursive practices. (1998, p.150)

Since much of my own research here depends on systematic analysis and interpretation of text, it is essential to explore the basis for Widdowson's challenge and to propose solutions to the critical problems with interpretation that he identifies.

Widdowson objects to the selective interpretation of a single reader which makes large ideological linguistically based claims resting on apparently flimsy evidence. He shares Toolan's (1997) view that 'too often, an elaborate theoretical and interpretive superstructure is built upon the frailest of text-linguistic foundations' (p.93).

What strikes a particular reader, even one as astute as Fairclough, is hardly conclusive evidence of how ideological significance is written covertly into texts. It is evidence only of what the reader reads into it. Fairclough, in common with his critical colleagues, sets out to expose how language is exploited in the covert insinuation of ideological influence. But they do this by the careful selection and partial interpretation of whatever linguistic features suit their own ideological position and disregarding the rest. (Widdowson, 1998, p. 146).

Widdowson (2004) views commonly practiced critical interpretation of texts as a 'selective and subjective exercise' (p.157.) It is selective because critical analysts appear to choose certain portions of a text which seem to support their own ideological bent, and subjective because they imbue these carefully selected

fragments of text with a meaning which seems to convey more about the analyst's beliefs and unsubstantiated intuitions than about the text under scrutiny. Widdowson (1998) calls this selectivity 'expedient' (pp. 137, 138, 149, 150).

For the procedures of ideological exposure by expedient analysis which characterize the practices of CDA can, of course, be taken up to further *any* cause, right wing as well as left, evil as well as good. They are the familiar tactics of polemic and propaganda, and they have a long history in human affairs.' (1998, p.150)

This suggests the practice of CDA is less than academic because of a flawed theoretical framework and a methodology apparently more designed to serve an ideology than to support objective research practice.

In the absence of any theory of language which might guide the process of critical analysis, analysts in practice simply (*simply*) define their own conditions of significance as the spirit, or political commitment, takes them, and identify ideological positions in reference to their own. Thus analysis is subordinated to interpretation. (Widdowson, 1998, p.148, italics as in original.)

At some point, critical linguistic analysts must interpret data, and must also discuss, although not impose, meanings, including ideological ones. In doing so, they should be aware of Widdowson's salutary warning about finding only meanings that they are predisposed to find.

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

The methodological design of this research project stems from three main factors. The first is the researcher's own world view, or epistemological foundations, which are primarily constructivist and critical in relation to the research problem. The second factor relates to the research questions, which are answerable both in quantitative and

qualitative terms: quantitative because the research seeks to discover with what frequency certain types of lexical encoding occur across a range of texts in fifty institutions, and qualitative because the trends which are identified quantitatively are insufficient in themselves unless they can be interpreted as social modes of encoding power within a constructivist and critical framework. The third factor is based on the need to address, in a practical way, the methodological shortcomings noted in the literature and discussed above. Creswell and Tashakkori (2007) correctly note that ‘discussion of mixed methods should focus on the entire process of research, from the philosophical assumptions, through the questions, data collection, data analysis, and on to the interpretation of findings’ (p. 303).

The mixed methods in this project are active at virtually all stages. In other words, there is not an initial quantitative stage followed by a qualitative stage, or vice versa, as there is in much mixed methods research. At the earliest ontological stage, text was viewed first as an artifact whose features are subject to visual noticing (e.g. capitalization, headings, bold) and quantification, and second as a complex process of encoding which could be analysed quantifiably, through a study of lexical frequency or a calculation of lexical density, or attempted measurement of readability. During the data-collection stage, qualitative judgments had to be made about data sampling, described below, and quantitative decisions had to be made about the construction and use of a corpus. During all stages of analysis and interpretation, the corpus as a repository was revisited in order to gather more specific corpus evidence which would be used to develop more finely tuned interpretations of how aspects of organizational reality and power were encoded in text. See Figure 3.1. below. My mixed methodology began at a pre-research stage, with general questions, about the problematic nature of certain texts. This led to the compilation and quantitative analysis of a corpus. The quantitative analysis led to the formulation of qualitative questions about the text. The qualitative analysis led to further questions which could be answered in quantifiable terms by revisiting the corpus with new more finely tuned questions. This cycle of interrogation can go on indefinitely until the researcher satisfies his/her own sense of research adequacy.

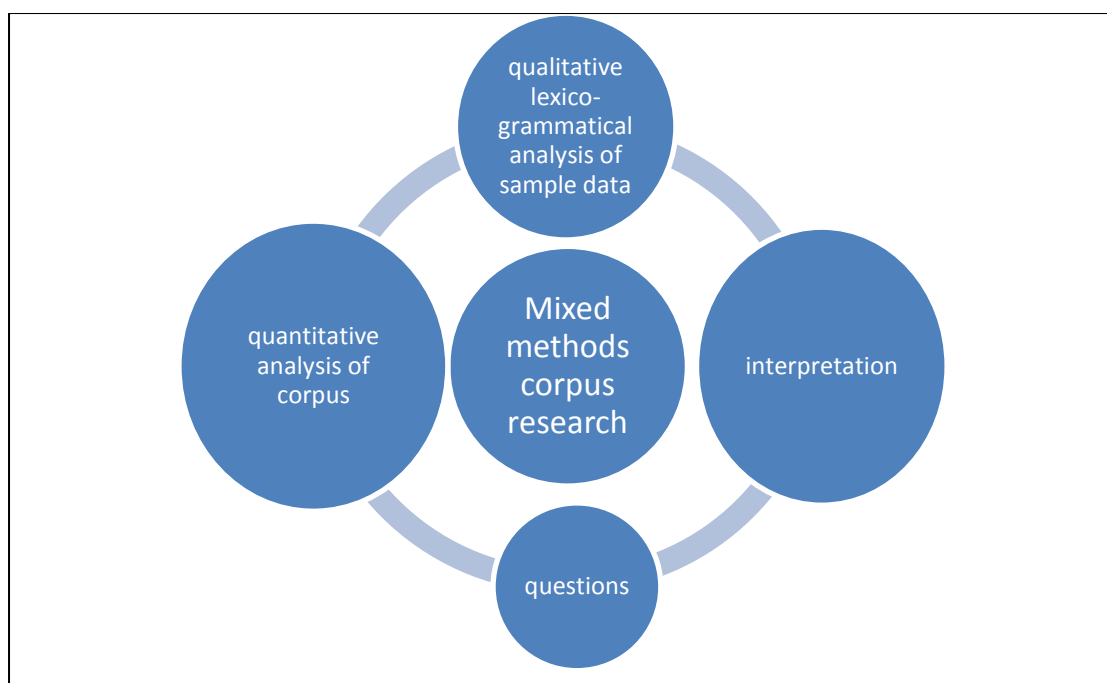


Figure 3.1 Cyclical process of research (clockwise)

3.3.1. Corpus linguistics in relation to CDA

Corpus linguistics (CL) is ‘the study of language based on examples of real life language use’ (McEnery & Wilson, 1996: p.1). Corpora are unlike textual databases in that corpora are purposeful at the compilation stage in that they seek to represent some social and linguistic representativeness whereas ‘databases consist of a more opportunistic collection of texts’ (Baker, 2010, p. 7). Although there is some debate ‘about whether corpus linguistics or a theory of language or both,’ or is an independent discipline (Baker, 2010, p. 6), I choose to view it here primarily as a useful methodology in the service of CDA. Corpora, as electronically stored repositories of text, lend themselves to computational analysis, generating quantitative data about frequencies and patterns. This both the wide sets of data and the techniques made possible by Corpus linguistics help to mitigate the accusations of cherry picking leveled by critics of CDA.

Although the co-working of CL and CDA is not entirely new, Partington (2006) in his book on the discursial function of laughter in White House press briefings situates his study along with his previous work CL work within the *nascent* interdisciplinary field of Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)’ (p. 3; my

italics). His dealing with 1,000,000 word corpus partly accounts for his methodological decisions, where CL allows the discovery and quantifiable articulation of frequencies and patterns in large quantities of data and provides an objective method for decisions regarding saliency and subsequent qualitative analysis. Managing the size of large-scale data while conducting detailed critical inquiry was also a key issue for Hardt-Mautner (1995; Mautner, 2007) when choosing to meld CL and CDA in what she argued was an innovative harnessing of CL techniques to conduct critical inquiry. (p. 2).

However, the mainly qualitative methodology used in CDA proved ill-suited to handling the sizeable corpus that formed the basis of the study. It was this mismatch between the chosen framework and the nature of the data that led to the development of an alternative analytical procedure, combining the use of concordance programmes with CDA's traditional qualitative analysis. (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p.1)

Similar issues informed my own decision to triangulate CL and CD findings against each other: data size and range, the need to discover dominant grammatical and also semantic patterning in order to discuss the most salient discourse features. The homogenized nature and purposeful nature of the corpus also provides an important methodological rationale.

The discourse analyst working with a dedicated and thematically homogeneous corpus will rarely be interested in the complete range of forms that occur in it but will concentrate on those that are frequent and salient enough to permit making meaningful statements about the particular discourse being investigated. (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p.8)

Baker et al (2008) point to the interactive and synergic value of CL and CDA in a position of mutual triangulation. Not only does synergy permit a focus on grammar but it 'adds a focus on lexical patterns. Also, CL processes can help quantify discoursal phenomena already recognized in CDA' (p. 285). In my own research methods, CL does not just kickstart the inquiry into data but is used at several stages

to quantify and refine what is discoverable in CDA. My research methods in the thesis are informed by the pioneering exploration of this nascent area by those researchers referred to above.

3.3.2. Constructing a corpus

Widdowson (2004) in his conclusion does offer some suggestions for making critical discourse analysis more reliable and generalisable, and less subject to the limitations of individual ingenious interpretations of an overly limited selection of text. The most promising of these proposals is a systematic reliance on corpus linguistics.

Corpus linguistics, as a mode of collection, storage and analysis, lends itself ideally to the concept of text developed in Chapter 2. 'A text is a static product whose structures we can study: a set of traces which are the result of a dynamic intentional process which involves agency' (Stubbs, 2007, p. 145). 'Since only text is directly observable, this is the basic data for corpus linguistics' (Stubbs, 2007, p. 144).

For my study, sample texts were gathered from the websites of fifty universities to construct a corpus of 487,237 tokens (running words) and 7,514 types. 'If a text is 1,000 words long, it is said to have 1,000 "tokens". But a lot of these words will be repeated, and there may be only say 400 different words in the text. "Types", therefore, are the different words' (Scott, 2010).

Certain portions of text were removed before constructing the corpus, if they consisted of long lists, for example naming types of degrees on offer. This was in order to increase the focus on students and regulations, and to maximize the amount of data drawn from sequential prose rather than verbless lists. All the remaining data were then saved as plain text in order to be searchable as a corpus using Wordsmith Tools, Version 5. This is described by its creator as 'an integrated suite of programs for looking at how words behave in texts.' (Scott, 2010). It facilitates corpus analysis mainly through the construction of concordances, contrastive key word lists and specific corpus word lists. A limited trial version is available free, but the full version was used in my research.

3.3.2.1. *Selection criteria*

A number of methodological issues arise in the construction of the corpus. The first refers to *selection criteria*. Sinclair (2004) distinguishes between two kinds.

‘Selection criteria that are derived from an examination of the communicative function of a text are called external criteria, and those that reflect details of the language of the text are called internal criteria. Corpora should be designed and constructed exclusively on external criteria.’ My sample texts are selected according to communicative function, and my critical interest in them is sociolinguistic, not linguistic. I did not seek out texts that are high in occurrences or nominalization in order to describe these features. Any reader could easily detect these features.

‘Obviously if it is already known that certain text types contain large numbers of a microlinguistic feature...it becomes a futile activity to “discover” this by assembling a corpus of such texts’ (Sinclair, 2004). A more purposeful critical activity is to conduct a micro-analysis of how these known features operate, possibly in conjunction with other high frequency lexical items, and what effect this range of textual encoding has upon the stake-holder reader in an organization.

3.3.2.2. *Size*

The second methodological issue is *size*. A basic principle is that the corpus should be fit for purpose (Sinclair, 2004). In Chapter 2, I stated that my aim is not the study of language. If that were so, then a huge corpus on the scale of the British National Corpus would be more suitable to provide sufficient samples of the behavior of targeted linguistic items in use in a wide range of contexts. I am not interested in texts as sources of linguistic data from which more about language can be learnt. The purpose is to study specific instances of how language encodes power structures using one type of text (regulations) in one type of organization (universities). I do not aim to make grammatical or lexical generalizations that might apply to the entire language system, but rather study how specific instances of language encode power structures in a narrow context. Sinclair (2004) refers to one specialist corpus, English of Computing Science, which has one million words. My focus is narrower than this ESP corpus, from which important pedagogical decisions might have to be made regarding language structures, modality collocation, degrees of formality and so on. Sinclair (2004) states that ‘a much smaller corpus will be needed for typical studies

than is needed for a general view of the language,’ with a narrower lexical range, but higher than usual degrees of lexical frequency of recurrent tokens within that narrow range.

At a certain point, Sinclair (2004) says, ‘stop developing the corpus. While it is important to achieve as low a rate of errors as possible, there is a danger of excessive perfectionism, which can lead to a situation in which the corpus is never finished, preventing its use or reuse.’ He adds that the corpus has to be good enough rather than perfect, have a realistic level of quality, and make it fit for purpose. The purpose is analysis and interpretation, and that is where a different set of problems arises.

3.3.3. Data Collection

The following section describes a simple sampling method used in gathering the data from fifty British universities, paying attention to the representativeness of the universities and also to the representativeness of the chosen texts.

3.3.3.1. Sampling and representativeness of universities

There was no question of doing a detailed linguistic analysis of the texts of one organization only. To satisfy the criterion of representativeness, a simple technique of *random sampling* was used. I selected fifty universities as an adequate number from a total *sampling frame* of one hundred and fourteen institutions who have *university* or *university college* in the title and which are not foreign universities operating in Great Britain. These details are drawn from the Universities UK website (2008). All of these universities’ regulations (2008-2009) were available on websites, thus enabling easy corpus creation. While it might have been preferable from a validity perspective to use all 119 websites to construct the corpus of data, not all universities responded to a request for permission to use their website data (described in Ethics below). Thus sampling was considered preferable for feasibility reasons. Burns (2000) describes the method I followed:

One method of drawing the random sample is to write each name or code number onto a slip of paper then shuffle the slips in a container. The slips are

drawn out at random. At this stage, there are two possibilities open. We can either replace the slip once it has been drawn or we can retain it and continue drawing slips from the remainder until the required sample size... is obtained. This latter procedure is preferred statistically. (pp. 85-86).

The 50 universities to be sampled were checked for representativeness. It was clear that they included England, Scotland and Wales, ancient and modern, large and small.

3.3.3.2. Representativeness of texts

Once the participating universities were identified, a decision had to be made about which parts of their regulations would be used. It was decided, in the interests of the critical framework, to select those parts of the regulations most likely to affect students' rights particularly in areas which were likely to produce problematic interaction with the university. These include academic honesty, complaints procedures and appeals. This decision was also informed by case-studies and reports from The Office of the Independent Adjudicator for Students in Higher Education (OIA). The OIA Annual Report (2009) states that

In line with previous years the majority of complaints (64 per cent) concerned academic status and related to academic appeals, assessments and grades. The second biggest category was service issues (e.g. contractual obligations) and the third biggest category was disciplinary matters and academic misconduct including plagiarism and cheating. (p. 55).

Deliberately excluded were large portions of text which dealt with library regulations, copyright issues, and other regulations common to all members of the university including management and teaching faculty. These types of regulations might also be of less damaging consequence to those who might violate them. Also excluded were regulations constructed by the Student Union. It might be argued that the overall textual construction of a student-stakeholder identity at a university would

be much more positive if the multivariate multifarious texts of a university were taken into account. That would probably be true. The construction of a student-stakeholder identity would probably be much more positive in marketing literature than in regulations regarding organizational procedures. In marketing literature, it is the student who has the power: to reject, accept, or ignore. However, it is the construction of students in problematic situations, where their access to education is in jeopardy, which is of critical interest. This focus, across a representative range of texts, on a single area where the student is problematized relates to Research Question 1: To what extent are students empowered in regulatory texts across a wide spread of British universities?

3.3.4. Data analysis and interpretation

One main reason for using corpus analysis is to minimize the accusations that critical analysts are overly selective in their choice of data for interpretation based on their social agenda. As far as possible, in selecting and analysing data in the following chapters, I refer to the frequency data provided by the analytical tools of Wordsmith Tools rather than select data I find interesting for its own sake. The analyses are data driven. The initial selection and analyses are based on noticing lexical frequencies, but interpretation must be another matter.

This problem of interpretation was solved, at least in part, by adopting a systematic bottom-up approach to data in order to explore Research Question 2: By what linguistic mechanisms are students constructed in institutional texts. Lexico-grammatical frequencies served only as indicators of encoding choices. I went beyond these frequencies to analyse how these highest frequency lexemes behave first at a clausal level and second at a broader textual level. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) provides the means of dealing with the data at a clausal level. I inquired how the stakeholder is affected, not just as a linguistic construction, but socially as a reader of text. Readability data and Theme/Rheme analysis, which lends itself both to quantitative and qualitative methods, provided two means of studying how the texts function at a higher level than the clause, in encoding stakeholders. This was to find some answers to Research Question 3 about the adequacy of linguistics methods such as CL, SFL and Theme/Rheme analysis within a critical framework.

3.3.4.1. Systemic Functional Linguistics

The connections between SFL and CDA are too well documented elsewhere to require much justificatory argument here (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Lihua, 2009; Young and Harrison, 2004). The usefulness and relevance of SFL categories are considered below, in relation to SFL's three main approaches to meaning: *Ideational*, *Interpersonal* and *Textual*.

3.3.4.1.1. Ideational meaning and the transitivity system.

In exploring the ideational construction of text, I sought to uncover the linguistic choices that shaped how meaning, power and ideology were authored in the representation of one aspect of organizational reality. SFL analysis is built largely around *Processes*. Although the representation of all Processes revolve around a main verb which provides the core for the clause, there are different types of Processes and as a researcher I had to discover which types, if any, predominated, in textual encoding and ask how ideologically telling a strong preference for one type of Process over others might be. Such predominance became clear through analyzing lexical frequency data from the corpus. In Chapter 5, which focuses on these Processes, the analyses are data-driven with frequent use of the corpus to achieve finer delicacy of analysis of the most recurrent lexical items.

The term Participants in SFL refers to human, animate, inanimate, or abstract Participants in the Process. For my research purposes, I considered how in fact the human Participants are realized textually within the structures of clause and sentence, to determine if they are accorded lesser textual prominence than non-human Participants, Processes and aspects of Circumstance. This focus on the textual construction of human Participants will require considering not only the ideational meaning of the text, but also its *interpersonal* and *textual* functions.

3.3.4.1.2. Interpersonal meaning: Mood, modality and attitudinal lexis.

An analysis of the content, or ideational meaning, of the text in terms of its power relations especially, would be unsatisfactory or incomplete if it were not

complemented by analysis of the text's interpersonal meaning. The interpersonal meaning deals with the communicative or interactive purpose, and the *Tenor*, of the text as defined in 2.2.2. While the ideational meaning of the text is best analysed with reference to its transitivity system, its interpersonal meaning is best understood through an analysis of how its attitudes to its readers and to its represented social context are linguistically realized. The lexical frequency analysis showed that modal verbs occurred more frequently than any other verbs, except the verb *to be*. This high frequency provided the data for Chapter 4, whereas before my research I had assumed I would begin by exploring ideational representation of organizations. Further breakdown of modal verbs into their frequency in relation to each other provided data I had not anticipated and yielded more finely tuned linguistic information about how power relations were linguistically constructed. These provided details to address Research Question 2, focusing on linguistic mechanisms.

3.3.4.1.3. Textual meaning: theme and rheme, given and new.

A different perspective on the data, in response to Research Question 3, was acquired by moving beyond the individual clause level to observe what the author most frequently chose to put first in the sentence, in *Theme* position. Looking at Theme choice within one or two clauses in discrete samples of text is of limited value. A study of Thematic development of the text across a substantial number of clauses provided most insight into the textual construction of power relations, as I observed which referents were sustained in repeated Theme positions, which recurred but in Rheme position, and which disappeared altogether from the text.

3.3.4.2. Readability

The primary focus of this research is on textual encoding, and readability data from such programs as Flesch Kincaid (FK) Grade Level, and Flesch Reading Ease (FRE). Rudolf Flesch's readability measurement system dates from the 1940s and was later refined by Kincaid. FK and FRE provided initial quantitative data, commonly denominated as *scores*, on textual features, such as word, sentence and paragraph length. FK uses the formula $FKRS = (0.39 \times ASL) + (11.8 \times ASW) - 15.59$, where

FKRS denotes Flesch-Kincaid Readability Score, ASL denotes average sentence length and ASW denotes average number of syllables per word. (Microsoft Word, 2010). The grade refers to American high school grades, and ideal encoding for maximum access among a general educated population is recommended at 7.0- 8.0. The FRE score is based on the formula: $206.835 - (1.015 \times \text{ASL}) - (84.6 \times \text{ASW})$ and used a 100-point scale. The ideal encoding or readability score is estimated to be 60-70 for an adult population.

For the purposes of the present study, the FK and FRE indices were used, not because they were assumed to have any innately superior merits, but rather because they have become among the most widely used indices, adopted by Microsoft Word into its Tools package. For this reason if for no other, the uses as well as limitations of the indices need to be critically assessed.

The assumption underlying these indices is that word length and sentence length can make increasing demands upon the reader: not necessarily upon their comprehension but upon the effort that must be made to decode the essential message. Thus, a purist and somewhat artificial distinction is made between readability, which signifies the measurable characteristics of text surface, and comprehensibility, which partly depends on what the reader may bring to the text as a product and process. My previous small scale study showed that computerized indices of readability are not reliable in that they fail to notice certain types of encoding, such as multiple elliptical occurrences of the passive in one sentence where one use of the verb *to be* governs several past participles. In this present research, I initiated another small-scale study (See 6.2.2) both to address the methodological problems of measuring readability and to begin to consider how the readability level of these texts may affect readers. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used in this study, but the results are extremely tentative since readability as an issue deserves intensive and extensive investigation on a scale not possible within the confines of this study. The exploratory data on readability presented here derives from computerized readability indices, and human triangulation of the computerized data based on performance on cloze texts, and questionnaires to triangulate cloze test performance. I believe this is the minimum suite of methods required to inquire into readability, each of these methods being inadequate in itself.

3.3.4.2.1. Readability indices and triangulation.

Bailin and Grafstein (2001) assert that the developers of readability formulae misleadingly approach readability as a monolithic phenomenon and advocate instead an approach that would encompass multiple readabilities of text rather than a single simple method of reductionism. Connaster (1999) argues that perception of textual difficulty depends on what the reader brings to the text and cannot be reduced to the counting of textual features. My exploratory research takes account of these two sources of dissatisfaction with the adequacy of readability indices.

A main advantage of readability indices is that they are easy to apply and provide fast quantitative data on texts. In my research, I subjected each of the fifty texts to FK/FRE analysis, tabulated the results (See Section 6.2.1) and saw that according to the computational criteria, the majority of the texts ranked from difficult to very difficult. From the readability data provided by FK/FRE in the present study, I chose one text in the medium rather than most difficult range and, for further triangulation, presented it to two populations (See 6.2.2) .

3.3.4.2.2. Cloze tests and triangulation.

A cloze test, based on a system and a cognitive rationale derived from Taylor (1953), consists of a text from which certain words have been systematically removed (every nth word) unlike a gap-fill exercise where the test-designer chooses which words to remove). The test taker is required to replace the missing words, with success depending on a knowledge of context, judicious use of co-text, and proficiency in the lexico-grammatical system. Cloze procedures have been connected closely with readability (Stevens, Stevens, and Stevens, 1992) and their superiority over readability indices declared, since Taylor (1953). Unlike indices, which have to do with the quantification of encoding choices, cloze tests make the reader and comprehension an aspect of readability, although their fundamental focus was on the text. That is, a well constructed text should provide enough context for the reader to complete the missing information. After Taylor, there was growing awareness (Connaster, 1999) that readers may also complete a text based on schemata such as

their world knowledge, their familiarity with a genre, and their knowledge of grammar and collocations.

My two sample texts (See Appendix 1) consisted of an authentic text which was difficult, according to the readability data, and a rewritten version of the same text. In the rewritten text, I kept the content almost the same while encoding it differently to prove more readable according to the same computerized readability criteria. See Table 3.1. below, and sections 6.2.2.1., 6.2.2.2. and 6.2.2.3. For a description of how the cloze test was administered, see Section 6.2.2. below.

Table 3.1 Readability data for cloze texts

	TEXT 1	TEXT 2
WORDS	496	324
PARAGRAPHS	5	6
SENTENCES	20	26
SENTENCES PER PARAGRAPH	4	4.3
WORDS PER SENTENCE	24.8	12
CHARACTERS PER WORD	5.2	4.8
PASSIVES	65	0%
FRE	31.7	56.8
FKG	14.9	8.3

I included a questionnaire, and did informal follow-up unstructured interviews where practical, to gauge test-takers' feelings towards the text and tasks. These data would provide additional information into the under-researched area of participants' attitudes, to add an extra dimension to the quantitative data. Both the quantitative responses and questionnaire data were not what the researcher had anticipated after deliberately constructing a text that would be more readable according to the FK/FRE criteria, and these findings will be presented and discussed in Chapters 6 (See Section 6.2.2.6) and 7. The raw scores were examined using univariate and bivariate tests (See Section 6.2.2.4) in order to detect any significant differences between texts 1 and 2 and between the two different populations of test-takers.

3.5. VALIDITY ISSUES

Dellinger and Leech (2007) rightly observe that ‘the concept of validity has been addressed sparingly in the mixed methods literature’ (p. 314). They note that earlier theorists of validity in mixed methods treated the quantitative and qualitative stages of a study separately. This piecemeal approach is clearly unsatisfactory since the overall or unified validity of the research needs to be articulated. Dellinger and Leech (2007) suggest that ‘the concept of validity has yet to be delineated for mixed methods research’ (p. 315). My purpose here is simply to propose by what means the validity of my own research might be evaluated. While ‘as many as 17 terms for validity have been identified in the qualitative realm’ (Dellinger & Leech, 2007, p. 312), I shall preserve the term validity as the key concept, rather than other terms preferred in qualitative research such as trustworthiness, legitimacy or authenticity. Five aspects of validity will be considered: construct, design, analysis, interpretation and generalization.

3.5.1. Construct validity

The key constructs used in this study are *power*, *text*, *encoding* and *critical*. In Chapter 2, I attempted to situate text as the key construct by considering it as the analyzable product of an organization, and as a complex linguistic process of encoding choices that has social consequences. In Chapter 3, I espouse *critical* as a sociolinguistic construct that enables one to develop an analytic perspective on how power is encoded in text. My own assumptions, experiences, knowledge and bias were articulated, in Chapter 1, in relation to this construct. In brief, as a student-researcher, I have one perspective on how power is encoded in educational organizations, and how my stakeholder rights and identity are constructed, while as a teacher in a third-level college, I may have different views on how power is encoded to uphold organizational norms in the interests of efficiency. As a language teacher preparing students whose first language is not English to cope not only with the academic but also the administrative texts of third level English-medium institutions, I have a third perspective, primarily to do with texts, encoding choices and primary stakeholder survival. Fairclough, Van Dijk and all critical analysts espouse the

principle that critical analysis is analysis with a political or social agenda, primarily to address social inequities and propose a more just alternative. This agenda does not in itself invalidate the research, as long as other criteria are met. The purpose here is not to produce firm and fully developed constructs, but rather to make a small contribution to knowledge building within a constructivist dialogue with other researchers. ‘We propose that construct validation is the continuous process of negotiation of meaning’ (Dellinger and Leech, 2007, p.320).

3.5.2. Research design

Key design issues have been addressed in this chapter. The simple sampling procedure was described. Arguably, it could have been improved, but it fitted the purpose of this small-scale enquiry. In a large-scale sociolinguistic study of power issues in relation to stakeholders in all British universities, different decisions would have been made. The reasons for compiling a corpus were discussed, and the procedure was described. The size and representativeness of the corpus were described in relation to the research purpose and the nature of the data. I suggest these are adequate to meet the purpose of the study and allow me to frame some grounded answers to the research questions.

3.5.3. Analysis

Adequate sources of data must be followed up by analysis which is also adequate, and which minimizes selective usage to fit a critical agenda. It has been noted in this chapter that critical studies fall short on textual analysis and make generalizations about power. Those that analyse texts may use one analytic method only, such as SFL. I chose multi-faceted analysis. First, there was analysis of the corpus at the one-word, or lexeme, level, to detect what lexemes, by virtue of their frequency, warrant analysis. Second, there was analysis of collocations, in the belief that quantifiable data about the frequency of how lexemes coordinate with each other may provide valuable evidence about the lexical encoding choices most favored by the organization. Third, there was grammatical analysis at the clausal level, primarily using SFL categories, to discover how organizations encode their reality of Processes, Participants and Circumstances in relation to each other. Fourth, there was analysis beyond the clause,

to discover what choices were made at a higher order of text. The focus here is on how information is patterned coherently and cohesively through stretches of text, using Theme/Rheme analysis. Data were also compiled on the texts' readability in order to discover how this might affect the reader-stakeholder's decoding.

3.5.4. Interpretation

Interpretation has been presented in this chapter as one of the main contentious issues by those who question the validity of CDA. Much of the criticism could equally well have been made against most types of qualitative research within a post-positivist paradigm. For example, those who use interview data or transcripts or ethnographic analysis must make a personal decision about what is most salient, to them, and what the selected details may mean beyond the limits of their own subjectivity. They will also allow, as I will, that the interpretations are only partial, or incomplete, and make only a small contribution to what they hope will be a larger discourse. All of my decisions regarding the research design and analytic methods have to do with supporting the inferences I may draw from the data, but I accept that these decisions will be affected, but not invalidated, by a critical perspective. 'Do the inferences follow from the links between the theories/lived experience, research literature, purpose, design, measurement and analysis?' (Dellinger & Leech, 2007, p. 322). One must ask if better decisions, or different decisions, could have been made at all stages, and if different inferences could have been drawn, and of course the answer is yes. The purpose, however, is not a positivist statement of the truth, but the construction of knowledge, on a limited scale, about organizations as a result of analysis of sample of data.

3.5.5. Generalization

While this study happens to be of students at fifty universities, it may be generalized first to other universities in Great Britain where further samples of the genre are easily found on-line. Second, it may be generalized to other overseas universities, in the Commonwealth and beyond; one way they model themselves upon British universities is by emulating their organizational discourse. I first noticed this type of discourse in an institution in the Middle East with a student population of Arabic

speakers and English as the sole medium of instruction; institutional communications such as the handbook of student regulations, containing important information about issues such as plagiarism, were written in a highly complex level. Ultimately, the findings may be generalized to many types of organizations where stakeholder rights are encoded deploying similar linguistic techniques to achieve a similar hegemonic purpose.

3.6. ETHICAL ISSUES

BERA's (2004) aim is to enable educational researchers 'to reach an ethically accepted position in which their actions are considered justifiable and sound' (p. 4). The ethics of critical research overlap with BERA's ethos of respect for the person, knowledge, democratic values, the quality of educational research, and academic freedom. (BERA, p. 5). Most of the data for this critical research project were sourced from texts available on university websites. A small amount of research was also done into readers' decoding abilities and their responses to text in order to triangulate quantitative data about readability. Therefore two different kinds of ethical issues needed to be considered.

3.6.1. Website Data

The Association of Internet Researchers' (AOIR) Ethics Guide (2002) identifies that the main ethical issues of risk and confidentiality will arise when research is done into web-based communications of private users in such areas as on-line communities. It asks 'Are participants in this environment best understood as "subjects" (in the sense common in human subjects research...) or as authors whose texts/artifacts are intended for the public?' (p. 7). Clearly, my data from fifty universities belong in the latter group, and therefore 'fewer obligations to protect autonomy, privacy, confidentiality, etc. will likely follow' (ibid, p. 7).

The Freedom of Information (FOI) Act 2000, which came into effect on 1st January 2005, actively encourages the democratic values of openness and freedom espoused by both BERA and practitioners of critical analysis.

The Act promotes greater openness, accountability and transparency across the public sector... Under the Freedom of Information Act, Universities are classed as public authorities and as such are required to produce and maintain a publication scheme through which information must be made available. (University of Leicester/FOI, 2010).

This declaration is characteristic of British university websites, which frequently provide a prominently displayed link to a FOI contact person. It also corresponds to a developing democratic ethos among Internet researchers of the Web as an open source of data to be used responsibly (Berry, 2004). There is, however, the legal, rather than ethical, issue of copyright of these materials which still exists. It is not an impediment, but it may slow down the research process. Permission for this research was sought, and granted, by email, from either the Registrar's Office or the FOI contact person at the universities to use their published data. It was explained how the data would be used (to compile an electronic corpus of texts, with codification of the data in the research report). Universities were informed of the purpose of the research and guaranteed anonymity should they so wish.

BERA (2004) considers it good practice to debrief participants, and 'to provide them with copies of any reports or other publications arising from their participation' (p.10.). This principle also fits in with a critical agenda, where it is hoped that the benefits will outweigh any risks to participants. The main benefit is that university procedures are written in such a way that they are easily decoded by all members of the university. All the university texts are referred to by a number only and no specific institution is singled out either for negative criticism or as a role-model. The focus is primarily on the linguistic data, and the need for regulations is not questioned. The critical focus is on how to improve the encoding and make the texts more dialogic and inclusive of stakeholder needs and decoding ease. Only generic discourse across a spread of 50 institutions is considered and the conclusions do not apply to any single institute or author, but have general relevance, particularly in the light of the OIA's comments (see Chapter 1) that complaints about university complaints procedures are increasing.

3.6.2. Human participants

Forty-five students whose first language was not English, and 20 university graduates whose first language was English, participated in a small-scale study related to a decoder perspective of the text (reported in Chapter 6 and discussed in Chapter 7). Every effort was made to secure their *informed consent* and preserve their confidentiality. All the participants were informed, verbally, in personal email and/or in a welcome message (See Figure 3.2 below) that the purpose of the study was to test the readability of the texts, not the participants, and were informed of the desired positive outcome of the research: to provide more readable texts in universities. They were assured of anonymity in the reporting of the findings. They completed a very short questionnaire on their impressions after completing two cloze tests and all stated that they understood the data would be used for research purposes.

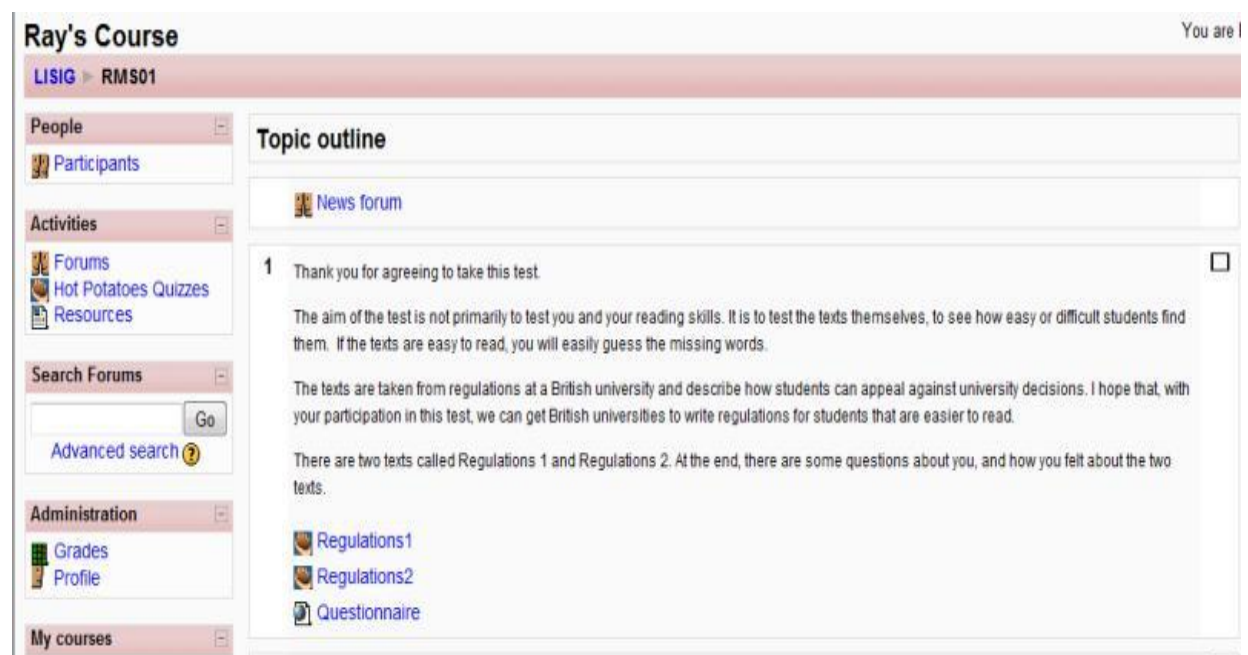


Figure 3.2 Welcome message to test-takers

3.7. CHAPTER DISCUSSION

A critical perspective does not quite amount to a paradigm because the ranges of focus and activities are so diverse in CDA, but there is a shared sense among its practitioners that hegemony is an insidious social reality whose operations need to be understood and challenged. My research has defined itself in relation to a symbiotic

rather than sequential utilisation of mixed methods. In a cyclical process, quantitative data-driven analysis generates a focus for qualitative analysis and interpretations, which in turn generate the need for further data to achieve greater analytic delicacy. The interpretation challenges are met by focusing on trends and frequencies made salient in the corpus, and by multi-layered readings at the word, clause and larger-text levels. Discussions of validity are in the context of mixed methods research. While it is hoped that the research design is adequate to warrant the degree of analysis and interpretation offered, the attempts at generalization must be exploratory at best, both at the conceptual and methodological levels. Finally, ethical issues are addressed within the context of CDA as an ethical enterprise in itself with an empowering social agenda. In the following three chapters, the concepts of text, outlined in Chapter 2, and the methods outlined here are operationalized to discover by what linguistic means texts are constructed as hegemonic instruments to win the consent of members to accept their own subjugation in problematic situations. It is only after the first three research questions have been explored that a grounded answer to Research Question 4 can be properly attempted: Can more dialogic and democratic texts be constructed as an alternative, based on the analysis and interpretations stemming from CL, CDA and readability data?

CHAPTER 4

An Analysis of Modality

4.1. CHAPTER FOCUS AND AIMS

This is the first of three chapters that analyse the textual data from three different perspectives. The focus here is on individual tokens of the highest frequency in the corpus. A quantitative examination of the corpus shows that modal verbs enjoy the highest frequency among lexical and semi-lexical tokens (Corver and Van Riemsdijk, 2001), overshadowing any other verbs that might encode institutional activity. Here, I intend lexical words (nouns, main verbs, adverbs, adjectives) to designate those words in a sentence that serve primarily to carry the burden of meaning, unlike grammatical words (determiners, prepositions, auxiliary verbs) that serve primarily as function words to glue the content words together. The semi-lexical words of interest in this chapter are modal auxiliaries. Grammatically, they function as auxiliaries and belong to a closed set in that they do not accept new members, unlike the open sets of content words. Lexically, they may bear a strong burden of meaning in the clause, operating well beyond their grammatical function. This chapter will address how modal verbs encode the authoring institutions' perceptions of the organization in relation to its stakeholders. In the following chapters, the focus broadens beyond single tokens to the clause, and finally beyond the clause to some features of what Halliday and Hassan (1976) call *texture*.

Modality makes prominent the encoding of an author's perspective. The role of verbs such as *must*, *should*, *may*, *will*, and *shall* will be considered in the encoding of university regulations, as well as their semantic power in relation to each other. While I anticipated that verbs with strong illocutionary force such as *must* would be preferred to encode institutional power strongly, the research for this chapter, based on corpus analysis, discovered otherwise. In hegemonic organizational texts, power is not most effectively wielded by issuing overt commands, but rather by constructing consent to what is customary, as well as submission to what is legislated.

Although much of the linguistic debate about modals (Palmer, 2001) focuses on the challenge of categorizing them according to their epistemic, deontic or dynamic function, the aim in this chapter is not to contribute to the debate on how modals operate in relation to the construction of knowledge, interactive obligations in communication or the expression of ability. Instead, the focus is on the encoding of power, and the following pages investigate how modals can be used, in the hands of text-authoring institutions to encode their own interests.

4.2. CORPUS ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the primary concern is with what is observable from the hard evidence the corpus can provide about encoding choices. The starting point here is observation of lexical frequency. Stubbs (2007), invoking Halliday, asserts that ‘frequency in a text is evidence of probability in the system’ (pp. 147-148). This means focusing on tokens with the highest lexical frequency, in order to detect any trends or commonality in their usage. The behaviour of the highest frequency words is considered in two regards. Horizontally, the co-text for the node word is examined, meaning here the words occurring immediately to the left and right of the node. At the same time, vertically, the significance of the inter-text is considered. This is what Stubbs (2001) defines as ‘repeated occurrences, often a very large number of times, of similar patterns across different, independent texts’ (p. 157).

Identification of the corpus’s apparently most salient features is in itself a minor act of interpretation. For example, despite their potential linguistic interest, I shall exclude the highest frequency grammatical words, such as articles and prepositions, in order to focus on how nouns and the most lexicalized verbs encode participants and processes. I shall also exclude occurrences of the verb *to be* from consideration here, because the occurrences are largely grammatical rather than semantic, although I shall consider in the next chapter how it is used to encode relational and existential processes.

4.2.1. Frequency Data: Overview

Despite the variables that might exist across the particular contexts of the fifty universities, my corpus provides clear linguistic evidence that the texts resemble each other sufficiently to be construed as a genre. See *Appendix 2: Lexical frequency*. Looking at the fifty most frequently recurring lexical or primarily content items, for example, the lexical item *student* ranks highest, occurring 6,230 times across all fifty texts in the singular and 2,962 times in the plural. *University* ranks next highest in frequency, occurring 4,520 times. I did some preliminary tagging of the corpus, with much more tagging done to underpin the primarily grammatical analyses in Chapter 5 (See table 5.1). The preliminary tagging verified the common-sense hypothesis that *board* occurred as a noun, not a verb, in this corpus. Such tagging also provided early evidence of the ‘nouniness’ of the corpus, showing that *appeal* (ranking 37th, see *Appendix 2*) functioned primarily as a noun. *Appeal* occurs 1817 times across 48 texts, with *the appeal* occurring 726 times and *an appeal* 312 times; furthermore, *shall appeal* occurs 0 times whereas *appeal shall* occurs 73 times; *must appeal* occurs only once while *appeal must* occurs 44 times. Such tagging of the corpus enables one to say with reasonable confidence that the next ranking lexical tokens after *student* and *university* refer to entities of the university (*board*, *committee*), and processes jointly engaged in by students and those entities (*assessment*, *examination*, *appeal*), as well as conditions and text type that govern these participants and processes (regulations). The only two adjectives in the top fifty are *academic*, occurring 2527 times across 50 texts (never occurring in the tagged corpus as a noun) and *disciplinary* occurring 1,530 times across 48 texts. There is an absence of purely lexical verbs in the first fifty items, and a very high incidence of modal verbs, collocating most frequently with *student*. *Will* and *may* occur across 50 texts, *should* and *must* in 49 texts, and *shall* in 47 texts. It is clear, in short, that the texts address the same issues with a broadly similar lexical realization, such as a high frequency of modal verbs. In the presentation of corpus data immediately following, the focus is on the use of these modals, insofar as they encode authorial stance and construct power relations in text.

4.3. MODALITY

Modality has to do with how language expresses ‘various kinds of indeterminacy’ (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p 146). It is divided into two main areas related to

my analytic focus. Eggins, (2004,) following Halliday and Matthiessen succinctly summarizes this division

Modality [means] different ways in which a language user can intrude on her message, expressing attitudes and judgments.... When modality is used to argue about the probability or frequency of propositions, it is referred to as **modalization**. When modality is used to argue about the obligation or inclination of proposals, it is referred to as **modulation**. (p.172).

I summarise this division in Figure 4.1 below, where modalization represents the construction of knowledge and modulation constructs social obligation.

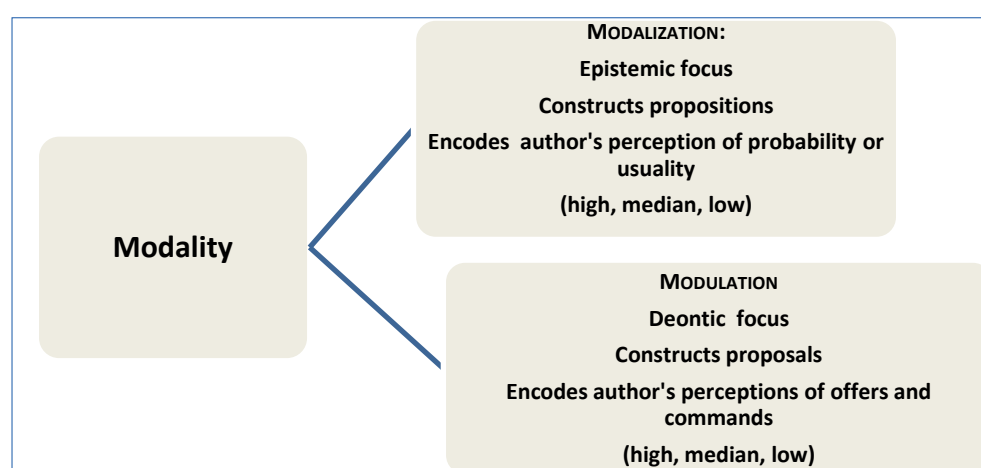


Figure 4.1 Modality, modalization and modulation

Regarding propositions, modality offers encoding choices that reflect the author's degree of commitment to the proposition. Halliday and Matthiessen distinguish between degrees of probability, namely *possibly/probably/certainly* and also between degrees of usuality, namely *sometimes/usually/always*. Because these degrees are part of the analysis in this chapter, the summary table of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 620) is reproduced in Table 4.1 below. From one's schemata of regulations, one might assume that expressions of usuality predominate, and that whatever expressions of likelihood exist will tend to be articulated with a degree of certainty rather than possibility.

Table 4. 1 Three values of modality

Values	Probability	Usuality	Obligation	Inclination
High	certain	always	required	determined
Median	probable	usually	supposed	keen
Low	possible	sometimes	allowed	willing

In Table 4.2, these values are plotted in relation to a selection of modal verbs, condensed from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 622).

Table 4.2 Three values of modality realized with verbs

Values	Probability	Obligation
High	must	must/required
Median	will	should/supposed
Low	may	can/allowed

Regarding proposals, modality offers similar degrees of encoding choices. Halliday and Matthiessen note degrees of obligation in commands and degrees of inclination in offers. From one's schemata of regulations, it is reasonable to expect that statements of obligation imposed upon students will predominate over offers or inclination of goods and services proposed by the university, and that statements of obligation will figure largely in comparison with statements of usuality and probability. One of the great benefits of a corpus, however, is that its evidence serves to disconfirm or modify intuition and common misperceptions. One must bear in mind also that the distinction between propositions and proposals, or modalization and modulation, may not always be clear-cut, with modal verbs such as *may*, *must* or *will* deployable to express a range of epistemic and deontic functions. 'The line between propositions and proposals may not be as sharp as we have been assuming' (Eggins, 2004, p. 182).

4.3.1. Frequency Data: Modals

Table 4.3 below extrapolates data taken from Appendix 2 showing the 100 highest frequency tokens in the corpus, with the word ranking to the left and its frequency on the right. For example, the token WILL ranks 15th in order of lexical frequency, occurring 4259 times across all 50 texts. In contrast, MUST has a much lower ranking and frequency. In the following sections, the use of each of these modals represented in Table 4.3 will be studied in turn.

Table 4.3 Lexical frequency of modals in the corpus

Rank	Word	Freq.	Texts
15	WILL	4259	50
16	SHALL	3806	47
19	MAY	3651	50
47	SHOULD	1418	49
50	MUST	1382	49

4.4. WILL

A detailed consideration of the use of *will* in the corpus is warranted not only because of its highest ranking occurrence in the corpus as a semi-lexical verb, but also because it seems potentially much more complex in its range of interpersonal and other meanings than the next highest ranking *shall*.

4.4.1. Will: A Range of Potential Uses

It is useful to consider first some potential uses of *will*, before specifying which uses stand out in the corpus. One use of *will* is connected with the offer of goods and services. Before examining the corpus in detail, it is useful to formulate some search-questions. Therefore, I asked to what extent *will* expresses volition or inclination on the university's part, as well as inquiring what goods or services are offered. *Will* can

also be used as a command. Given that this is a corpus of regulations, it was necessary to ask if this function of the word has high frequency in the corpus. I also inquired if the corpus provides evidence that *will* may be used as a more authoritative form of encoding. For example, *The University will ensure that...* may express a commitment to a certain course of action. ‘The will of intention can have the force of either a promise or a threat, according to whether the intended action is beneficial to the addressee or otherwise’ (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 387). The connection of will with what Halliday calls usuality also has power connotations. ‘*Will* expresses a confident assumption by the speaker as observer, based on experience, known facts or what is usually the case’ (Downing and Locke, p. 382). The author of university regulations, therefore, can draw upon propositional concepts of usuality to support the construction, or encoding, of institutionalized habit or procedures from which the student should not deviate.

Observing how *will* behaves in the corpus in the co-text of other words provides important information about encoding choices. It may, for example, conflate to express a future form of modality. Expressions such as *You will have to...*, *You will be required...* and *You will be able to* all overlap with *You must/ shall/can...* Additionally, *will* may also collocate with lexical verbs to encode the author’s stance regarding the institutionalized exchange of goods and services. For example, the student *will adhere to*, or *will conform to*; the university *will provide*, or *will determine*. *Will* may collocate with adverbs such as *normally* to construct the effect of usuality or probability, or to qualify or mitigate a proposal. Finally, when *will* collocates with *not*, such negation may affect the encoding of power relations in terms of prohibition and refusal.

4.4.2. WILL and Collocations

Table 4.4 below shows the twenty most common collocates of WILL, in rank order of frequency, with N designating the rank, as is the convention in Wordsmith Tools. Baker (2010) points to ‘a potential problem with the method of identifying collocation by frequency alone: it tends to elicit words from closed-class grammatical categories (determiners, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.), rather than lexical words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) that may be more interesting’ (p24). My interest, however, is not

primarily in strong lexical collocation, but in frequent lexico-grammatical patterns, since the grammatical construction of processes and participants is as interesting in CDA as the lexical choices the authors made. I did not change the default setting of Wordsmith Tools which sets a span of five words to the left of the node and five words to the right. This setting provides adequate lexical and grammatical data in a narrow-range corpus where lexical density is high and the lexical range is narrower than in a general corpus. A study of collocation, which is not my primary purpose in this study, in a general corpus would probably warrant a much wider setting such as -10 to +10. A span such as -3 to +3 on the other hand, would provide mostly grammatical information and exclude some important lexical co-occurrences in relation to the node. In this analysis, given the narrow corpus range, and my interest in the lexico-grammatical system rather than primarily lexical collocation, I choose not to use calculation methods such as Mutual Information (MI) or Log-likelihood. Regarding MI, Baker (2006) notes that ‘one problem with MI is that it can tend to give high scores to relatively low frequency words... I tend to favour log-log as it focuses on lexical words rather than grammatical words.’ (p. 102). In this chapter, I prefer to use cluster analysis as a follow-up to raw frequency tables of collocates. Wordsmith Tools 5 states that ‘these word clusters help you to see patterns of repeated phraseology in your concordance, especially if you have a concordance with several thousand lines. Naturally, they will usually contain the search-word itself, since they are based on concordance lines.’ The cluster data then suggest which concordance lines merit closer analysis.

Table 4.4 shows where the collocates are positioned in relation to the Centre or Node word WILL. The closer the collocate is to WILL, the stronger the degree of collocation, so that occurrences in L4 or L5, and R4 or R5 are weaker collocations. In active sentences, nouns occurring to the left of WILL may be the subjects of WILL.

Most of these collocates have little or no lexical value. They are mainly articles, prepositions and conjunctions which perform a grammatical function. The verb BE occurs a total of 2,486 times with only 89 in L position but 2,397 in right position with 1,920 of them in the strong R1 position. This is an early indication of a high frequency of passive constructions WILL BE + past participle.

Table 4.4 WILL and common collocates across 50 texts of corpus

N	Word	With	Texts	Total	Total Left	Total Right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	WILL	will	50	4,327	34	34	17	12	4	1	0	4,259	0	1	4	12	17
2	THE	will	49	4,083	2,270	1,813	371	452	509	938	0	0	7	412	263	666	465
3	BE	will	50	2,486	89	2,397	38	22	20	8	1	0	1,920	364	66	26	21
4	TO	will	49	1,372	224	1,148	86	58	58	22	0	0	0	144	539	296	169
5	OF	will	49	1,364	852	512	187	186	255	223	1	0	1	17	104	210	180
6	A	will	48	866	351	515	94	83	77	96	1	0	2	181	90	150	92
7	AND	will	48	813	556	257	63	82	145	80	186	0	0	16	88	87	66
8	IN	will	46	607	204	403	85	55	47	17	0	0	9	53	165	97	79
9	STUDENT	will	45	521	311	210	37	24	36	28	186	0	0	4	73	28	105
10	NOT	will	45	369	46	323	20	13	10	3	0	0	294	3	4	16	6
11	OR	will	46	367	275	92	52	69	69	80	5	0	1	2	21	33	35
12	FOR	will	42	337	116	221	33	30	41	12	0	0	0	22	100	55	44
13	THAT	will	45	329	176	153	20	26	60	45	25	0	0	58	30	30	35
14	BY	will	44	327	65	262	13	30	19	3	0	0	3	2	164	57	36
15	UNIVERSITY	will	42	321	275	46	20	27	42	32	154	0	0	2	5	15	24
16	WITH	will	43	260	44	216	16	10	15	3	0	0	1	28	94	48	45
17	NORMALLY	will	39	246	23	223	3	2	7	6	5	0	170	47	1	1	4

The lexical words in Table 4.4 form a significant representational group consisting of participants (STUDENT, UNIVERSITY) and NORMALLY. STUDENT collocates with WILL 521 times across 45 texts, and UNIVERSITY collocates with WILL 321 times across 42 texts. NORMALLY collocates 246 times across 39 texts. The frequencies of these collocates are high enough to warrant the closer analysis carried out below. Finally, a notable token on the table is NOT, occurring 369 times across 45 texts with 294 occurrences in the strong R1 position. The analysis below will inquire, in relation to the encoding of power, how STUDENTS and UNIVERSITY fare in relation to this WILL NOT. Following on from this overview of *will*, a number of more detailed examinations can be made. First, more detailed co-texts for NORMALLY and its strongest occurrence WILL NORMALLY will be presented. Second, collocates for STUDENT/STUDENTS and WILL will be explored, as will collocates for UNIVERSITY and WILL. Finally, co-texts for WILL and NOT will be examined.

4.4.3. Will normally

There are 95 instances of Will NORMALLY BE in my corpus, and 197 instances of WILL NORMALLY. Table 4.5 below shows lexical patterns related to WILL

NORMALLY across ten co-textual positions from L5 (Left 5) to R5 (Right 5). As with the tables of collocates discussed in section 4.4.2. above, the decision to set a span of -5 to +5 means that certain data may be excluded, but the reasons for this decision have already been explained on p. 83. As with collocates, the frequency data are followed up by cluster data and concordance-line data.

The farther away the collocating word is from the centre, the weaker is the degree of collocation. In the strongest collocation position, L1, STUDENT and STUDENTS occur among the highest frequency while UNIVERSITY does not appear in these patterns. Table 4.6 below shows clusters for WILL NORMALLY, with frequencies ranging from 5-8 for *will be required/expected/dealt with*. Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 are concordance lines showing co-texts for *will normally be required/expected/dealt with*, respectively. It is clear from these co-texts that *will* together with *normally* imposes a concept of usuality which restricts student behavior and rights in determinate problematic areas. These tables show that students are expected to complete, possess, withdraw, and provide according to the university's stipulations, and that their failures, shortcomings and transgressions will be dealt with according to a textual Code of procedures that reduces indeterminacy.

Table 4.5 WILL NORMALLY patterns

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	THE	THE	THE	THE	STUDENTS	WILL	NORMALLY	BE	THE	TO	THE
2	OF	OF	OF	OF	THIS			INCLUDE	TO	THE	OF
3	STUDENT	A	A		STUDENT				A	BY	IN
4	AND	TO	BE		IT				DEALT	WITH	TO
5		IN			WHICH				REQUIRED	A	A
6					AND				EXPECTED	IN	
7					COMMITTEE				FOR	FOR	

Table 4.6 Clusters for WILL NORMALLY

N	Cluster	Freq.	Set	Length
1	THIS WILL NORMALLY BE	8		4
2	WILL NORMALLY BE DEALT	6		4
3	TO THE STUDENT	5		4
4	WILL NORMALLY BE REQUIRED	5		4
5	WILL NORMALLY BE EXPECTED	5		4
6	BE REQUIRED TO	5		4
7	BE EXPECTED TO	5		4
8	BE DEALT WITH	5		4
9	THE STUDENT WILL NORMALLY	5		4

Table 4.7 Concordance table of all instances of WILL NORMALLY BE REQUIRED

N Concordance	
1	to work in pairs and/or groups will normally be required to complete a
2	does not achieve the threshold level will normally be required to transfer to
3	they will fail to meet this stipulation, will normally be required to withdraw from
4	absence and, in the case of sickness, will normally be required to provide
5	it is essential for an Award) students will normally be required to withdraw from

Table 4.8 Concordance Table of all instances of WILL NORMALLY BE EXPECTED

N Concordance	
1	The student will be entitled, and will normally be expected, to attend the
2	The Personal Tutor or Supervisor will normally be expected to attend the
3	been made good. Parttime students will normally be expected to complete
4	8.3.2 Candidates for a first degree will normally be expected to meet the
5	or Foundation degree programmes will normally be expected to possess

Table 4.9 Concordance lines for all instances of WILL NORMALLY BE DEALT

N Concordance	
1	and most cases of minor misconduct will normally be dealt in the first instance
2	Note: Cases of cheating and plagiarism will normally be dealt with by separate
3	or behaviour. Such professional matters will normally be dealt with by the
4	of plagiarism is minor, the matter will normally be dealt with in the School.
5	history of plagiarism, the matter will normally be dealt with in the School
6	not to be members of the Association will normally be dealt with under the

The imperative mood is not used in this corpus of regulations. Alternative means are found by the institutional authors to encode commands. They choose to encode their own view of normality instead. *Students will normally be required*, could be read, in a different context, merely as a statement of fact, or, in Halliday's terms, a proposition of usuality, or in CDA terms, the *naturalization* of the requirements and expectations. However, in the context of regulations, a statement of the usual may have less of an epistemic and more of a deontic function in that it confers an obligation on the student (made explicit in the verbs *required* and *expected*). This encoding is different from *students are normally expected* because the choice of *will* encodes the volition of the authoring institution.

Perhaps *normally* has a softening effect, less absolute than *always*, in allowing students, and more particularly the institution some room for manoeuvre within the framework of the regulations. It is not the students' actions which are accorded the negotiation space afforded by the word *normally*, but rather the university's view of its own expectations and requirements. It may confer upon itself permission to vary these because they are encoded as less than absolute. I have stated in Chapter 2 that hegemony is most effectively encoded in forms that win consent, and this statement of the institutional norm may be harder to contest than a more explicit encoding of regulations using modal verbs. These also have their place, but at a lower level of frequency. Similarly a requirement confers a stronger obligation than an expectation, as in the distinction in Table 4.2 *between required to* and *supposed to*. The author, by preferring *will*, avoids the explicit 'Students must'. The low occurrence of the personal pronoun *you*, also, permits the encoding of institutional usuality rather than direct commands. My corpus evidence shows that *you* occurs 1323 times, and only in 24 texts. The general *Students* or *the student* preferred,

4.4.4. WILL: agents and processes

Table 4.10 below, with WILL as the node, helps to identify a good range of the predominant collocating agents and processes in the texts. In the powerful L1 position, the university and its agencies are strongly represented: COMMITTEE, OFFICER, PANEL, BOARD, UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT, CHAIR AND EXAMINERS, as well perhaps as WE. These eight named entities contrast with

STUDENT, NOMINEE, HE and SHE. An examination of the corpus shows that each university conceptualizes itself in the inclusive plural WE, while the singular HE and SHE usually denotes the student, differentiated from the institutional WE. This contrast in pronouns is as revealing in the textual construction of power as the outweighing of the STUDENT (and the student's NOMINEE in certain university procedures). Words such as DECISION, REPORT, LETTER, HEARING and SUPPORT, in table 4.10 below, also suggest textual power value. Decisions, reports, letters and hearings are all part of the university's textualized discourse regarding students who may be constructed as problematic. The long list of university entities in L1 position in the table show clearly who WILL do such powerful things as CONSIDER and DETERMINE (in R1 position). A word such as HEARING has legal connotations with its own power structures when the Hearing is institutionally enacted. Even the word SUPPORT, while ostensibly benign, suggests a process of offering goods and services that may be offered or withdrawn and evokes disadvantaged persons who require SUPPORT. These processes related to WILL will be considered in more detail in the next chapter and are presented just in summary form here.

Table 4.10 WILL and patterns L2-R3

N	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	STUDENT	WILL	BE	THE	TO
2	STUDENT	COMMITTEE		HAVE	BE	STUDENT
3	A	AND		NOT	SENT	THE
4	S	OFFICER		NORMALLY	INFORMED	OF
5	OF	PANEL		NOTIFY	TO	A
6	AND	BOARD		INFORM	A	IN
7	DISCIPLINARY	WHO		THEN	GIVEN	RIGHT
8	APPEALS	UNIVERSITY		INTERVIEW	ADVISED	ON
9	OR	DECISION		CONSIDER	NOTIFIED	BY
10	NO	WE		APPLY	INVITED	THAT
11	ACADEMIC	REPORT		GIVE	PERMITTED	BE
12	SUCH	NOMINEE		DETERMINE	WHETHER	FROM
13	COMPLAINTS	IT		ENSURE	REQUIRED	AND
14	HE	LETTER		ALSO	THAT	WITH
15		DEPARTMENT		SEEK	ISSUED	CONSIDERED
16		WHICH		RECEIVE	ENTITLED	ACCORDINGLY
17		CHAIR		CEASE	COMMUNICATED	INFORMED
18		HE		ONLY	FOR	FOR
19		SHE			FORWARDED	AN
20		HEARING			RECORDED	
21		PERFORMANCE			RETAINED	
22		SUPPORT			REFERRED	
23		EXAMINERS				

A corpus search provided 125 concordance lines for STUDENT WILL BE, and only 4 for UNIVERSITY WILL BE. Table 4.11 below shows that the university is never in a recipient role or constructed passively. The fuller co-text for lines 1 and 2 below shows this: *Approval for a course to be offered by the University will be determined at Validation. (L.1). Students on collaborative programmes validated by the University will be issued with transcripts. (L.2).*

Table 4.11 Concordance lines for all instances of UNIVERSITY WILL BE

N Concordance	
1	for a course to be offered by the University will be determined at
2	programmes validated by the University will be issued with transcripts
3	know that your first contact with the University will be well before you enrol.
4	the complaints procedure 3.4 The University will be responsible for ensuring

In contrast, Table 4.12 below show clusters for STUDENT WILL BE, constructing students predominantly in the passive voice. WILL BE INFORMED shows students as recipients, rather than co-constructors, of institutional information. The 12 instances of WILL BE ADVISED (in writing, accordingly) found in the corpus show that *advised* belongs to the legal register as a synonym of *inform* rather than as a synonym of *counsel*. Students will be INFORMED, ADVISED, and NOTIFIED). Similarly, the verb invited, shown in Table 4.13 loses its social meaning much of the time and belongs to a legalese register. Table 4.12 also shows the power of the organization in allowing freedoms: Students will be ENTITLED, INVITED and PERMITTED. In receiving information, and having the range of their freedoms demarcated, students can base their actions and construct their student-stakeholder identity according to the institution’s encoding of its will.

Table 4.12 Clusters for STUDENT WILL BE

N	Cluster	Freq.
1	THE STUDENT WILL BE INFORMED	20
2	THE STUDENT WILL BE ADVISED	12
3	THE STUDENT WILL BE GIVEN	11
4	STUDENT WILL BE REQUIRED TO	8
5	THE STUDENT WILL BE SENT	8
6	STUDENT WILL BE INVITED TO	8
7	STUDENT WILL BE PERMITTED TO	8
8	THE STUDENT WILL BE INVITED	8
9	A COMPLETION OF	8
10	THE STUDENT WILL BE REQUIRED	8
11	STUDENT WILL BE INFORMED OF	7
12	THE STUDENT WILL BE PERMITTED	7
13	AND THE STUDENT WILL BE	6
14	STUDENT WILL BE SENT A	6
15	STUDENT WILL BE INFORMED IN	6
16	INFORMED IN WRITING	6
17	CONCLUSION OF THE	5
18	IN WRITING OF	5
19	ADVISED IN WRITING	5
20	COMPLETION OF PROCEDURES	5
21	THE STUDENT WILL BE NOTIFIED	5
22	SENT A COMPLETION	5
23	STUDENT WILL BE ADVISED IN	5
24	STUDENT WILL BE GIVEN THE	5
25	INFORMED OF THE	5
26	THE OPPORTUNITY TO	5
27	OF THE APPEAL	5

Table 4.13 Concordance lines for all instances of STUDENT WILL BE INVITED

N	Concordance
1	panel to present the evidence. (vi) The student will be invited to appear before
2	from the Academic Registrar. 7.3 The student will be invited to submit evidence
3	At or after the panel meeting the student will be invited to sign the reverse
4	and Faculty Panel meetings the student will be invited to sign a
5	(xvii) Before withdrawing, the student will be invited to make his/her
6	Faculty will consider the case. 5. The student will be invited to attend an
7	the case and rule accordingly. The student will be invited to attend an
8	The Investigating Officer and the student will be invited to attend and

4.4.5 . University will

Table 4.14 below is based on restricting UNIVERSITY TO L1 position and excluding all other possible Agency with WILL. It can be seen that the university despite collocating with BE in R1 does not show any high frequency lexical patterning with past participles in order to encode itself in passive voice. Instead, UNIVERSITY WILL collocates with strong lexical verbs in the active: The University will ENSURE, PROVIDE, TAKE, SEEK, NEED, UNDERTAKE, INFORM, as well as the potentially delexicalised HAVE AND MAKE. The active verbs represent the university's encoding of itself as an active agent, committing itself as a provider of goods and services (PROVIDE, UNDERTAKE), but it will also ENSURE that its expectations are met, and it will INFORM students of those expectations

Table 4.14 UNIVERSITY + WILL and patterns R1-R4

N	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
1	WILL	BE	TO	TO	THE
2		NOT	THE	THE	OF
3		ENSURE	A	BY	UNIVERSITY
4		PROVIDE	BE	A	TO
5		NORMALLY	THAT	IN	A
6		TAKE	NORMALLY	WITH	AND
7		SEEK	ALL	BE	IN
8		HAVE	WITH	AND	STUDENTS
9		NEED	YOU	OF	SUCH
10		MAKE	STUDENTS	FOR	
11		UNDERTAKE	IN	FROM	
12		THEN	AN	YOU	
13		INFORM		UNIVERSITY	
14				PROVIDE	
15				ANY	
16					

4.4.6. Will not

Finally, in this examination of power relations, how the organization encodes its authority to refuse, reject, withhold or deny in relation to rights, goods and services

must be considered. Table 4.15 below, shows patterns for *will not*. Appendix 3 shows two concordance tables providing contrastive data: student will not and university will not. Data in Appendix 3 relating to *student will not* show most dominantly that the students' rights are being circumscribed: the student *will not be permitted*, will not be entitled, *will not have the right*, and *will not be able*. Data in Appendix 3 relating to *university will not* show the university in a predominantly active role asserting what it has the right to refuse: the university will not consider, accept, proceed, take, act, meet and so on.

Table 4.15 WILL NOT patterns

N	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	UNIVERSITY	WILL NOT	BE	BE	TO	THE	THE
2	AND		NORMALLY	THE	THE	TO	OF
3	YOU		HAVE	PERMITTED	BY	A	A
4	STUDENT		INVOLVE	A	AS	OR	FOR
5	APPEAL		CONSIDER	CONSIDERED	IN	OF	TO
6	IT		NECESSARILY	ALLOWED	HEARING	FOR	OR
7	CANDIDATES		PRECLUDE	ANY	UNTIL	STUDENTS	ANY
8	REVIEW		ACCEPT	TO	WITHOUT	UNTIL	UNTIL
9	THIS			ACCEPTED	A	IN	WILL
10	PERFORMANCE			USED	PERMITTED		ENTER
11	BUT			IN	FOR		AN
12	BOARD			ENTITLED			FROM
13	COMPLAINT					SUBMISSIONS	
14	HEARING						
15	COMPLAINTS						

The preceding tables and commentary suggest that the texts have little or no dialogic effect. The readers-students-stakeholders are constructed predominantly as the third-person in the institution's encoded narrative. The institutions encode their hegemony by constructing institutional behavior, including that of the student, as a narrative of usuality and naturalization of requirements and expectations. Yet it is a narrative where the use of the word WILL evokes the presence of an invisible author with expectations. The university and its related entities actively constructs itself, monologically, as the provider of information, expectations, requirements, and services within a non-negotiable framework of entitlements, permission, prohibitions which it has the unique right to construct, DETERMINE and CONSIDER.

4.5. SHALL

A detailed consideration of the use of *shall* in the corpus is warranted because of its second highest ranking occurrence as a modal, and it may be useful to differentiate it from *will*. While the use of *will* may be more associated with usuality, and indirect encoding of hegemony to win consent, *shall* makes the authoring of institutional power more explicit. In most texts, however, as will be seen briefly in this chapter and in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6, there is a blend of these modals, and their artificial separation in this Chapter, based on corpus frequencies, is to obtain a closer view of their discrete characteristics.

4.5.1. Shall: A Range of Potential Uses

‘Of all the modals of obligation *shall* is the most imperious, direct ... and for this reason is little used in the spoken language. It occurs in legal language and other formal contexts’ (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 388). Its high frequency in these university regulations is therefore more expected than the frequency of *will*. Major corpora such as BNC show that *shall* is most commonly used nowadays, outside its legislative contexts, dialogically as an interrogative, functioning to consult (*Shall I/Shall we...?*). In this corpus, it is used only to legislate, in declarative sentences. Its range, however, is not restricted to students’ responsibilities and obligations. It also legislates how other entities shall proceed, and it legislates processes and circumstances. It does not have the same modalizing and modulating scope as *will*, and its simple narrow pragmatic range in declarative sentences may be what gives it its force.

Table 4.16 shows the student in first place not only in the dominant L1 position as agent, but also in the weaker R3 position, affected by a process initiated by one of the numerous named university entities in L1 position: COMMITTEE, SECRETARY, EXAMINERS, CHANCELLOR, BOARD, DEPARTMENT, OFFICER, PANEL, COLLEGE, SENATE AND PROVOST. The R2 position evokes the processes in which the student is affected: The student shall be GIVEN, INFORMED, PERMITTED, SUSPENDED, ENTITLED, NOTIFIED, REQUIRED, DEEMED and so on. The use of SHALL legislates that the named university entities in L1 have the power to INFORM, NOTIFY, ADVISE, SEND and ISSUE.

The difference between the use of SHALL and WILL appears to be mainly one of emphasis or affect. The author has the choice of encoding the same processes either as usuality or as legislation. The most potent effect is achieved, perhaps, when SHALL and WILL co-occur in legislative texts. Legislation upholds customary practice, and customary practice has the force of legislation. Consent can be won, but it can also be commanded.

Table 4.16 SHALL and lexical pattern

N	L1	Centre	K1	K2	K3
1	STUDENT	SHALL	BE	THE	STUDENT
2	AND		HAVE	A	TO
3	COMMITTEE		INFORM	BE	THE
4	WHO		NOT	GIVEN	RIGHT
5	SUPPORT		NOTIFY	TO	BY
6	CONCERNED	NORMALLY		INFORMED	OR
7	NOMINEE	ALSO		PERMITTED	IN
8	SECRETARY	SPECIFY		SUSPENDED	A
9	WHICH	MAKE		ENTITLED	WITH
10	SERVICES	RECEIVE		IN	OF
11	EXAMINERS	SUBMIT		WHETHER	FOR
12	CHANCELLOR	ADVISE		HOW	REQUIRED
13	BOARD	DETERMINE		NOTIFIED	AT
14	HEARING	SEND		ANY	IF
15	DEPARTMENT	REMAIN		REQUIRED	AND
16	OFFICER	ATTEND		SUBJECT	FURTHER
17	PANEL	APPLY		NO	OPPORTUNITY
18	IT	ISSUE		WITH	HER
19	REPRESENTATIVE	INCLUDE		AS	INFORMED
20	COLLEGE			CONSIDERED	COPY
21	SENATE			BEEN	
22	PROVOST			SENT	
23	SHE			SUCH	
24				PROVIDED	
25				MADE	
26				DEEMED	
27				OR	
28				RESPONSIBLE	
29				CHOSEN	
30				COMMUNICATED	
31				AN	
32				AT	
33				INFORM	
34				INVITED	
35				HAVE	
36				HIS	

4.6. MAY

May appears to have weaker legislative force than *shall*, and a weaker level of epistemic encoding power than *will*. Legislatively, in the data below, *may* encodes the university's degree of willingness to act, or not, in providing freedoms and

rewards for students. As an epistemic modal, *may* falls fall short of *will* in encoding usuality and is also more likely to encode a fairly low degree of probability.

In line with this greater semblance of benevolence, Table 4.17 below shows a higher frequency of personal pronouns for the first time in this study of modals, occurring within just the first 20 lines: SHE/THEY/YOU/HE. Similarly, STUDENT, STUDENTS, CANDIDATE and CANDIDATES show that student entities collocate with MAY almost as frequently as university entities: COMMITTEE, BOARD, UNIVERSITY, PANEL and CHANCELLOR.

May does display some similar patterns to *will* and *shall*, as evidenced in the table below. First, STUDENT occurs as the most frequent word in L1 positions but BE occurs as number 1 in R1 position, suggesting that passivisation still holds true. However, the participles in R2 appear to be balanced to a greater degree than WILL and SHALL in favour of conferring permission and services upon student entities: ACCOMPANIED, AWARDED, PERMITTED, DEFERRED, ALLOWED, GRANTED AND GIVEN, as distinct from REQUIRED, SUSPENDED and IMPOSED.

Table 4.17 below shows collocation patterns for MAY ranked in order of frequency from 1-50. When *may* collocates with university entities, it appears to be functioning as a disclaimer: the university MAY, if it so chooses, follow a certain course of action; it reserves the right to act as it sees fit in the circumstances. The university may be conferring upon itself the right to choose a certain course of action, or not. It is quite possible that the deontic and epistemic meanings of *may* conflate here, so that the university can assert its freedom to offer or refuse goods and services in certain hypothetical situations: *In the event of such and such an occurrence, ... the university may...* . When *may* is used to extend this freedom to students, stating what they may do, it is clear that they are being awarded concessions and rights, encoded relatively weakly, which they are free to disregard: *the student may appeal*, or *the student may attend*.

Table 4.17 Collocation patterns with MAY ranked in order of frequency from 1-50

N	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	STUDENT	MAY	BE	THE	TO	THE	THE
2	WHICH		NOT	A	THE	TO	OF
3	AND		ALSO	TO	BY	OF	TO
4	COMMITTEE		INCLUDE	BE	A	A	A
5	IT		HAVE	IN	OR	OR	OR
6	WHO		TAKE	THAT	IN	IN	IN
7	STUDENTS		APPEAL	ANY	FROM	ANY	STUDENT
8	BOARD		DECIDE	ACCOMPANIED	FOR	FROM	AND
9	SHE		AT	MADE	OF	BY	BE
10	UNIVERSITY		MAKE	TAKEN	AT	FOR	ANY
11	AS		REQUIRE	AN	STUDENT	STUDENT	UNIVERSITY
12	THEY		ONLY	REQUIRED	ON	AN	FOR
13	PANEL		REQUEST	SUBJECT	WITH	ON	IF
14	CHANCELLOR		IN	AWARDED	AS	AND	BY
15	YOU		IMPOSE	OR	DISCRETION	TIME	AN
16	CANDIDATES		SEEK	SUSPENDED	AN	AS	EXAMINATION
17	THAT		SUBMIT	HIS	AND	BE	WHICH
18	CANDIDATE		APPLY	WITH	UNDER	THAT	PERSON
19	THIS		PROCEED	FOR	EXAMINATION	ACTION	FROM
20	HE		RESULT	IMPOSED	BE	HER	ACTION
21	OR		DETERMINE	APPROPRIATE	AGAINST	WITH	THIS
22	APPEAL		REFER	PERMITTED	APPEAL	AT	SUCH
23	EXAMINERS		CALL	AGAINST	HIS	DISCIPLINARY	WITH
24	ACTION		PERMIT	USED	IF		FRIEND
25	OFFICER		THEN	TIME	CASE	ALL	DISCRETION
26	REGULATIONS		A	ITS	THAT	APPEAL	MAY
27	REGISTRAR		LEAD	ON	INTO	CASE	OTHER
28	SENATE		SPEAK	AFFECTED	ONE	FURTHER	BEHALF
29	CASE		IF	ONE	MADE	EXAMINATION	DISCIPLINARY
30	THERE		RECOMMEND	AND	REQUIREMENT	THIS	HER
31	NOMINEE		ASK	SO	SUCH	MORE	TIME
32	BUT		CONFIRM	REFERRED	DISCIPLINARY	WHERE	FOLLOWING
33	DEPARTMENT		DO	FROM	ANY	OTHER	MORE
34	EPRESENTATIVE		LEAVE	THEIR	TIME	DECISION	IS
35	HEARING		WISH	DEALT	THEIR	PENALTY	MEMBER
36	PENALTIES		DELEGATE	DEFERRED	COMPLAINT	ROOM	THAT
37	COLLEGE		SUSPEND	ALLOWED	APPROPRIATE	THEIR	DIRECTOR
38	EXAMINATIONS		ATTEND	CONSIDERED	WRITTEN	STUDENTS	ON
39	CIRCUMSTANCES		GIVE	HAVE	NOT	QUALIFICATION	AS
40	SUSPENSION		FROM	GRANTED	FOLLOWING	HAVE	S
41	AWARD		SPECIFY	EITHER	WRITING	SUCH	ACADEMIC
42	COMPLAINT		INVITE	NECESSARY	ACTION	UNDER	ROOM
43	CHAIR		EITHER	OBTAINED	ONLY	AGAINST	APPEAL
44	MATTER		SET	DEEMED	MATTER	IS	ONLY
45	ASSESSMENT		EXERCISE	GIVEN	LEGAL	CHAIR	SHALL
46	EVIDENCE		USE	ASKED	HER	ACADEMIC	UNDER
47	FRIEND		CONTINUE	ADVICE	FORMAL	SUBJECT	STUDENTS
48	CONCERNED		AFFECT	MAY	CANDIDATE	WRITING	ABSENCE
49	PROCEDURE		ACT	BEEN	PENDING	UNIVERSITY	PROGRAMME
50	MODULES		ALLOW	LEAVE	SUBJECT	YOU	THEIR

A second surface similarity between MAY and SHALL/WILL, in addition to passivisation, is the high frequency of NOT, in second R1 position. This MAY NOT collocate is isolated and examined more closely below in order to gauge how far-reaching the milder legislative tone of MAY actually is. Table 4.18 shows lines 46-55 from a total concordance of 270 for MAY NOT. The only explicitly prohibitive lines are: 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, and 55. Line 46 uses *may* to speculate about a degree of probability; in line 47, *may* also deals with probability; line 48 seems to allow the university to confer permission upon itself to deviate from the norm; line 54 falls short of being legislative in its encoding, preferring an epistemic construction instead: *this may not be appropriate*. This epistemic use of *may* allows for negotiation. It permits potential dialogue within the organization by encoding the admission that it has only incomplete knowledge of what is true, and it allows scope for supplemental information to be added. It has more of the flavor of a dialogic text in that the reader or stakeholder could challenge or supplement what is encoded. This, however, may be a false inference. A more complete text for lines 46 and 47 are provided below, as examples of how these modals behave and interact in a larger stretch of text. These are preliminary analyses of text in order to shape some conclusions about modality in this chapter, but fuller contextualization of these modals is provided in the next two chapters. The concordance lines below were chosen after doing a resorting of the concordance lines according to the File % option in Wordsmith Tools sort. This ensures that texts from the same institutions are not always being discussed. In this and subsequent concordance lines, in Chapter 5, the same re-sorting method was used. I then chose consecutive lines bearing in mind that the lines represented documents from different universities and that there were no details in the concordance lines to identify a particular university.

Table 4.18 Excerpt from concordance from MAY NOT,

N Concordance	
46	the board of examiners or committee may not have been made aware when
47	requirements, or that he or she may not meet them unless there is an
48	assessment year. Some programmes may not follow the normal calendar of
49	Fail - Incomplete without good reason: may not be reassessed Incomplete with
50	statement of the appellant's case and may not be added to unless the
51	done. An appeal submitted under g or may not be dismissed for this reason. A
52	be held in the absence of a quorum. It may not be held in the absence of the
53	Academic Board, but the Appeal Panel may not dispute the academic
54	in some wholly exceptional cases this may not be appropriate. Examples of
55	to be accompanied by a friend who may not be a lawyer acting in a

TEXT 4. 1. An appeal may be made only on grounds alleging that there exists or existed circumstances affecting the student's performance of which, for good reason, the board of examiners or committee may not have been made aware when the decision was taken and which might have had a material effect on the decision [Note: if students wish to appeal on such grounds, they must give adequate reasons why this information was not made available prior to the decision being made.]

In Text 4.1, there is an interplay between modals where strict limits are imposed upon rights and freedoms. An appeal may be made *only on the grounds* established by the university, and no other. In the next sentence, *for good reason* constructs a principle by means of which the university may reject the grounds for an appeal. This *good reason* gathers strength in the modal *must give adequate reasons*. It must be assumed that it is the organization's judgment of *good* and *adequate* that will apply in this case. Text 4.2 is constructed in relation to a university committee's belief: that a student *may not meet* requirements. The *may* occurs in the co-text of a warning legislated for by the modal: the committee *shall issue*. Phrases such as *at any time* and *reason to believe* confer powers on the Programme Committee without any demarcation of their limits. The vagueness of phrases such as *in order to effect the necessary improvement* adds to the freedoms conferred upon the Committee.

TEXT 4.2 If at any time a Programme Committee has reason to believe that a student's work and attendance does not at that stage meet the specified requirements, or that he or she may not meet them unless there is an improvement, it shall issue a formal written warning to the student stating the actions he or she is required to take in order to effect the necessary improvement.

4.7. SHOULD

Downing and Locke (2006), in considering the epistemic value of *should*, claim 'a medium degree of conviction is expressed by *should* and the less common *ought*' (p.

383). Considering the deontic aspects, Downing and Locke state that ‘*should* and *ought* express a medium obligation, which is not binding and may be unfulfilled’ (p.390). They postulate that ‘these modals are used instead of the stronger *must* when the speaker lacks authority to impose the obligation. Tact, politeness or a lack of conviction of the absolute necessity of the predicated action are further motivations’ (p.390). In this section, I inquire how true these statements are in relation to data provided by regulations, in order to determine, for example, if the obligation may be not binding and potentially unfulfilled, and if the speaker lacks authority and conviction when imposing the obligation.

Table 4.19 below, showing *should* and its lexical clusters, seems to signal a shift in power encoding. It has YOU in the first L1 position denoting the highest frequency with SHOULD. The pronouns THEY, HE and SHE also occur in the first twenty collocates with SHOULD, as well as STUDENT, STUDENTS and CANDIDATES. Conversely, the university and its entities are less frequently represented than in previous tables: only INVIGILATOR and COMMITTEE appear in the first twenty, and UNIVERSITY will appear in 33rd place. Another remarkable feature in Table 4.19 below is the unusually high frequency in L1 of depersonalized entities encoding the processes: COMPLAINT, MATTER, CASE, ACTION, APPEAL and REGULATIONS.

Table 4.19 *SHOULD* and patterns L1-R3

N	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	YOU	SHOULD	BE	THE	TO
2	STUDENT		NOT	BE	THE
3	STUDENTS		THE	A	IN
4	AND	NORMALLY		THAT	BE
5	IT	ALSO		TO	BY
6	WHICH	MAKE		MADE	WITH
7	THEY	HAVE	SUBMITTED		THAT
8	CANDIDATES	NOTE	THEIR		AND
9	THIS	SUBMIT	TAKEN		AS
10	INVIGILATOR	CONSULT	IN		OF
11	COMPLAINT	ENSURE	DEALT		ON
12	MATTER	A	REFERRED		THEIR
13	CASE	INCLUDE	AN		A
14	ACTION	CONTACT	GIVEN		FOR
15	COMMITTEE	THEN	READ		AT
16	APPEAL	COMPLETE	REPORTED		MATTER
17	REGULATIONS	NOTIFY	NORMALLY		FROM
18	HE	IN	STUDENT		WISH
19	WHO	TAKE	REQUIRED		CONTACT
20	SHE	APPLY	NO		AN

A consideration of some sample wider co-texts, however, reveal data which undermine the apparent mildness of SHOULD. The collocation SHOULD ENSURE is presented below because it occurs often enough across a range of institutions to be of interest and yet its complete occurrences can be presented below in concordance lines, from some of which the larger co-text can be examined to see how SHOULD behaves in the company of other modals, and processes and entities.

Table 4.20 is a concordance table of all the instances of SHOULD ENSURE in the corpus. Of the fifteen, only six directly enjoin students to ensure: Lines 3,4,5, 11, 12, and 14. The remaining eight enjoin university entities to ensure using SHOULD. Table 4.21 provides a larger textual context for SHOULD ENSURE in relation to students.

Table 4.20 All occurrences of *SHOULD ENSURE*

N Concordance	
1	in any given module, Schools should ensure that composite grades for
2	under these terms of reference they should ensure that the student
3	details or case studies of individuals should ensure that no identifiers of these
4	calculators. Candidates should ensure that such devices do not
5	neighbours in the local community and should ensure that they and their guests
6	should be submitted to: The student should ensure that the form is completed
7	the police or military police. The SDO should ensure that the student(s)
8	be announced. The Senior Invigilator should ensure that the examination
9	by Academic Records to Deans who should ensure that Course and Subject
10	in order to reach a decision, but should ensure the student is assessed
11	damage or loss. (see 9.3) 4.5 Students should ensure that sufficient funds are
12	must comply with this policy and should ensure that their behaviour to
13	by Academic Services. The invigilator should ensure that official notices
14	registered with other general practices should ensure that their medical
15	other appropriate means. 4 Schools should ensure that the distribution of

Table 4.21 SHOULD ENSURE: co-texts related to Table 4.20

3	Failure to submit legible work will lead to failure unless the student's work is transcribed into a legible form at the student's expense, which may delay the determination of the grade. Any deviation from the specified word limit will be penalised in accordance with the learning outcomes of the module. Students whose academic or clinical work may involve personal details or case studies of individuals should ensure that no identifiers of these individuals are given.
4	Candidates should ensure that such devices do not contain unauthorised material. If devices are found carrying such information the candidate will be deemed to be in breach of examination regulations. No other electronic devices are permitted on a candidate's desk. All devices such as mobile phones and electronic pagers must be turned off and stored in bags at the side of the examination room.
5	Students residing outside the University in rented accommodation or in halls operated by other providers have a responsibility for maintaining a proper regard of their neighbours in the local community and should ensure that they and their guests behave in a considerate and seemly manner in order to maintain the good reputation of the University. Where students share such accommodation this responsibility is both an individual one and a corporate one. The University depends in particular on students accepting and where necessary helping to enforce the decisions taken by the University to take action to ensure that good standards of behaviour are maintained.
11	Students should ensure that sufficient funds are available to honour any personal cheques presented as payment to the University. 4.6 Any student who is in debt to the University (see 4) may be excluded from any or all University services (e.g. hostels, Learning & Corporate Support Services, teaching and assessment) and may be refused permission to re-enrol with the University until the debt is paid. Assessment results may be withheld (subject to the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998) and certificates will not normally be issued until the debt is paid. The University may take appropriate steps to recover any outstanding debts or recover/replace any University property.
12	Everyone must comply with this policy and should ensure that their behaviour to colleagues does not cause offence and could not in any way be considered to be harassment.
14	Students must self-certify their illness using a standard form available from departmental offices, and must report the illness as soon as they are fit to do so. Where the illness is of more than five days' duration or is of a non-minor nature, medical advice should be sought and a medical certificate submitted to the University... Students registered with other general practices should ensure that their medical certificates are similarly distributed.

In the larger co-text, some textual features may be noted which undermine the mildness of SHOULD. The co-text for No. 3 refers to *failure to submit* (a grammatical metaphor which avoids saying: A student who fails to submit). Similarly the grammatical metaphor for *determination of the grade* in the co-text avoids naming the entity who determines. The main clauses in the first two sentences use *will* to encode institutional usuality: *Failure...will lead to failure* and *Any deviation... will be penalized*. The milder *should ensure* occurs further on only after the university's authority has been firmly constructed. The modal *will*, in conjunction with the power effects of such words as *any* and *no* underline the authoritative power the university encodes for itself: *Any deviation from the specified...* is threatened by the university, or rather by a text of the university. The penalties will be *in accordance with the*

learning outcomes of the module. In this immediate co-text, *students...should ensure* that no identifiers are given is surely more than a mild exhortation. In fact, given the real life context of ethics and legality involving preserving participant confidentiality in research, one could assume that *should ensure* conflates with *must*. There may be no need for *must*, however, given the strength of the preceding threats and warnings.

In No. 4, the co-text for *should ensure* is academic honesty in examinations, and lexical items such as *unauthorized, will be deemed, in breach, are permitted* and *must* provide an authoritative co-text where *should ensure* is more than a gentle reminder. It gathers strength from its co-text.

Co-text 5 refers to students' behaviour outside the university, and refers to the University as both a physical space and as an institution, a dichotomy which will be pursued in the Chapter 6. The reason given for students to ensure that they behave *with proper regard of their neighbours in the local community* is in order to maintain the good reputation of the university. In this co-text, the University first of all separates itself from its primary stakeholders, students, as if student behaviour could be separated from the University's reputation, but then engages students in partnership. It depends on students to help to enforce the decisions taken by the University to take action. While students may have been excluded from the decision-making process, they can participate in enforcement when this suits the University.

Co-text 11 refers to the issue, surely crucial in the corporate world of the university, of payment, where, again, the entity *Students* is separated from the entity of the University. While the text begins with the mild *Students should ensure* that they can honour their payments, the consequences of not ensuring, or not paying, are very quickly spelt out in detail in the next paragraph. The co-text is a threat detailing the range of student exclusion from the university. The student: *may be refused permission to re-enrol, results may be withheld, certificates will not normally be issued*. This culminates in the university asserting its power as an active agency to safeguard its institutional interests: *The University may take appropriate steps...*

Co-text 12 has *should ensure* occurring in a compound sentence beginning with *must* and once again it may be assumed that *should* could easily conflate with *must*, particularly when the issue is the legally fraught harassment. This is far from

Downing and Locke's hypothesis that *should* encodes a medium obligation which is not binding.

Co-text 14 may appear to be about student health, but is in fact about the institutional documenting of absence through illness. The co-text begins with the modal *must* as in *Students must self-certify their illness ... and must report the illness*. The detailing of this procedure in between this modal *must* and *should ensure* leaves no room for doubt that *should ensure* is controlled by the initial governing *must*.

All of these examples bear little resemblance to Downing and Locke's idea (2006) that *should* encodes behavior which is optional, from a speaker in an advisory position, and that only medium obligation is imposed upon the student. Perhaps that is true at an idealized grammatical level, but in real organizational texts and contexts where power is encoded, the benevolence of *should* is illusory. As with the use of *may*, a larger co-text for the occurrences of these milder-sounding modals shows clearly that they occur within strongly worded regulations where an abuse of power is constructed in monolithic text.

4.8. MUST

Must is the last modal verb of high frequency in the data to be considered in this chapter, and it can be dealt with more briefly than the others because its behavior is more predictable and it displays fewer unexpected elements than the modals considered thus far here. 'When realized by *must*, obligation can have the force of a direct command... This force derives from the fact that... the speaker has authority over the addressee...' (Downing & Locke, 2006, 387). Appendix 4 shows complete collocation patterns for MUST from L1 to R5. The L1 position shows the complete range of immediate collocates in first position before MUST and includes students (e.g. STUDENT, YOU, CANDIDATE/S, APPELANT) university entities (e.g. COMMITTEE, BOARD, OFFICER) , and processes (e.g. APPEAL, COMPLAINT, EXAMINATION). Consistent with the other modals already considered in this chapter, BE and NOT collocate strongly in top R1 positions. Worthy of note is the very strong collocation of ENSURE in fourth place in R1. It might be asked what the difference is between MUST ENSURE and the previously considered SHOULD

ENSURE. There appears to be no real difference in terms of more negotiating power being accorded to the stakeholder. It could be argued that the word ENSURE when used with either SHOULD or MUST in a regulatory context causes the loss of whatever difference in illocutionary force these modals may have in other contexts. It is perhaps misleading then, to argue that MUST has greater strength than SHOULD, or that SHALL has the greatest legislative force, as Downing and Locke have proposed. When one looks both at the social context of university regulations and the precise co-texts in which these words occur, one might argue that such gradations are meaningless except in the abstract devoid of social context, or with invented examples, or in real contexts where regulations are encoded differently from the type being examined here.

4.9. CHAPTER DISCUSSION

Widdowson's purist exclusion of social interpretation from the act of linguistic analysis must founder upon the rock of modality. The very use of modals requires acts of social interpretation in that degrees of the speaker's commitment to a proposition or proposal invite interpretive decoding. The phrases *may be allowed* or *will be permitted* could be interpreted as an epistemic conjecture of what may happen in a reasonably hypothetical situation. They could also be interpreted as a deontic encoding, of permission. In this conjectural construction of permission in regulations, the epistemic and deontic conflate to the point where the distinctions blur. However, it requires language analysis of modality and further acts of interpretation to make such a judgment.

The encoding of what is known, and also what is permitted, affects the student while not including the student in the construction of knowledge and obligation. There is no similar encoding of the students' expectations and requirement of the serving institution, and the ramifications for the university if its faculty fail to meet deadlines or live up to stakeholder expectations in such areas as quality detailed feedback, provided in a timely manner, and geared to help the individual student avoid failure.

To reduce biased selection of data for analysis and interpretation, primarily quantitative observation of lexical frequency has been undertaken in this chapter. The

frequency data showed that modal verbs outnumbered lexical verbs to such a degree that they would warrant more detailed consideration first. The systemic functional nature of modal verbs in general was considered with particular reference to concepts of modalization and modulation. Frequency data derived from my corpus showed a hierarchy that may be somewhat surprising, with *must* occurring at a relatively low frequency compared to apparently more benign modals such as *may* and *should*. The most detailed consideration was given to *will* as it seemed to present the most complexity in terms of range of functional operation. The modal *shall* was next in rank, ostensibly presenting fewer problems than *will* in that it seemed to have only a simple legislative function. The data related to the overtly legislative *shall*, however, was so similar to that relating to the more covertly legislative *will* that it seems that there is no essential difference in degrees of prohibition or permission in the context of these regulations. *May* and *should* were considered in relation to an apparently more benevolent potential encoding of regulations, but it emerged that such modals, frequently occurring in power-laden co-texts, often conflated in meaning with non-negotiable obligation on the student's part. Least consideration was given to *must* as, although it occurred in the lowest position in the table of lexical frequency presented, its legislative force and function were not in doubt. Ultimately, despite the efforts of systemic grammarians to see these modals in isolation as occupying a position in a scale of force, it is their co-occurrences in real texts and contexts which provides an insight into how they construct institutional power.

CHAPTER 5

Clause Analysis: Decoding Experiential Meaning

5.1. CHAPTER FOCUS AND AIMS

While Chapter 4 focused on data mainly at the level of individual lexemes and their collocations, Chapter 5 explores the same corpus of data at the clausal level. Both the ideational content of the clause and the clause structure show the encoding methods used to construct the stakeholder in relation to the organization. The method that provides the data for this chapter takes lexical frequency analysis of the corpus once again as a starting point. In Chapter 4, corpus analysis provided evidence that the highest frequency verbs in the corpus were modals, thus directing research attention to the grammar of interpersonal meanings, or Mood. Now, the focus is on the remaining highest frequency lexical verbs.

The initial research purpose was to develop an understanding of what such verbs might reveal of the processes enacted in universities, with particular attention paid to Material clauses, which, in SFL terms, serve to encode *doing* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In the course of corpus analysis, this initial purpose was replaced, or supplemented, as unanticipated linguistic tendencies emerged in my reading of the corpus. Such a development is true to the spirit of emergent research design facilitated by corpus linguistics where questions arise from the data which could not have been foreseen in the early stages. Three strong features of clausal construction were noted in the corpus, stimulating more detailed questions.

1. Why are the highest frequency verbs in the corpus rarely Material? What are the ideational consequences of encoding the institution's processes predominantly as Mental, Relational and Existential?

2. What are the encoding implications of a high usage of *light verbs*, namely *make* and *take*? Why are such institutional processes encoded as noun phrases?
3. Why is there a high incidence of the passive voice in the construction of institutional processes?

With the focus consistently on the textual encoding of power relations at the clausal level, these three questions form the basis for the following presentation of data as the linguistic method, and the social implications of each of these three aspects of clause construction are considered. Some suggested answers to these questions will be provided at the end of this chapter. A brief description follows, below, of how it was that emergent trends in corpus data guided the research decisions of what should be offered for analysis in this chapter.

5.2. IDENTIFICATION OF HIGHEST FREQUENCY VERBS

In order to make a principled selection of data for clausal analysis and avoid bias in the selection of data which encodes experiential meaning at the clausal level, it was decided to examine the highest frequency non-modal verbs in the corpus, primarily to discover how material processes were encoded in the construction of the institution's activities.

A major feature soon manifested itself in a search of the corpus word-list, displayed according to lexical frequency. See Appendix 2. In this corpus, it was found that there is a low frequency of verbs encoding material meaning. Table 5.1 below shows the extrapolation of verbs from the total corpus wordlist, showing the rank order of each lexeme, its number of occurrences in the total word list, the number of texts it appeared in, and finally, after manual tagging of the corpus, in certain cases its occurrence as either a verb or a noun. In the process of tagging, the researcher's knowledge of the context and the genre was used to predict lexemes that might potentially be used as either a verb or noun. For example, lexemes such as *head*, *subject*, *part*, and *level* were more likely to be nouns rather than verbs in these texts, and a reading of the corpus concordances for these lexemes proved this to be so.

Given the propensity for nominalization in the genre, lexemes which might occur either as nouns or verbs, depending on the context and corpus, occur here predominantly as nouns. Collocational data, such as those for *study*, below, show that the high frequency of *of study* and *study of* for example, in Table 5.2 below represents the quintessential activity of the student, to study, predominantly as a noun and not a verb in these regulations.

Table 5.1: Lexemes, possibly verbs, in rank order in corpus wordlist

Rank	word	No. of occurrences	No. of texts/50	Tagging
70	STUDY	844	47	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
73	WORK	817	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
74	AWARD	796	47	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
87	HEAD	726	44	Noun
91	SUBJECT	688	50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
102	PART	630	50	Noun
122	MAKE	541	50	Verb: light?
125	TAKE	527	48	Verb: light?
127	CONDUCT	518	47	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
135	REVIEW	483	40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
139	MATTER	462	48	Noun
140	LEVEL	459		Noun
158	SET	429	49	Verb
162	USE	410	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
186	SUPPORT	366	41	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun • Verb
188	ENSURE	362	45	Verb
190	ATTEND	359	45	Verb
192	REQUEST	359	45	Noun Verb
198	INCLUDE	343	49	Verb
204	DO	334	46	Verb
207	CONSIDER	207	46	Verb
212	PROVIDE	323	46	Verb
231	APPLY	298	49	Verb
240	ACT	287	44	Noun Verb
287	PLACE	287	45	Noun Verb
284	SUBMIT	284	45	Verb
275	DETERMINE	275	41	Verb

Table 5.3 shows similar lexical behaviour with the lexeme *work* which rarely functions as a verb in the corpus. Appendix 5 shows the first 30 occurrences of *work* in the corpus concordance which bear out this low occurrence of *work* as a verb. Work is predominantly perceived as a product rather than a process: it is nominalized and reified into something to be required, submitted, assessed, and so on.

Table 5.2 *STUDY* and its collocates

N	Word	With	Relation	Texts	Total	Total Left	Total Right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre
1	OF	study	0.000	46	881	753	128	41	69	25	12	606	0
2	STUDY	study	0.000	47	866	11	11	4	3	1	2	1	844
3	THE	study	0.000	41	456	224	232	30	54	111	9	20	0
4													

Table 5.3 *WORK* and its collocates

N	Word	With	Texts	Total	Total Left	Total Right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre
1	WORK	work	46	857	20	20	6	2	8	4	0	817
2	THE	work	44	563	350	213	59	78	44	31	138	0
3	OF	work	44	449	300	149	44	34	47	80	95	0
4	OR	work	41	277	148	129	17	42	40	35	14	0
5	TO	work	39	226	135	91	30	22	35	28	20	0
6	AND	work	37	190	75	115	12	19	18	20	6	0
7	FOR	work	28	177	73	104	19	18	12	19	5	0
8	IN	work	39	173	68	105	13	19	8	25	3	0
9	A	work	33	135	75	60	17	27	20	6	5	0
10	BE	work	31	123	31	92	12	15	4	0	0	0
11												

I anticipated that other lexemes such as *appeal*, *request*, *conduct*, and *support* could function easily both as verbs and as nouns. A corpus reading shows that they occur more frequently as nouns. As an example, Table 5.4 represents collocates for the lexeme *conduct* and its lexical behaviour shows similar patterns to *study* and *work*

in that it is preferred as a noun in the corpus. It refers most frequently to *student conduct/the conduct of students*, textualized in codes of conduct. When it occurs as a verb, it is with the University as Agent: *will conduct*. *Conduct* also occurs with a high frequency of adjectives which have potential evaluative bias, particularly when STUDENT is also used as an adjective. In order of frequency in collocates, there is STUDENT CONDUCT, IMPROPER CONDUCT, PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT, DISORDERLY CONDUCT, ACADEMIC CONDUCT, FUTURE CONDUCT, and PERSONAL CONDUCT.

Table 5.4 CONDUCT and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	OR	IN	THE	CONDUCT	OF	THE	A
2	THE	FOR	OF		AND	STUDENTS	THE
3	REGULATIONS	OF	TO		WHICH	EXAMINATIONS	OF
4	OF	THE	STUDENT		OR	TO	OR
5	IRREGULARITIES	TO	IMPROPER		IN	APPEALS	IN
6	TO	CODE	ANY		THEMSELVES	CONSTITUTES	AND
7	A	OR	PROFESSIONAL		THE	A	EXAMINATION
8	RULES	CODES	THAT		A	IN	EXAMINATIONS
9	OFFENCE	AND	IN		THAT	MAY	UNIT
10	FOR	WHERE	THEIR		IS	ANY	BE
11	PROFESSIONAL	STUDENTS	OR		OFFICER	OF	AS
12	CODE	STUDENT	AND		PANEL	REVIEW	TO
13	DISORDERLY	ABOUT	WHOSE		AS	WITH	UNIVERSITY
14	RELATING	GOVERNING	WILL		ITS	AT	SUCH
15	AS	WITH	DISORDERLY		BY	OR	OUR
16	HEAD	ENGAGE	SHALL			BEHAVIOUR	ASSESSMENT
17	UNIVERSITY	ON	ACADEMIC			DISCIPLINARY	REGULATIONS
18	ANY	A	FUTURE			MIGHT	PLACE
19	AND	UNIVERSITY	PERSONAL			WILL	
20	IRREGULARITY		ITS			BE	
21	ARE					BREAKS	

Table 5.5 shows that REVIEW is nominalized in A/THE REVIEW OF, although it also shows more behaviour as a verb, encoding the university's power to review decisions.

Table 5.5 *REVIEW* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	OF	A	REVIEW	OF	THE	THE
2	REQUEST	FOR	THE		THE	BE	DECISION
3	TO	THE	TO		PANEL	A	OF
4	OF	REQUEST	WILL		WILL	COMMITTEE	AND
5	BE	SUBJECT	FOR		BY	TO	TO
6	AND	TO	PLAGIARISM		SUB	STUDENT	BE
7	FOR	A	SHALL		HEARING	DECISION	WILL
8	MAY	PERIODIC	COURSE		AND	AND	A
9	OUTCOME	AND	AND		COMMITTEE	MAY	IN
10	ACADEMIC	AN	ETHICAL		IS	SUSPENSION	VICE
11	BY	BOARD	UNDER		ITS	WILL	STUDENT
12	STUDENT	SUCH	OF		IN	CASE	CONDUCTED
13	WILL	DECISION	FURTHER		ON	COMPLAINT	MAY
14	WEEKS	CONDUCT	EXAMINATION		IF	NOT	FOR
15	COMMITTEE	IF	OR		PROCEDURES	ANY	S
16	CHAIR		PROFESSIONAL		OR	AN	OR
17	ASSESSMENT		INDEPENDENT		PANELS	IS	REQUEST
18	SHALL				SHOULD		INVOLVE
19	REQUESTS				AT		COMPLAINT
20							WITH
21							SHALL
22							COMPLAINTS

The next five verbs in order of frequency show an increase in verbs functioning to represent processes. Tables 5.6 and 5.7 show that ENSURE and ATTEND function in the only way they can grammatically: as verbs. As a result of this, it can be concluded that these two verbs are in fact the first two fully lexical verbs in the corpus, because other verbs such as *to be*, modals and the noun-making verbs considered thus far in this chapter perform a variety of grammatical functions. As such, ENSURE and ATTEND will be considered more closely in the clausal analyses below.

Table 5.6 *ENSURE* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	UNIVERSITY	TO	ENSURE	THAT	THE	ARE
2	OF	STUDENTS	WILL		THE	ALL	AND
3	IN	IS	SHALL		AN	STUDENTS	STUDENT
4	IS	AND	MUST		SO	THEY	OF
5	ARE	ORDER	SHOULD			A	IS
6	BE	PROCEDURES	AND			ANY	AS
7	OR	RESPONSIBILITY				YOU	HAVE
8	WILL	WE				THERE	EXAMINATION
9	ACADEMIC	CONTACT				FAR	STUDENTS
10	S	DESIGNED				THEIR	MEMBERS
11	PROCEDURE	MADE			APPROPRIATE		GENDER
12	ASSESSMENT	WHO				YOUR	
13	EXAMINATION	EXAMINERS				NO	
14	AND	BOARD				SUCH	
15		REQUIRED				AND	
16		OFFICER					

Table 5.7 *ATTEND* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	BE	STUDENT	TO	ATTEND	THE	MEETING	OF
2	THE	FAILS	MAY		A	HEARING	THE
3	STUDENT	UNABLE	NOT		AN	THE	OR
4	OF	FAILURE	SHALL		FOR	EXAMINATION	AND
5	ARE	INVITED	WILL		IN	CLASSES	TO
6	IS	EXPECTED	STUDENTS		AND	PERSON	PURPOSE
7	AS	REQUIRED		EXAMINATIONS	COMMITTEE		AS
8	A	PERMISSION			OR	MEETINGS	HE
9	OR	DOES			ALL	OR	HEARING
10	OTHER	PERSON			ANY	AND	AT
11	WHO	AND			AT	DISCIPLINARY	WITH
12	BEING	STUDENTS			AS	APPEAL	SUBMIT
13	NOT	ABLE		REGULARLY	INTERVIEW		MEETING
14	TO	ENTITLED		MEETINGS	PANEL		IN
15	HE	FAIL		CLASSES	UNIVERSITY		WILL
16		PERMITTED				A	
17		NOT					

Table 5.8 shows that REQUEST performs both as a noun and verb with L1 THE and A signaling the noun usage while TO, MAY and WILL signal its occurrence in verb phrases. Given the encoded power balance, it is not surprising that STUDENT and STUDENTS along with the modal MAY collocate most highly with REQUEST, conferring a right upon the student within the university's power structure: a request to REVIEW a university decision.

Table 5.8 *REQUEST* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	STUDENT	THE	REQUEST	FOR	THE	OF
2	OF	OF	A		A	A	REVIEW
3	RECEIPT	AT	MAY		TO	REVIEW	THE
4	TO	THE	TO		OF	AN	STUDENT
5	A	SUCH	ON		THE	BE	APPEAL
6	S	A	WRITTEN		THAT	APPEAL	TO
7	MAY	TO	ANY		FROM	OF	BY
8	WITH	RIGHT	APPEAL		AN	WRITING	AND
9	REVIEW	HE	WILL		MUST	TO	IN
10	AND	STUDENTS	AND		IN	FORMAL	
11	IN	ON	UPON		IS	NOT	
12	FOR	IF			BY		
13		FOR			AND		
14		SUBMIT			SHOULD		
15		MAKE			OR		
16		WHERE					
17		AVAILABLE					
18		ANY					
19		CONSIDER					
20		MAKING					
21		IN					

The next highest frequency verb, *CONSIDER*, reinforces this institutional dominance. There is little or no trace that the student has the power to consider. Table 5.9 shows that that right, or privileged position, is reserved for the *COMMITTEE*, *PANEL*, *BOARD*, *UNIVERSITY*, *REGISTRAR*, collocating highly with the modal *WILL* to encode their power.

Table 5.9 *CONSIDER* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	COMMITTEE	TO	CONSIDER	THE	THE	OF
2	COMMITTEE	WILL	WILL		WHETHER	CASE	AND
3	BOARD	PANEL	SHALL		APPEALS	APPEAL	THE
4	OF	BOARD	THEY		A	FROM	IN
5	AND	UNIVERSITY	THEN		THAT	EVIDENCE	TO
6	APPEAL	SHALL	MAY		AND	TO	STUDENTS
7	SHALL	NOT	NOT		ALL	OF	REPORT
8	ACADEMIC	CONVENED	AND		ITS	AGAINST	SUBMITTED
9	WILL	REGISTRAR	ONLY		AN	MATTER	IS
10	DISCIPLINARY	OR	SHOULD		ANY	OR	AN
11	BE	IT			RECOMMENDATIONS	THERE	ON
12	PANEL	IF			APPROPRIATE	DECISION	S
13	AS	AND			COMPLAINTS	PERFORMANCE	HAVE
14	TO	MEET			EVIDENCE	A	STUDENT
15	IS	HELD				REQUEST	
16	BUT	MUST				CIRCUMSTANCES	
17		IS				ALLEGATION	
18						MERITS	
19						COMPLAINT	

The balance of power is encoded also in the distribution of Agency with the next highest lexical verb: SUBMIT. Table 5.10 shows that it is the STUDENT or STUDENTS who MAY SUBMIT as the strongest collocates. There is no evidence in this table of collocates that a named university entity submits. STUDENTS MAY SUBMIT a variety of things in the dealings with the university powers: WORK, EVIDENCE, AN APPEAL, A COMPLAINT, A WRITTEN STATEMENT, A WRITTEN REPORT and so on. While STUDENT is the highest named agent collocating with SUBMIT, it is telling that FAILURE is the next highest collocate, thus avoiding the explicit: When the student fails to submit.

Table 5.10 SUBMIT and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	STUDENT	TO	SUBMIT	A	WRITTEN	THE
2	BE	FAILURE	MAY		AN	THE	TO
3	A	REQUIRED	AND		WORK	APPEAL	OF
4	OR	YOU	MUST		THE	FOR	IN
5	IS	AND	SHALL		TO	CASE	ASSESSMENT
6	AND	CANDIDATE	SHOULD		WRITTEN	WORK	STATEMENT
7	ARE	RIGHT	OR		THEIR	TO	REPORT
8	ATTEND	EXAMINATIONS	NOT		ANY	REPRESENTATIONS	FOR
9	IN	OR			IT	REQUEST	WORK
10	TO	OPPORTUNITY			EVIDENCE	BY	BY
11	THEIR	STUDENTS			COURSEWORK	COMPLAINT	WRITTEN
12	AN	UNABLE			HIS	IN	AND
13		CIRCUMSTANCES				ASSESSED	ON
14		COMPLETE				MEDICAL	CERTIFICATE
15		EXAMINATION				EVIDENCE	
16		ENTITLED					
17		SHE					

Table 5.11 shows the final verb to be considered in this examination of high frequency lexemes which may function as verbs. DETERMINE collocates only with university entities such as PANEL, BOARD, COMMITTEE, EXAMINERS and so on. There is no evidence in this table of collocates that the student may determine anything. DETERMINE co-occurs with the strong modals SHALL and WILL to encode the university's authority: to determine outcomes regarding the STUDENT, PENALTY, COMPLAINT, MATTER, APPEAL, GROUNDS, CASE, ACTION and so on.

Table 5.11 DETERMINE and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	PANEL	SHALL	DETERMINE	WHETHER	THE	NOT
2	OF	AND	TO		THE	OR	OF
3	TIME	BOARD	WILL		THAT	A	THE
4	ACADEMIC	COMMITTEE	MAY		ANY	PENALTY	STUDENT
5	AS	TO	AND		AN	TO	AND
6	ASSESSMENT	STUDY	TIME		TO	APPROPRIATE	IF
7	TO	EXAMINERS	ALSO		IN	OF	TO
8	VICE	IT			WHAT	APPEAL	FOR
9	APPEAL	SHALL				MATTER	OR
10	SHALL	WHO					GROUND
11		IS					IN
12		UNIVERSITY					COMPLAIN
13		NOMINEE					DECISION
14		CHANCELLOR					
15		REGISTRAR					
16		HEAR					

The lexical verbs considered above are all high frequency in the corpus. However, a high frequency of delexicalized verbs was also discovered. Verbs such as *make* and *take* have little value as material verbs in the ideational construction of institutional processes and are more likely be used in noun phrases/nominalization of processes. In other words, they function mainly as *light verbs*. They will be considered in detail in Section 5.4 below.

Finally, it was clear that other lexemes could function only as verbs: *ensure*, *attend*, *consider*, *provide*, *submit* and *determine*. Because there was such a limited occurrence of Material verbs in the corpus, it was finally decided to cover the complete range of Halliday's six processes: Material, Mental, Behavioural, Verbal, Existential and Relational. It was felt that whereas an examination of material processes alone might provide information about Actors, agency and institutional activities, a more wide-ranging focus that encompasses all six processes would provide important information about the textual construction of other aspects of institutions such as identity, cognition (Mental), and discourse (Verbal). The verb *to be* was seen to occur in the corpus at predictably high frequency, not surprisingly given its pervasive grammatical function. However, it is not only in the construction of passive clauses (considered in Section 5.5 below) that it is of interest. The corpus

provides ample evidence that it is used for ideational purposes in the construction of existential and relational processes.

The aim of this section has been to describe the process of identifying those verbs which, on the basis of their lexical frequency and collocations, merit closer analysis. It became clear in the course of this identification process, that there is a low incidence of material processes representing the university's and the student's activities. Instead, there is a strong tendency towards nominalization using verbs such as MAKE and TAKE and these verbs in themselves show patterns of power-encoding in this corpus. The purer lexical verbs, ENSURE, ATTEND, and the others considered immediately above, also indicate, through their collocation patterns, that they may serve to encode organizational hegemony.

The following section will analyse a sample of clauses containing these high frequency lexemes in order to determine to what extent these conclusions derived from the tables above are borne out when examined systemically. Both the ideational aspect and the logic of the clause complex, as defined in Section 5.3 below, will be considered at the same time in order to determine the construction of experiential meaning in institutional text.

5.3. THE IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION

A lexical frequency analysis of the corpus was carried out primarily to discover what is most commonly done, by whom, to whom and in what circumstances. The focus is on the ideational metafunction, which Halliday (1994) sees as the processes by which meanings are constructed about the world. Some analytical concepts and procedures derived from SFL to analyze transitivity are used. This metafunction can be realized in two ways. First, experiential meaning is realized at a clausal level through the construction of processes, using verbs, participants using nouns, and, optionally, a range of circumstantial adjuncts that refer to aspects such as time, place and manner. Second, the ideational metafunction can be realized in the development of logical meaning (Eggs, 2004)) across clauses in clause complexes. Because these two components of the ideational metafunction are complementary, they will be considered jointly in this chapter. Throughout, it is asked how power hierarchies are encoded in the textual representation of institutional experience. This is a study of

authorial choices. Eggins (2004) notes that ‘transitivity patterns are the clausal realization of contextual choices. In selecting which process type to use, and what configuration of participants to express, participants are actively choosing to represent experience in a particular way’ (p. 249).

5.3.1. Experiential meaning and university regulations

The representativeness of the six types of process encoded, or not, in the regulatory texts provide important clues about the institution’s encoding choices. Firstly, the lexical frequency lists derived from the whole corpus show a low incidence of verbs directly encoding material processes, identifiable in SFL as verbs of doing. This low frequency indicates that participants are not constructed directly as agents carrying out activities. These material verbs, when they do occur, tend to be embedded within a modal framework expressing the university’s will or expectation:

Students *will, shall must/may/can* + a material process verb.

Secondly, mental processes, identified in SFL as verbs of thinking and feeling, occur more frequently than material process verbs, but like material processes, they tend to occur embedded within a modal framework which serves to distance verbs of doing even further. A common construction is as follows in Table 5.12:

Table 5.12 Modal + Mental process + material processes

Students	must/should	ensure	that they do not plagiarise
Senser	Pred: modal	Pr: Mental	Pr: Material

Thirdly, it seemed predictable, from the researcher’s knowledge of the context and the genre, that behavioural processes should have a low or non-occurrence in this corpus. Behavioural processes are those identified in SFL as not quite material and not quite mental, but still about the psychological and physiological behaviour of conscious beings, realized in such verbs as *frown* and *stare*. The corpus does indeed show no occurrence of these verbs since such behavior is, understandably, of no relevance to the authors of university regulations.

Fourthly, the corpus shows a high frequency of one verb encoding a verbal process. *Inform* occurs 279 times across 45 texts. My data shows *the student* occurring most frequently in R1/R2 positions, as the receiver or Target, and various University entities as the Sayer. Of course, the student is also required to be the Sayer at times in providing required information to the university authorities. This Verbal process is usually realized by a modal verb + inform + another process, with the Verbiage, in Table 5.13, encoding another verbal process (appeal) realized only after a governing modal and a main Verbal clause.

Table 5.13 Modal +inform + Verbiage

The Head of the Academic Standards Unit	will	also inform	the student	that: (i) he or she may appeal to the Vice Chancellor against the Disciplinary Panel's decision
Sayer	Finite	Pr: Verbal	Target	Verbiage

Fifthly, while material, mental, behavioural and verbal processes have to do with events, existential and relational processes encode states of being. Existential representation may be a powerful form of encoding, in that the university decides what exists and, through negation, what does not exist, using a form of *there is + a noun phrase*. Relational processes may similarly encode power, particularly in attributive and identifying processes, realized through the verb *to be* or some other copular verb such as *become*. Relational processes are of interest because they may provide clues to the textual construction of institutional identity, defining for example what a student is, strictly according to parameters defined by the university.

5.3.2. Clause complexes and university regulations

When two or more clauses are linked together as a clause complex to form a meaningful, or logical, grammatical unit, the kind of linkage in itself may represent a revealing encoding choice. Eggins, (2004) in inquiring ‘why analyse clause complexes?’ proposes that

clause complexes provide language users with structural resources to construe logical connections between experiential events. This system of logical

meaning works alongside the experiential structures of Transitivity. Together, the logical and experiential functions allow us to express ideational meanings as we turn life into text (p. 256).

In the following analyses of how clauses can realize experiential meaning, two aspects of clause complexes will be commented upon where relevant to the focus on power relations. Firstly, the relationship of *taxis* encodes a chosen system of clause dependency which is reflected in a compound or complex sentence construction. Secondly, there is at work a system of projection and expansion constructing the representation of experience and based on authorial choices about which detailed aspects of experience will be represented in specific positions and in relation to other clauses.

5.3.3. Material processes

The following sections analyse two of the highest frequency Material processes at a clausal level: ATTEND and SUBMIT. (See Table 5.1). The concordance provides evidence of the behavior of these verbs in the context of these university regulations. A more delicate analysis is made of a representative sentence.

5.3.3.1. ATTEND

Table 5.14 below shows a sample of the material verb *attend*, extracted from the first 10 occurrences in the concordance. Lines 1, 5 and 9 contain the modal *should* or *shall* to contextualize attendance within the university's institutional expectations. The evaluative *fail/s* in lines 2,3, 8 contextualizes the expectations further, and the nominalized *failure* in lines 4 and 6 remove any reference to the student and makes *Failure* agentive, rather than *a student who fails to attend*. Line 10 does not have such a modal or evaluative burden, but it is the one line which does not refer to a student-related process; it stipulates instead what a faculty member is expected to do.

The words after the nodal *attend* are equally telling. The verb *attend*, constructing mainly student activity, is not related to a Goal, but rather to what

Halliday (1994, p. 148) calls Range, with the test for differentiation between Goal and Range being to probe what x did to y. Clearly, *what did the student do to the lecture?* does not produce the answer, *S/He attended it*. The student, or Failure, as agent in the process does not bring about a change to the lecture by the process of attending. Range, therefore, replaces Goal, and its function is to determine the range of the process. In Table 5.14, the Range constructed by the university refers to events constructed by the university, such as classes, sessions, an element, periods of study, lectures, examinations, and an Enquiry. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) point out that this part of the clause relates to the process ‘not by acting, or being acted upon, but by marking its domain’ and states that the entities named in the Range are ‘on the borderline of participants and circumstances’ (p. 295). This is borne out in the sample in 5.15 below, where an interpolation such as *at* could turn the Range into a circumstance: for example, attend [at] two sessions. The sorting of concordance lines in this and the following tables adheres to the same procedure and principles set out in section 4.6, p. 97 above.

Table 5.14 Extract from concordance for *ATTEND*

N Concordance	
1	or have other good reason, you should attend all your classes. The Senatus
2	of candidates who persistently fail to attend, or perform the required work of,
3	a student, without good reason, fails to attend 2 sessions or 10% of teaching
4	impact of failure in, or failure to attend or complete an element of
5	their programme regulations and shall attend any additional periods of study
6	these regulations include: (i) Failure to attend lectures and similar tutorial
7	the responsibility of students to: 17 (i) attend examinations as required: if a
8	as required: if a student fails to attend the examination/s without good
9	Enquiry’. The student shall be invited to attend the ‘Assessment Enquiry’ to
10	for which they have responsibility. (v) attend examiners' meetings and have

To provide a fuller context for the concordance lines, the following clause is taken from line 8 in Table 5.14 above. It is one of six occurrences in the table which are preceded by ‘to’, thus making the verb *attend* below an infinitive constructed in relation to the university’s judgment of failure. The hypotactic construction of this

clause places the student action in the dependent clause with the conditional *if*, while the university's power to *determine* is in the main clause in relation to the strong modal *will*, as shown in 5.15 below.

Table 5.15 ATTEND: Clause analysis

If	a student	fails	to attend the examination/s	without good reason
Textual	Agent	Material	Range	Adjunct
Subordinator/ Contingency/ Open condition				
the Board of Examiners	will determine		that the student has failed the examination concerned	
Sensor	Process: Mental		Phenomenon	

The *if* in Table 5.15 permits a process to be constructed openly as a contingency in that it may or may not happen. However, if it happens, the university assigns powers to itself to deal with it, with its action being cognitive and evaluative. The finer breakdown of this sentence into its constituent clausal elements shows that in fact the student's action is constructed only as a hypothesis in a dependent clause set up to articulate the university's powers. The word *fails* as a material verb of action may seem unclear at first, but it represents a failure to act, and in this more detailed breakdown, *attend* is no longer even a fully realized material verb but it becomes part of the range of the verb *fail*. If the meaning had been constructed otherwise, *fail* could equally well serve as a negative while preserving *attend* as a material verb: *if the student does not attend*. However, the corpus shows ample evidence that the material verb *attend* is downranked into an infinitive governed by the evaluative *fail/failure*. The main process is in the main clause: the mental process of determining. The evaluative adjunct containing *good reason* reinforces that it is solely the university's value system that can prevail in the hierarchy of acceptable reasons and the pronouncement of failure. A more detailed analysis of Mental clauses, again using the verb *determine*, will be carried out in Section 5.3.4 below.

5.3.3. 2. *SUBMIT*

Table 5.16 below shows a sample of the material verb *submit*, extracted from the first ten occurrences in the concordance. The process is constructed within a context of modalization, as was the case in Table 5.15 with the verb *attend*. In lines 1,2, and 3 , *submit* is immediately preceded by *must*, while in lines 7 and 8 *submit* is governed by *should* and in line 10 by *shall*.

Table 5.16 Extract from concordance for *SUBMIT*

N Concordance	
1	affected by your health, you must submit relevant medical certificates (see
2	main points are as follows:- * You must submit either a certificate from a medical
3	General Regulation 1.3). * You must submit a certificate from a medical
4	* You are strongly advised to submit a certificate from a medical
5	not know about the decision in time to submit an appeal within the time limit.
6	form on mitigating circumstances and submit it with appropriate corroborating
7	the course of the examination should submit mitigating circumstances to the
8	should complete the form and then submit it for first stage review to the
9	for research degrees are invited to submit an evaluation of the recent
10	Committee, the student shall submit his/her objections in writing to be

One of the most telling aspects of the words after *submit* is what is omitted. *Submit* in this context is synonymous with *give*, *offer* or *provide*. In SFL terms, there would often be a named Beneficiary or Recipient in relation to these verbs. However, there is none in the excerpt above and it is relatively rare in the corpus, where one might have expected the university or one of its representative entities to be named. The result is that one is obliged to infer whom the Beneficiary or Recipient of the process might be. The Goals in relation to *submit* include forms, certificates, an appeal, an evaluation, objections and, oddly, mitigating circumstances in line 7. The behaviour of *submit* in the Corpus as a material verb in the process is so weak that it comes close to being delexicalized, in the manner of *make* and *take* considered in section 5.4 below. *Submit an appeal*, *evaluation* or *objection* can be read as nominalizations of the verbs *appeal*, *evaluate* and *object*. The nominalized rendering may have to do with institutional power issues in that *submit an objection* sounds more abject than the verb *object*. The Mood structure of the main clause is telling in that there is, in SFL ranking, a high rather than median or low degree of modulation to

enforce obligation with a heavy weighted Complement at the end detailing the university's requirement. Furthermore, Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 116) identify that the Finite Modal Operator, as distinct from Temporal operators signaling time through tense forms, have a powerful interactive discourse function. They describe the MOOD element of the clause as bearing the main burden of the interaction. In this view of clause structuring, the RESIDUE, consisting of the process itself and the Complement, is a secondary construction governed by the Finite: You must + what.

Table 5.17 Clausal analysis 1 of *SUBMIT*

You	must	submit	a certificate from a medical practitioner
Subject	Finite: Modulated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Predicator • Process: Material 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complement • Goal
MOOD		RESIDUE	

The clause in Table 5.17 is in fact part of a clause complex which continues in Table 5.18.

Table 5.18 Clausal analysis 2 of *SUBMIT*

when	illness	has necessitated	a period of absence from classes of over eleven weekdays
Textual Subordinator: contingency	Agent	Pr: causative	Goal? Range?
	Initiator	Process:	Affected?

The conjunction '*when*' has virtually no temporal function here. Instead, it creates a perspective of contingency similar to the one discussed in relation to *attend* above. 'Circumstances of Contingency specify an element on which the actualization of the process depends.' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 271). In this statement of contingency that creates the circumstances in which students must act, human agents are oddly absent, and the process within the contingency clause is rendered by the depersonalized 'has necessitated' which may best be classified as a Causative process:

Illness has caused a period of absence. In two parts of the clause where the student might have been central in an alternative encoding, the student is in fact excluded from the reference zone by the nominalizations: *illness* and [period of] *absence*: *when the student has been ill*, and *when the student has been absent from classes*. This process of exclusion will be considered in more detail in Chapter 6. In the clause in Table 5.18 above, the exclusion creates a classification problem reflected in the question marks denoting Goal and Affected. In ‘when illness has necessitated the student to be absent,’ the student would be the Actor in a new process.

5.3.4. Mental processes

The following sections analyse three of the highest frequency Mental processes at a clausal level: *determine*, *consider*, and *ensure*. It looks at the characteristics of a randomly chosen sample from the concordance for each verb from the corpus and then does a more delicate analysis of a representative sentence, while bearing in mind that no sentence can be truly representative, each one having its own distinguishing features.

5.3.4.1. DETERMINE

The concordance below in Table 5.19 represents texts from 5 different universities, and yet there is a remarkable similarity in their encoding. Lines 51-57 contextualize the process in relation to the modal *shall*, while line 58 has *may* conjoined to the potent *by resolution* signaling the power of an institute to confer rights upon itself. It is clear that in all instances below, it is university agents who determine. Such agents may determine frameworks, exemptions, marks and grades, conditions, the order and conduct of a proceeding, or, as in the analysis below, it may consider *whether*: determining which processes shall be enacted.

Table 5. 19 Extract from concordance for *DETERMINE*

50	institution in 1990. The Statutes, which determine the basic framework of the
51	relevant Board of Examiners shall also determine whether, and on what
52	Regulations, the College shall determine what exemptions (if any) from
53	University Board of Studies shall determine on application from the
54	The relevant Board of Examiners shall determine what marks or grades (if any)
55	and supporting evidence and shall determine whether there shall be a
56	The College Disciplinary Panel shall determine whether the charge of
57	offence. The Panel shall otherwise determine the order and conduct of its
58	the Association and may by resolution determine the conditions applying to any
59	the assessments and the authority to determine whether or not the student

The following sentence provides a fuller context for Line 54 above and it is analysed in more detail in Table 5.20 below: *The relevant Board of Examiners shall also determine whether, and on what conditions, a student may proceed to the next year of study, may be readmitted, or may repeat a year of study wholly or partly.*

Table 20 Clausal analysis of *DETERMINE*

The relevant Board of Examiners	shall also determine	whether, and on what conditions, a student may proceed to the next year of study , may be readmitted, or may repeat a year of study wholly or partly.
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon

The three clauses in the Phenomenon constitute a series of paratactic propositions in equal relation to each other. However, they are ultimately projected from *determine* in a hypotactic relation to it? Halliday & Matthiessen, state that cognitive clauses always project propositions. ‘Here a proposition is as it were created cognitively; it is brought into a being by a process of thinking.’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 449.) The Phenomenon is realized by a sequence of three clauses in which the student is realized elliptically twice. The Phenomenon is not an entity, the student, but rather a situation (*whether, and on what grounds and wholly or*

partly all of which construct the degrees of the student's entitlement to act in that cognitively constructed situation. This entitlement is even constructed as open to question in that the use of *whether* signals that it is a question which is being projected, not a statement. *Question* here is not concerned with the usual 'giving vs. demanding information but rather with the status of the validity of the information.' (Halliday & Matthiessen, p.450). *Whether* also signals questions that will ultimately be answered by yes or no, no matter how multifaceted the Phenomenon above may appear. Students and their doings are rendered here only as part of the board of examiners' cognitive processes. Halliday identifies two types of embedded Phenomena, Acts and Facts. 'A Fact is an embedded clause, usually finite and usually introduced by a 'that' functioning as if it were a simple noun' (228). The use of *whether* leading the Phenomenon in Table 5.20 above could also be seen to function as if it were a simple noun. In my data above, the Senser determines three Facts. The data above show, by the inclusion of a modal, that while the Board of Examiners appear to determine Facts, they are really determining the probability of Facts, weighing different options that may determine the likelihood of a student's progress within the University. While Halliday & Matthiessen. (2004, p. 210) consider *determine* a desiderative mental verb and *consider* as cognitive, the difference may be one of power effect. *Consider* is grouped along with such cognitive verbs as *think*, *believe*, and *know*. *Determine*, if seen as a desiderative, encodes not just the thinking but the will of the university.

Finally, in relation to this verb, *Determine* is preceded by the modal *shall*: The board of examiners' deliberations are constructed within a MOOD, quite different from an alternative *The University determines....* The additional *shall* grants powers to the determinations so that they are not simply cognitive functioning but an exercise of power in relation to the entities and processes in the sub-clauses.

5.3.4.2. *CONSIDER*

Table 5.21 below shows 10 sample consecutive lines from the Corpus, all of which show that it is university entities, as distinct from the student, which consider. The Phenomena they consider include appeals, records, allegations, evidence, penalties, and disclosures. They also have the right not to consider (296), and *consider* is prefaced by *shall* three times, *must* twice and *will* once, while line 297 asserts that the

university reserves the right. The clause analysis below is based on Line 297 which has a challenging complexity: Where it is decided that the complaint shall be dealt with under the University's Student Disciplinary Procedure, the University reserves the right to consider whether subsequent action may be taken under other relevant University Procedures.

Table 5.21 Extract from concordance for *CONSIDER*

N Concordance	
289	The Appeal Panel member shall consider the appeal on receipt of
290	an Appeals Board is to be convened to consider the appeal. The letter of
291	The Chair of the Examining Board shall consider this record, and may: dismiss
292	At the end of this period, the Chair shall consider the allegation, the documentary
293	of the Committee of Enquiry are: to consider the evidence submitted to it on
294	The Committee of Enquiry must then consider whether the allegation has been
295	the Committee must then consider the penalty to be imposed.
296	of Registry and Student Support will not consider any disclosures which are
297	the University reserves the right to consider whether subsequent action may
298	in the absence of the student and shall consider at the appropriate stage any

The primary structure of this sentence is a dependent clause providing a conditional temporal reference, followed by the main clause, as shown in table 5.22.

Table 5.22 Clausal analysis 1 of *CONSIDER*

Where it is decided that the complaint shall be dealt with under the University's Student Disciplinary Procedure	the University reserves the right to consider whether subsequent action may be taken under other relevant University Procedures.
Subsidiary	Main

Both the subsidiary and the main clause have their own complex structuring, as seen in Tables 5.23 and 5.24 below:

Table 5.23 Clausal analysis 2 of *CONSIDER*

Where	it	is decided that	the complaint shall be dealt with under the University's Student Disciplinary Procedure
Conditional	Anticipatory it, empty placeholder, also Theme in passive voice	Finite + Mental (or Verbal?)	Phenomenon (or Verbiage?) Projected proposition of <i>decided</i>

The *it* anticipates the entire clause about the complaint. *Decided* contains a mental projection realized in the passive voice. It is not stated who decides in the initiation of this crucial development where the University's Student Disciplinary Procedure might be replaced by another one considered by the university exercising its right in Table 5.24.

Table 5.24 Clausal analysis 3 of *CONSIDER*

the complaint	shall be dealt with	under the University's Student Disciplinary Procedure
Goal	Modal finite + Process: material	Adjunct: Circ: manner

In Table 5.25 below, there is clear Agency in *the University*. It makes more sense to carry out a delicate analysis by seeing a semiotic border in *reserves the right//to consider* rather than a grammatical border in *reserves//the right to consider*. The last clause below serves an expansion of *the right*.

Table 5.25 Clausal analysis 4 of *CONSIDER*

the University	reserves the right	to consider whether subsequent action may be taken under other relevant University Procedures.
-------------------	-----------------------	--

The last clause in Table 5.25 may be broken down into a further layer of delicacy, as represented in Table 5.26 below, bearing in mind what has been said above about *whether* functioning as a projection of a proposition in question form.

Table 5.26 Clausal analysis 5 of *CONSIDER*

subsequent action	may be taken	under other relevant University Procedures.	
Goal	Finite: modal + Process Material (light verb: take)	Circ Manner	Agentless

The processes are conditionally proposed, with *where* and *whether*. What has been most powerfully asserted, in the main clause, is the university's right to pursue further action in non-specified texts described only as *other* and *relevant*.

5.3.4.3. ENSURE

Table 5.27 below shows an extract of the Mental verb *ensure*, from lines 110-119 in the concordance. *Ensure* is contextualized as a mental process in relation to *must* in lines 110 and 111, in relation to *will* in lines 113, 115, 116 and 117, in relation to *should* in line 112 and in relation to *shall* in line 118. Interestingly, the only two lines whose process is not governed by a modal describe the purpose of an institutional procedure (line 114) and goal of an institutional text (line 119); the *is to ensure* in line 119 creates primarily a relational process rather than a Mental one. Students ensure three times, the university ensures three times, and the Dean and Registrar ensure once each. The approximate balance breaks down on closer inspection. The university ensures only so far as possible, whereas the student ensures without mitigating qualification. Furthermore, in line 119, the aim of the Code is to ensure only as far as is practicable. In general in the corpus, *ensure* denotes that the students must ensure that they satisfy the university's requirements with regards to academic criteria, institutional regulations and sufficient funds, and *ensure* concomitantly denotes that the university WILL ensure that the requirements it exacts of the students have been satisfied.

Table 5.27 Extract from concordance line for ENSURE

N Concordance	
110	local community. 3.1 Students must ensure that they satisfy award and
111	by the University. 3.5 Students must ensure that they are aware of and abide
112	or loss. (see 9.3) 4.5 Students should ensure that sufficient funds are available
113	promptly to the dean of faculty who will ensure that the necessary documents
114	b) The purpose of the procedure is to ensure that in taking disciplinary action
115	subsequently taken the University will ensure so far as possible that the
116	these circumstances the University will ensure so far as possible that the
117	appeal is successful, the University will ensure so far as possible that the
118	(ii) sent to the Registrar, who shall ensure that the student has been
119	1.1 The aim of this Code is to ensure, as far as is practicable and

The clause analysed in Tables 5.28 and 5.29 below derives from Line 110 in Table 5.25 above. The clause complex below is a paratactic construction joined by *and*. Two cognitive expectations (*ensure* and *bear in mind*) are required of the student. The high modality *must* prescribes a process of conformity realized in the Phenomenon clause: that they satisfy requirements. This sub-process realized in the Phenomenon clause may best be identified as a Material clause, in that *satisfy* relates to a course of action, but this clause is Goal-less. They satisfy award and module attendance requirements, so that *requirements* functions as the Range of the process. This range is subdivided, or extended, by the reference to two different sets of criteria in their handbook: *award* and *attendance*.

Table 5.28 Clausal analysis 1 of *ENSURE*

Students	must	ensure	that they satisfy award and module attendance requirements (as stated in their award handbook)
Senser	Finite: modal	Process: Mental	Phenomenon

The second encoding of cognition ‘bear in mind’ presented in Table 5.29 below might be read pragmatically as a veiled threat, in that the Phenomenon constructs a process stating the University’s responsibility. However, it is not a responsibility towards the students but towards a whole range of other possible stakeholders: awarding authorities, employers, and ill defined *other sponsors*. The university’s process is a Verbal one which is to spread reports of ‘unsatisfactory’ compliance with the handbook as far afield as it may determine under the regulations. There is a fine lexical patterning deriving from *satisfy* as an action relating to students in the Phenomenon-Material clause and *unsatisfactory* as an evaluation emanating from the University in the Phenomenon-Verbal clause. In this total construction, the student is seen as someone who must give satisfaction, or else be endangered at the hands of stakeholders aligned against them in an alliance ratified by the text, the handbook.

Table 5.29 Clausal analysis 2 of *ENSURE*

and [students]	should	bear in mind	that it is the University's responsibility to report unsatisfactory attendance to grant awarding authorities, and where appropriate, to employers or other sponsors.
Senser	Finite: modal	Process: Mental	Phenomenon

5.3.5. Verbal Process

While Material processes represent what is done in organizations, by whom, and under what conditions, and Mental processes may represent the required or ideal levels of cognition in organizations (what should be known, by whom), Verbal processes have to do with the flow of institutional information, with who controls or originates the flow, what the information is about, and to whom the information is directed. Of course, in regulatory text, it is only the ideal flow that can be encoded, whereas in reality there are likely to be imperfections in one or more aspects of the communication. *Inform* is the highest frequency verb representing such processes in this corpus. Its main features are described in the summary Table 5.30 of collocates and sample Table 5.31 from the concordance below.

In Table 5.30, it is clear that it is mostly institutional university entities (represented in L position, particularly in L2), who inform, while it is mainly students (highest in R1 and R2 positions) who are the recipients of information. The flow of information is not one-sided, of course, in that there are certain instances when the student must inform the university, most frequently the Academic Registrar, of details it needs to know. Mainly, however, the university informs the student, as can be seen from Table 5.30 below. For example, between L3-R5, the following sentence can be constructed: *The ___ shall inform the student of the decision...* A sample sentence from the concordance is: *The Provost shall inform the student of his/her decision and any penalty s/he decides to impose at the hearing.*

Table 5.30 *INFORM* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	AND	SHALL	INFORM	THE	STUDENT	OF
2	OF	REQUIRED	TO		STUDENTS	ACADEMIC	IN
3	HER	SHALL	WILL		YOU	OF	REGISTRAR
4	STUDENT	NOMINEE	MUST		THEIR	CANDIDATE	THE
5	S	HE	AND		IN	UNIVERSITY	THAT
6	ACADEMIC	REGISTRAR	IMMEDIATELY			HEAD	WHETHER
7	ARE	STUDENTS	SHOULD			APPROPRIATE	AND
8	SHE	COMMITTEE	ALSO			SECRETARY	IF
9	HE	DEPARTMENT				DIRECTOR	CHANCELLOR
10	APPEALS	WHO				CHAIR	S
11	OR	WILL				VICE	
12		SHE				SENIOR	
13		MUST					
14		UNIVERSITY					
15		BOARD					
16		OFFICER					
17		STUDENT					
18		STUDIES					
19		SUPPORT					

The sample from the concordance in Table 5.31 below provides a closer view of this flow. Six out of ten lines show the student as the recipient of the information and *the individual* in line 11 is synonymous with student. The student in this receiver position is informed by a number of capitalized entities such as the Deputy ViceChancellor, the Academic Standards Unit, and the Provost. The non-capitalized student, unlike the Clerk, is informed of findings, the outcome, and his/her decision. A high value is placed on the mode of communication: *in writing*, as borne out in positions R3 and R4 in table 5.30 above and in Lines 13-14 below.

Table 5.31 Excerpt from concordance for *INFORM*

N	Concordance
7	3.4.4.1 The Deputy ViceChancellor will inform the student of the findings and
8	the Academic Standards Unit will also inform the student that: (i) he or she may
9	Panel. 57 5.2 The ViceChancellor will inform the student concerned, and the
10	is deemed relevant to the case. 2.3.3 inform the student of the outcome of the
11	consider the investigation report and inform the individual in person of any
12	(for major offences) who shall then inform the appropriate Dean of Faculty.
13	meeting in writing. The Provost shall inform the student in writing of the details
14	by a representative, s/he shall inform the Provost in writing of the name
15	be appropriate. 9.3.9 The Provost shall inform the student of his/her decision
16	representative present, then s/he shall inform the Clerk to the Disciplinary

In Table 5.32 below, a fuller context for line 13 is provided in the clause complex.

Table 5.32 Clause analysis for *INFORM*

The Provost	shall	inform	the student	of his/her <i>decision</i> and any penalty s/he <i>decides</i> to impose at the hearing
Sayer	Finite: Modulated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Predicator • Process: Verbal 	Receiver	Verbiage

Verbiage here represents a kind of Range (Halliday & Matthiessen, p 294). In power terms, the Verbiage delimits the content the student shall hear: the Provost's *decision*, and the non-specific *any* penalty. There is a range within the Range manifest in the lexical echo of *decision* and *decides*. The Verbiage is laden with power constructs such as *decision*, *any*, *penalty*, *decides*, *impose*, and *hearing*. A process is constructed wherein the student, frequently, is merely the Receiver and the essential activity excludes the student as an active agent unless that Agency is required by the university.

5.3.6. Existential processes

Existential processes, always using the signaling word *there*, do not construct action and events at the Material, mental or behavioral levels, nor do they report on such processes at a Verbal level. Existential processes represent, instead of actions, states of being. They ordain what does, or does not, exist within their domain of activity and perception and social structure. Such a huge area can only be represented as a sample here, but the complexity of how to represent existential processes in organizations is clearly worth several multi-faceted studies focusing on such aspects as identities, processes, and circumstance – all realized through the verb *to be*. The data considered for more detailed consideration below cannot aim to be representative.

Halliday & Matthiessen note that ‘the word *there* in such clauses is neither a participant nor a circumstance – it has no representational function in the transitivity structure of the clause; but it serves to indicate the feature of existence, and it is

needed personally as a Subject.’ (2004, p. 257). Downing & Locke note an aspect of the existential clause which has consequences for the power of exclusion: ‘A *there*-structure is commonly used in English to express events, happenings and states of affairs in a schematic way, without the intervention of participants. Frequently the noun is a nominalization of a verbal process.’ (p. 259). They continue ‘*There* - constructions with nominalizations have the effect of silencing the Agent of the action. The occurrence is the only important part of the message.’ (p. 260) The exclusion of participants by linguistic means is well noted by Fairclough (2003) in his discussion of the linguistic exclusion of social actors through such means as textual suppression or backgrounding.

The lack of modalization in Table 5.33 below is noteworthy when one compares it with the high degree of modalization in the corpus. There is no occurrence of *there must/should/will...* Most lines show simply *there is/are*, and there is one modal *should be*. Only in one case is there a locative *there*: line 472. In the table below, the existential process verb construction calls into being: an admission, liability, conflict, opportunity, case, and concern. Nothing concrete materializes. In narratives, this existential process might have summoned into existence participants and objects in a story with a beginning, middle and end, but here the entities called into being are nebulous and seem to state a context for action rather than action itself.

Table 5.33 excerpt from concordance for *THERE*

N Concordance	
469	procedures is appropriate only when there is an admission to the disciplinary
470	Where this principle is transgressed, there is a liability to disciplinary
471	or any other co-opted person considers there to be a conflict of interest or
472	including barring from residing there . 6(6) Available penalties include the
473	on University premises or elsewhere. b) There are two types of disciplinary
474	reduced or restricted to zero and that there should be no opportunity to resit
475	Chair decides that on the face of it there is no case for appeal, he/she shall
476	the case decides that on the face of it there is no case for appeal, he/she shall
477	In reaching a decision on whether there is a case for appeal, the Chair may
478	under General Regulation V. (b) If there is concern about any aspect of a

Table 5.34 below shows a summary view of existential collocates from the corpus. As in the sample corpus lines above, what exists is less than tangible: evidence, a case, no case, a prima facie case, a reason, a cause, a doubt. These are related to what the university considers as evaluative criteria for its institutional processes, as R2 provides qualifications for such existents: *good, sufficient, clear, new* and *reasonable*. The word No is also in strong position in R2, functioning, evaluatively, to legislate out of existence.

Table 5.34 *THERE IS* and collocates

N	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	THERE	IS	A EVIDENCE	TO	THE	
2			NO CASE	OF	CASE	
3			EVIDENCE	PRIMA	FOR	ANSWER
4			AN OF	FACIE	OF	
5			ANY THAT	THE	TO	
6			GOOD FURTHER	THAT	FOR	
7			SUFFICIENT REASON	A	A	
8			CLEAR FOR	PREJUDICE	APPEAL	
9			NEW CAUSE	REASON	THAT	
10			REASONABLE DOUBT		ANY	
11			TO		OR	
12			RIGHT		STUDENT	

The data for clausal analysis provided in Tables 5.53 and 5.36 below is provided by the corpus Co-text for Line 478 in Table above.

Table 5.35 Clause analysis 1 of *THERE IS*

If	there	is	concern	about any aspect of a student's attendance or work,
Textual Subordinator		Process: existential	Existent	Extension Range?

Strictly speaking, in SFL, the category labeled Existent and Extension above would be conflated into Existent. However, it may be more useful to identify the bare Existent and then see what kind of projection, or Extension is realized. Here, about any aspect serves an extension of concern or it may signify the range of concern. This range is made unlimited, in that what is encoded is the university's concern: *about any aspect*. What is limited is the field that the university chooses to be concerned about, in a bifurcation: *attendance or work*.

The Textual *If* above constructs a hypothesis negatively constructing student behaviour, in the value-laden *concern*. It is part of a hypotactic encoding where university entities step in to replace the empty *there* as controlling agents in a verbal process. They should report, only to each other, not their concern, with the mild modal should, but rather the action required as a result of their concern. There is a glossing over temporal range in the Verbiage when it comes to action affecting students; it may be required, thereby existing only at a hypothetical or desiderative level, or the action may already have been taken. The boundaries between the proposed and enacted are blurred in the simple conjunction: *or*.

Table 5.36 Clause analysis 2 of *THERE IS*

the Departments and College concerned	should	keep each other informed	of action required or taken
Sayer	Finite: Modal	Process: Verbal + Receiver	Verbiage

5.3.7. Relational processes

In existential clauses, the obligatory *there* is empty and the primary function of the clause complex is to assert or deny the existence of a specified entity. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) note that in relational clauses, 'there are two parts to the "being": something is said to "be" something else. In other words, a relationship of being is set up between two separate entities.' (p. 213). Eggins (2004) rightly describes relational processes as 'a rich and complex area of transitivity' in order to justify why her discussion can provide only "an outline" (p. 239). Halliday & Matthiessen state

with deceptive simplicity that relational clauses ‘serve to characterize and to identify.’ (p. 210). A search of a corpus of even this very limited size for the verb *to be* encoding relational processes yields a daunting result. However, relational processes are encoded not only by *to be* but also by synonyms in context. It can be asked, for example, within the university, what a part-time student is. The answer can be a definition, constructing such a student in order to fit within an institutional framework of processes, deadlines, circumstances and other participants.

In the analysis below, rather than consider simply the verb *to be* as encoding relational clauses, which is most characteristic of most texts, the synonym *is defined as* is used instead.. In Table 5.37, Line 174 is in fact purely relational using the verb *to be*: *A programme of study is the defined curriculum*. However, the passive form in lines 176-182 could be seen as a redundant interpolation: *An auditing student is [defined as] one that is registered* (line 179) or *Plagiarism is [defined as] the use* (line 180).

In Table 5.38 below, taken from the corpus, the intensive identifying verb is used in the passive not to ascribe an attribute to the student (as in *A part-time student is often keen*), but to define identity. Syntactically, the Identifier and Identified could be reversed, but it makes encoding sense to keep the Identified in Given/Theme position and to load the New information at the end. In the Identifier position below, the student is not ascribed great powers of agency in material clauses, but is rendered in the gerund taking, a lexically weak verb here, in that what the student is taking is not action but time as defined by the university.

Table 5.37 excerpt from concordance for *DEFINED*

N Concordance	
173	throughout the United Kingdom, as defined , for example, in the Quality
174	of study (i) A programme of study is the defined curriculum for an award approved
175	involved in any of the relationships defined above, the external examiner will
176	against students, misconduct is defined as: (i) a criminal offence (ii) an
177	of these procedures a complaint is defined as any concern about the
178	assessed. 4.1 A parttime student is defined as a student taking less than
179	the award. 4.3 An auditing student is defined as one that is registered for a
180	“element of prescribed assessment” is defined as any piece of work contributing
181	includes plagiarism. Plagiarism is defined as the use, without adequate
182	Diplomas a Class Certificate is defined as ‘a certificate confirming that a

Table 5.38 Clause analysis for *IS DEFINED AS*

A parttime student	is defined as	a student taking less than eight months in an academic year
Identified	Pr: Relational: Identifying	Identifier

5.4. LIGHT VERBS

Two other high frequency verbs, *make* and *take*, also have the potential to function in material processes. However, Tables 5.39 and 5.40 below suggest that they are rarely used in such transitive structures in the corpus. In Left position, they are dominated by preceding modals such as *will* and *may* which show that they occur frequently within an interpersonal Mood construction expressing the Author's power to varying degrees, as considered in the preceding chapter. They rarely occur independently of modals or interpersonal constructions.

In Table 5.39 in the R position, it is clear that *make* exists frequently to construct a noun phrase, such as *make representations, recommendations, and arrangements* (R1), or *a complaint, a decision or a request* (R1-R2). Similarly in Table 5.40 the verb *take* is used in constructions such as *take place, take action, take appropriate action and take disciplinary action*. The most remarkable difference between the two tables is the Agent. The student dominates the *Make* table as Agent, and the University dominates the *Take* table. The student may make representations and requests and the university may take action. There are clear implications for the encoding of the institutional balance of power in this distinction.

Table 5.39 *MAKE* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	OPPORTUNITY	TO	MAKE	A	TO	TO
2	BE	STUDENT	MAY		REPRESENTATIONS	IN	THE
3	AN	AND	WILL		RECOMMENDATIONS	FOR	OF
4	A	STUDENTS	SHALL		AN	OF	IN
5	STUDENT	WISH	AND		GOOD	ON	PERSON
6	OR	REQUIREMENT	SHOULD		THE	DECISION	FOR
7	OF	RIGHT	MUST		WRITTEN	WRITTEN	REPORT
8	ASSESSMENT	ENTITLED	ALSO		IT	REPRESENTATIONS	STATEMENT
9	MAY	OR	NOT		SUCH	COMPLAINT	OR
10	STUDENTS	MAY	WHO		ANY	THE	WITH
11	ARE	WISHES	YOU		USE	FORMAL	AND
12	AND	YOU	CASE		ARRANGEMENTS	RECOMMENDATION	A
13	UNIVERSITY	REQUIRED	OR		THEIR	CLEAR	DAMAGE
14	WHO	BOARD	EXAMINERS		AWARDS	ANY	COMPLAINT
15	IS	THE			THEMSELVES	NECESSARY	ON
16	YOU	UNIVERSITY			EVERY	ARRANGEMENTS	WHOLE
17	HER	COMMITTEE			HIS	A	ARRANGEMENTS
18	IN	SHE			ALTERNATIVE	STATEMENT	SUCH
19	WILL	NOT			SURE	OR	APPEAL
20	ACADEMIC	NOMINEE			AND	AS	COST
21	TO	PANEL			THEM	FINAL	AS
22	HE	ABLE				REQUEST	
23		INVITED				AND	
24		UNABLE				ABOUT	
25		WHICH				AWARD	
26						REPRESENTATION	
27						REASONABLE	
28						FULL	
29						ANNUAL	
30						APPEAL	
31						AVAILABLE	
32						PROGRESS	

It is not necessary to make any further ideational analysis of the clause structures in this chapter. This would require a repetitive application of what has gone before. Tables 5.39 and 5.40 provide collocation evidence from the corpus that a rich body of data exists supporting the previous findings, namely that there is a high degree of modality governing the process verbs, and that the process verbs, when they encode material processes, do so only very lightly constructing nominalizations and Range rather than student-centred Goals.

Table 5.40 TAKE and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	THE	UNIVERSITY	TO	TAKE	THE	ACTION	THE
2	BE	REQUIRED	MAY		PLACE	OF	OF
3	AND	BOARD	WILL		INTO	ACCOUNT	TO
4	ARE	RIGHT	SHALL		SUCH	IN	IN
5	OF	EXAMINERS	AND		ACCOUNT	EXAMINATION	ANY
6	OR	HEARING	NORMALLY		ACTION	THE	ACTION
7	IS	AND	SHOULD		NO	TO	AS
8	ASSESSMENT	STUDENTS	NOT		A	FROM	OR
9	A	STUDENT	MUST		ANY	MATTER	A
10	STUDENT	PERMITTED	REGULATIONS		APPROPRIATE	STEPS	WRITTEN
11	APPELLANT	NECESSARY	ALSO		DISCIPLINARY	AT	FURTHER
12	THAT	SHALL	CAN		AN	FOR	ON
13	UNIVERSITY	WISH	OR		TO	FORM	EXAMINATION
14	COMMITTEE	YOU	1		PART	COMPLAINT	IF
15	APPEAL	COMMITTEE	CANDIDATE		UP	AN	AND
16	ACADEMIC	EXPECTED	ONLY		AND	TESTS	DURING
17	NO	APPROPRIATE			ADVICE	DISCIPLINARY	FOR
18	FOR	PERMISSION			PRECEDENCE	FURTHER	STEPS
19	EXAMINERS	THE			ONE	THEIR	AT
20		WILL			RESPONSIBILITY	AS	THIS
21		MAY			EFFECT	MODULES	
22		OR			FURTHER	EXAMINATIONS	
23		CANDIDATE			OR	PART	
24		WHICH			IMMEDIATE	OTHER	
25		ALLOWED			CARE		
26		THEY			REASONABLE		
27		IS			IN		
28		ASKED					
29		THIS					

5.5. PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

The next chapter provides data on the vast amount of text from this corpus that is encoded in the passive, with a focus on how such encoding affects readability. Here, some instances of passive construction are considered at a clausal level, particularly in relation to the ideational representation of events.

The section on ideational representation in this chapter derived its focus mainly from the lexical frequency of verbs in the corpus, and therefore there may have been more of an emphasis on processes than on the participants. In this final section of this chapter, however, the focus is much more on ‘representations of social actors’ enquiring into how, and why, they are ‘activated’/‘passivated’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145). Looking at authorial choices, Fairclough asks: ‘Is the social actor the Actor in processes (loosely the one who does things and makes things happen), or the Affected or Beneficiary (loosely, the one affected by processes)?’ (ibid. p. 145). Fairclough, additionally, notes two means of Inclusion/exclusion of social actors: they

can be completely suppressed within the text, or they can be backgrounded. While Chapter 6 looks at exclusion on a larger textual level, here I will consider how it is managed at a clausal level.

There are substantial discourse reasons for choosing to encode in the passive. ‘Promoting one participant, demoting another’ (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 253) is one driving factor which often has to do with the effective management of information. There may be a good communicative rationale in a given discourse context for displacing or removing the Agent, such as focusing on the process, ensuring that New information is placed where it is best processed or avoiding reference to the obvious.

Once the passive has been chosen, one further choice of some consequence must be made: whether to encode with an Agentless passive or to encode the Agent in a by-phrase. When there is no Agent mentioned, it may simply be that the Agent can easily be inferred, or is unknown, or simply irrelevant. These are innocent reasons related to effective management of information encoding and flow. However, there may be a less innocent rationale that has to do with power encoding. Downing and Locke note that the Agent may be ‘deliberately silenced in order to avoid giving or taking blame or responsibility... or to maintain privacy’ (2006, pp. 254-255). Where the Agent is present, in the corpus material, it is often in a power relation where the student is cast as Recipient or Beneficiary.

5.6.1. Agentless passive clauses

Table 5.41 shows one example of one of the highest frequency passive verbs in the corpus. *Given* occurs 386 times, collocating most strongly with students and opportunities. *Student* and *Students* dominate in L3 position. The word *by* occurs in R1 position to construct a possible *given by* phrase. Additionally, it occurs in fifth order of frequency of collocation in the R3 column.

Table 5.41 *GIVEN* and its collocation patterns

N	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	STUDENT	WILL	BE	GIVEN	THE	THE	TO
2	SHE	SHALL	BEEN		TO	OPPORTUNITY	THE
3	SUCH	HAS	IS		AN	TO	STUDENT
4	AND	SHOULD	ARE		IN	NOTICE	OF
5	STUDENTS	INFORMATION	HAS		BY	CONSIDERATION	BY
6	REASONS	THE	A		A	IN	BE
7	TO	MAY	ANY		NOTICE	LEAST	MATTER
8	WILL	TO	ALREADY		AND	WRITING	IN
9	THE	MUST			ON	OF	WRITING
10	THAT	NOTICE			FOR	FAILURE	IF
11	OF	HAVE			AT	FOR	IS
12	NOTICE	AND			PERMISSION	STUDENT	OPPORTUNITY
13	DISCIPLINARY	NOT			WRITTEN		QUIT
14	SHALL				IF		
15	ON				REASONS		
16	A				OR		

Table 5.42 below shows an excerpt from the concordance for the phrase *given the opportunity*. There is no Agent. It is clear that students, candidates, and members are given opportunities by an Agency that has no need to be named. The opportunities they are given, however, are realized predominantly by what have already been identified here as lexically light verbs: *make* and *take*. *Given the opportunity*, in fact, appears more like an alternative encoding of a modal, just as *take responsibility* relates to *must* and *shall* to express obligation. *Given the opportunity* appears to encode rights, such as *may* and *can*, but encodes an authorial stance towards those rights: they are conferred upon a Recipient.

Table 5.42 Excerpt from concordance for *GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY*

N Concordance	
9	for consideration, and shall have been given the opportunity to make
10	or his or her representative shall be given the opportunity to make a
11	allegations, the student(s) should be given the opportunity to respond to the
12	in writing of the concerns and will be given the opportunity to make
13	warning so the student may be given the opportunity to improve their
14	Head of the Examination Office, will be given the opportunity to take the
15	Committee. If the student, having been given the opportunity to attend the
16	the student concerned shall be given the opportunity to state his or her
17	environment in which all members are given the opportunity to realise their full
18	of this possibility and has been given the opportunity of making

5.6.2. Agentive passive clauses

A corpus search for *by the* in order to get some sense of passive occurrences yielded 2,337 concordance lines, most of them encoding the passive voice. The concordance for the first 30 lines is given in Appendix 6. It can be seen that only in Line 24 *by the* does not serve in a passive construction. In the other lines, the position after *by the* is dominated by university authorities. In four instances, (Lines 11, 20, 21 and 22), these authorities are replaced by the regulations. Students are almost absent here, referred to only in Lines 19 and 23. The following two paragraphs represent encoding of a construction first *by the student*, and second *by the university*.

Text 5.1

The Assessment Enquiry panel will comprise of two or more people (1) appointed by the Chair of the Board of Examiners who will meet to review the evidence (2) presented both by the tutor_and that (3)_presented by the student who (4) is suspected of malpractice. The student (5) may be accompanied by a friend. Members of the Enquiry Panel (6) may be drawn from Heads of School, Subject Leaders or members of senior management.

Text 5.2

The University shall have the power to: (i) grant and confer taught undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic awards on persons who complete an appropriate programme of study and satisfy the required assessment approved by the University.

Text 5.1 has six instances of the passive, which I have numbered for reference, while Text 5.2 has just one. In Text 5.1, the first passive is agentive, apparently for the purpose of conferring powers upon the capitalized Chair of the Board of Examiners to construct a panel. The second and third passives, apparently balanced, refer to evidence presented by tutor and student, except that student is post-qualified as a suspect. The suspicion is constructed in the agentless passive 4: who is suspected. The fifth passive appears to confer permission upon the student to be accompanied. The sixth passive returns to the Enquiry Panel of passive 1, and extends the range of power so that the two or more people in the first clause has metamorphosed into Heads, Leaders and seniors. Specifically aligned against *student* and *friend* are Heads of School, Subject Leaders or members of senior management. Text 5.2 asserts the powers of the university to grant and confer awards on persons. These persons are constructed with reference to the university's norms of appropriateness, satisfaction and approval. There is no need, in Text 5.2, for the kinds of demotion of Agent described earlier. The text begins with the university assertively in the active claiming its powers and concludes with the university in the passive as an entity identifying assessments which may be approved by it.

In Chapter 7, alternative means of encoding will be considered which challenge, among other linguistic features, the institutionalized encoding facilitated by the passive. While the passive has clear discourse advantages, it can also be abused to construct power relations that subjugate or exclude primary stakeholders: students.

5.7 CHAPTER DISCUSSION:

This chapter has used lexical frequency analysis of the corpus of 50 texts in order to determine which processes to focus upon for the purpose of clausal analysis. Three questions emerged from an initial examination of the corpus, posed in Section 5.1. The first related to the rarity of material verbs, which had a low frequency compared to certain other processes. The answer to the question seems to be that students are rarely constructed as agentive in goal-oriented actions. The organization encodes, instead, primarily what students should know and believe rather than what they can do. Similarly, the university's actions in relation to students are constructed in terms of what it may consider, determine, permit or ensure, for example: all verbs that avoid

stating directly what action will be taken, but creating instead a belief system wherein any action the university takes has the sanction of textualized authority.

The second question had to do with the encoding implications of light verbs such as *make* and *take*. Instead of being used as strong material verbs, they are used to facilitate nominalization. This, like the low frequency of material verbs, is a linguistic means of achieving the same purpose: the downgrading of material action.

The final question inquired about the high incidence of the passive in constructing institutional processes. The first explanation may have to do with the avoidance of blame, in that stakeholders may suffer such punishment as exclusion without anybody being held directly responsible. It can be made to appear, linguistically, that the stakeholder is simply caught up in a process.

In addition to these three linguistic means of constructing students within the hierarchy, it also became clear from the data in this chapter that primary processes in which students might be engaged, such as work and study, were reified into a product rather than being encoded as a process with active Agency. Most processes were encoded within a modal framework expressing powerful authorial stance. Clausal analysis of the processes provided clear evidence of this modalization and of the disempowered construction of the student in relation to a plurality of other university entities. These entities may have a voice within the text, and may refer to it as the authority when action is required, but the text is dialogic only in so far as it represents a chorus of institutional voices that fail to include the stakeholder. Fairclough (2003) exploring the concept of dialogic text, states: 'Dialogicality is a measure of the extent to which there are dialogical relations between the voice of the author and other voices, the extent to which these voices are represented and responded to, or conversely excluded or suppressed' (p. 214). The next chapter takes up this theme of exclusion at a level beyond the lexeme and clause in order to discover some of the textual strategies used, at a macro-level of text, to exclude and suppress.

CHAPTER 6

Students Constructing Texts & Texts Constructing Students

6.1. TWO TEXTUAL SYSTEMS OF EXCLUSION

This chapter looks first at how easily the student may construct the text, bearing in mind that regulations may be encoded in such a difficult way that they may be of little use in situations where the stakeholder may need to read them with ease in order to put them to use in problematic situations. Unreadable texts are one means of preserving privileged power positions and controlling access to resources, including knowledge. The chapter looks secondly, beyond how the reader constructs the text, once again at how the text constructs the student, but moving beyond the levels of the lexeme and the clause to consider the texture of the text as it is constructed by Theme/Rheme patterning. The corpus analysis in Chapter 4 and CDA evidence in Chapter 5 showed that the student stakeholder was downgraded, marginalized or even excluded within the lexico-grammatical encoding system of the organization. This chapter takes up the theme of marginalization and exclusion, triangulating the evidence of the last two chapters against a broader textual view that goes beyond the micro-analysis of lexemes and clauses.

The two previous chapters focused on data derived from lexemes and clauses. In Chapter 4, corpus analysis of lexical frequency revealed the dominance of modality in constructing relations between author and reader that enshrined institutional power and marginalized the student-stakeholder in subordinate roles. In Chapter 5, the ideational construction of the participants, processes and circumstances was analysed at a clausal level and examined how power structures could be mapped onto clause

structures to the detriment of stakeholders. In this chapter, longer stretches of text beyond the lexeme and clausal level provide the data. They all deal with aspects of how primary stakeholders may be textually marginalized or excluded in organizational discourse.

Firstly, because stakeholders can be alienated by difficult text, an overview of the readability of the entire corpus of text is obtained, each of the fifty texts having been submitted separately to FK/FRE analysis. There follows a report on a small-scale study of the readability of two texts, one authentic and one a version of the same rewritten to be more readable. This study raises concerns about the conceptualization of readability and the methodologies for measuring it.

Secondly, the structuring of information across a stretch of text is examined using Theme/Rheme analysis in order to identify the authorial choices which orient the reader along narrow pathways within the text.

6.2. READABILITY

Difficult text can create barriers between stakeholders and the information they require (Leroy, Helmreich, & Cowie, 2010; Yick, 2008). A privileged encoding minority within an organization with the power to author text can make lexical and grammatical choices which make text more or less accessible to its target readership. If principles of fairness and justice were paramount, the decoding abilities of target readers would have been accurately anticipated so that they might access key information with ease. The student body at a typical British university is heterogeneous in its decoding abilities, even where English is their first language, let alone a second or other language. Given the range of decoding abilities in a mixed student population, it might reasonably be expected that the rules of the organization should be encoded in such a way as to make them easily intelligible to students at all levels of linguistic ability who have satisfied the minimum entry requirements.

Table 6.1, however, suggests that this reasonable expectation is usually not met. Microsoft (2007) advises ‘for most documents, aim for a score of approximately 7.0 to 8.0...For most standard files, you want the score to be between 60 and 70.’ For a summary of the formulae and what these scores mean, see section 3.3.4.2. In the

following section, I present the results obtained after measuring the readability of each of the 50 texts using readability analysis software, the limits of which have already been discussed in Chapter 3: 3.3.2.1.

Table 6.1. FK analysis of 50 texts, showing Flesch Reading Ease and FK Grade level

Text No.	FRE	FK	Text No.	FRE	FK
1	35.3	14.6	26	33.5	15.6
2	18	17.9	27	55	7.4
3	34.2	16	28	31.8	15.4
4	19.6	20.8	29	21	18.1
5	29.5	15.3	30	48.8	8
6	31.9	14.6	31	32.2	15.1
7	20.6	16.3	32	37.8	9.4
8	23.5	18.3	33	15.9	16.6
9	39.9	9.3	34	40.4	9.3
10	42.7	8.8	35	47.8	8.1
11	9.9	19.7	36	34.8	15.3
12	31.1	15.6	37	37.6	14.2
13	40	13.2	38	42.5	9.1
14	25	14.4	39	38.1	13.9
15	29.5	16.2	40	32	16.7
16	24.7	16	41	38.4	13.3
17	47.5	10	42	23.1	18.8
18	28	15.8	43	38.1	13.8
19	26	16.8	44	25.5	15.9
20	30.8	15.8	45	33.5	15.6
21	46	8.4	46	33.7	13.6
22	31.8	14.2	47	41	9.2
23	55.1	7.7	48	30.2	14.9
24	36.2	13.9	49	37.4	13.7
25	28.4	15.9	50	45.7	8.7

6.2.1. Readability data from the corpus

Each text number represents a university, in the first column. The second column (FRE) represents reading ease and the third column represents the grade level required to decode the text as an L1 target reader in education.

The FRE provides an initial indication of how much strain may be imposed upon the reader purely as a result of measurable surface-level encoding choices such as word length. It calculates the average number of words per sentence and also because it builds into its computation how many characters there are per word, with a high frequency of polysyllabic lexical words allegedly increasing *lexical density* and reading difficulty. FRE shows a range of reading ease from 0 to 100, with 100 representing maximum ease and 0 representing maximum decoding difficulty. Thirty

above zero and thirty below 100 are key transition points, with scores below 30 mapped as difficult and scores mapped above 70 readable with ease by adults who have achieved grade 8 and 9. Scores from 0-30 in FRE may identify a text that is marked *very difficult* and readable only by 4.5% of the US population. (Flesch,1949). Text lower than 60 is considered in varying degrees as fairly difficult, difficult or very difficult. The range 60-70 is the cusp between difficulty and ease, and above 70 varying levels of ease can be represented. Regulations encoded below 60 will range from fairly difficult (50-60) to difficult (30-50) to very difficult (0-30). (Flesch,1949). The FRE of the *Harvard Law Review*, for example, has been measured at around 32, the *Wall Street Journal* is in the low 40s and insurance policies and software licencing agreements are much lower (Grossklags and Good, 2004).

The FRE data in Table 6.1 indicate that most texts in my corpus range from difficult to extremely difficult . There are sixteen texts with FRE below 30, twenty-two texts between 30-39, ten texts between 40-49, and two texts between 50-59. Figure 6.1 below shows all of the 50 texts are in the difficulty range, below 60. Sixteen texts are more difficult to read than the *Harvard Law Review* and twenty-two texts are within the same range of difficulty as it, and are more difficult to read than the *Wall Street Journal*: both of whose readerships are predominantly graduates in a specialist area rather than a diverse population of undergraduates. This contrast suggests these FRE levels may prove challenging to a diverse student population.

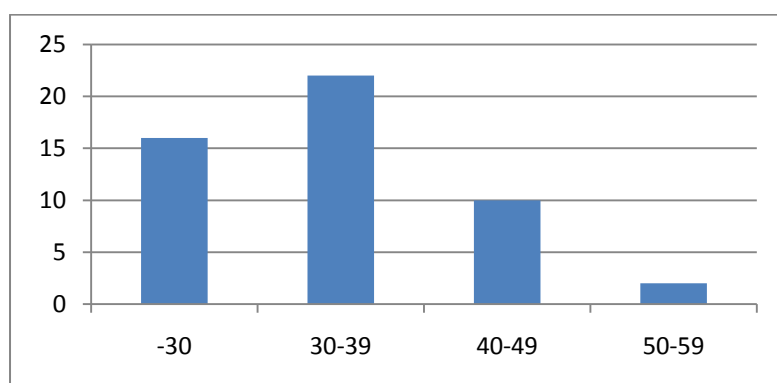


Figure 6.1 Flesch Reading Ease measured across 50 texts

Finally, the FK Grade levels in Table 6.1 show that 37 texts are above FK 12. The 12 represents the final year in high schools for 17-18 year old Americans and FK levels above this are more suited to L1 students at various college levels up to postgraduate. The regulations of any modern British university, however, may need to be decoded by students, particularly new entrants, who have demonstrated an ability to decode up to FK 12 only and by L2 students whose decoding ability may be lower than FK12 in a second language.

This readability data, however, only provide data for some strictly measurable aspects of the text and need to be triangulated, and not necessarily against other readability indices. Discrepancies among these different indices become manifest when they are applied to a single text and yield markedly different data on that text's readability. These discrepancies among indices may be taken as proving that a given index is unreliable (Mailloux et al, 1995; Sydes & Hartley, 1997). Discrepancies, however, should not surprise. Each index constructs its own set of variables. For that reason, consistency, or reliability, in readability instruments should be established within a range of texts using a single index, rather than using a single text across a range of indices. The following report of a small scale study takes readability data only as a starting point, and then includes more reader-oriented responses to triangulate the computational text-oriented data.

6.2.2. A small-scale readability study

This section reports a small-scale mixed-methods study of readability in the context of this chapter's theme of stakeholder exclusion.

The materials used were an excerpt from an authentic regulations text from the corpus and a rewritten version that aimed for greater readability. See Appendix 1 for a parallel version of these texts. First, a text from Table 6.1 above with a median level of difficulty was selected, according to the measured surface criteria, and the section was resubmitted for FK and FRE analysis to ensure the excerpt was representative of a challenging text. See Chapter 3: *3.3.2.2 Cloze tests and triangulation*.

Then I rewrote the text, attempting to preserve information essential for the student but at a more readable level. The data for the original text, called Regulations

2, and my rewritten text, Regulation 1, are given in Chapter 3: Table 3.1 Readability data for cloze texts. The table shows the readability indices recognize the changes that have been made with the result that the rewritten text should be more readable. The major changes are that the passive forms have been removed, references to the student and *his/her* has been removed, the second person pronoun has been introduced and is used repeatedly, often as the active agent, and the length of sentences and paragraphs has been shortened.

Table 6.2 below shows lexical frequencies for both texts showing the twenty most frequent words in each text. The most obvious change is that you is the most frequent item in the revised text. There is also a reversal in the frequency of modals. The original text corresponds with the frequencies in the larger corpus in that WILL is the most frequently occurring modal; in my revised corpus, however, MAY is the most frequent. Other words such as BOARD and COMMITTEE indicate the commonality of focus in both texts.

Table 6.2 Lexical frequencies for texts 1 & 2

ORIGINAL TEXT				REWRITTEN TEXT		
N	Word	Frequency	%	Word	Frequency	%
1	THE	63	12.57	YOU	22	6.77
2	OF	35	6.99	THE	20	6.15
3	TO	17	3.39	YOUR	12	3.69
4	BE	15	2.99	MAY	9	2.77
5	WILL	12	2.40	OF	8	2.46
6	AND	11	2.20	WILL	8	2.46
7	A	7	1.40	AND	6	1.85
8	MAY	7	1.40	APPEAL	6	1.85
9	ANY	6	1.20	IT	6	1.85
10	BOARD	6	1.20	THIS	6	1.85
11	IN	6	1.20	TO	6	1.85
12	STUDENT	6	1.20	A	5	1.54
13	STUDENT'S	6	1.20	COMMITTEE	5	1.54
14	WHICH	6	1.20	ACADEMIC	4	1.23
15	COMMITTEE	5	1.00	ANY	4	1.23
16	FACULTY	5	1.00	AS	4	1.23
17	IS	5	1.00	BOARD	4	1.23
18	MEETING	5	1.00	EVIDENCE	4	1.23
19	OR	5	1.00	MEETING	4	1.23
20	SHOULD	5	1.00	NOT	4	1.23

A keyword analysis shows that the most salient contrast between the two texts is the occurrence of you. See Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3 Key word analysis of rewritten text contrasted with original

Key word	Freq	%	RC. Freq	RC. %	Keyness	P.
YOU	22	6.77	0	-	41.97	0.0000000000

Cloze tests were made for each text. (See Appendix 7). Stevens, Stevens and Stevens (1992) argue that cloze tests are better indicators of readability than computational indices because they ‘measure how difficult it is for a given population of adult readers to read a piece of material’ (p. 378). In order to test what differences the two texts, contrasting in readability data, made to readers, a cloze test was made of each text, following the most usual procedure where the first sentence is left intact, and every fifth word in the subsequent text was deleted. The two cloze texts were given to a colleague to produce the test using *Hot Potatoes* (2010), which is freeware software available from University of Victoria designed to enable the creation of interactive texts which can be taken on websites. Strict adherence to the preferred cloze-test creation formula, and the colleague’s involvement, ensured that no researcher-bias would affect the items to be tested, such as the removal or repositioning of an item that would favour performance in one test rather than another.

The tests were administered to two populations under non-controlled conditions after I had done a limited pilot study among EFL teachers and some of my own students who had passed IELTS with Band 6 in Academic Reading. For the research, I chose a population of 45 students taking Academic IELTS at an international university in The United Arab Emirates, who aspired either to be part of a multicultural university population in an English-speaking country or to continue with postgraduate studies in the UAE. A contrasting population of 20 educated L1 English graduates was also chosen because the literature on readability shows that in their first language, stakeholders such as citizens, patients, and consumers are disempowered by text that is difficult to read. If this population were to find the tasks and texts challenging, then it should follow that students should find decoding even more difficult. Data included not only analysis of the textual characteristics of the cloze tests themselves, but also test-taker performance, in order to explore the problems of researching readability. Participants were also asked to answer a short questionnaire at the end of the two tests, particularly to discover their feelings with regard to the texts as they worked through the cloze tests.

Four hypotheses about readability were tested, to discover any differences that might exist between Text 1 and Text 2, in two different populations.

1. There is no difference in the readability/level of difficulty between Text 1 and Text 2 for students.
2. There is no difference in the readability/level of difficulty between Text 1 and Text 2 for L1 speakers.
3. There is no difference in the readability/level of difficulty of Text 1 between students and L1 speakers.
4. There is no difference in the readability/level of difficulty of Text 2 between students and L1 speakers.

Before looking at the data in relation to these hypotheses, the characteristic of each cloze text should be examined. I analyzed their characteristics only after I got the cloze test results, in order to determine what textual, rather than test-taker, characteristics might have facilitated or impeded success in the cloze tasks. The authentic text is Regulations 2. The rewritten text is Regulations 1. Participants did the rewritten text first before handling the text identified in the indices as more difficult.

6.2.2.1. Categorization of textual features of cloze test for authentic text

In *Regulations 2*, I categorized the missing words as either grammatical or lexical words, counting modals as lexical. (See Appendix 8 for categorization scheme, and sample for Regulations 1). There are forty-seven grammatical words and forty-seven lexical words. There is a higher incidence of *of*, in nominalized constructions, no occurrences of *you*, and very few occurrences of pronouns: *His/her* and *their*. Nobody identified the missing *his/her* construction, and this might reasonably have been removed from a cloze text vetted for fitness of purpose if the purpose were results-oriented or pedagogic. The recoverability of grammatical words was generally very high in this test, except for *whether* and *however*. The recoverability of lexical words was much more challenging. All participants failed to recover *consideration*,

involved, substantiating, communicated, and concerned. See Appendix 9 for sample test answers.

6.2.2.2. Categorization of textual features of Cloze test for rewritten text

Appendix 8, as mentioned, shows all the missing words categorized either as grammatical or lexical words in *Regulations 1*. Appendix 9 shows a sample answer. There are thirty-five grammar words and twenty-five lexical words. I have included modal verbs in the lexical category because of their burden of meaning. My categorization shows that many of the lexical words are recoverable either from a reader's knowledge of collocation, or from contextual help. Some lexical words such as *three, departmental* and *member* are not recoverable, and in fact no participants thought to use these words. Instead, some knowledge of social context is required, or a more prolonged co-textual knowledge such as familiarity with the genre of regulations in this register. It would be reasonable to assume that most, if not all, the grammatical words, could be inserted if the participant has sufficient knowledge of correct usage of prepositions, articles and so on. The words *you* and *your* occur four and three times respectively in the cloze test. This is not surprising, given the percentage of their occurrence in the total text, displayed in the word frequency Table 6.4 below. One surprising aspect of lexical frequency in this text is the extremely low occurrence of *of*. It occurs much more frequently in the original text to join nouns or nominal phrases.

Table 6.4 Lexical frequency of rewritten text

Word	Occurrences	Frequency	Rank
you	22	11.1%	1
your	12	6%	2
may	9	4.5%	3

6.2.2.3. Pre-test triangulation of readability indices

As well as using FK and FRE, readability data for these two texts were also triangulated, before testing, against other software (Gunning-Fog). See Table 6.5 below. They generally confirm that a measurement of the surface features of the text shows a difference in readability. These are only what Castello (2008) calls the ‘text-inherent’ characteristics as distinct from concepts of difficulty which are ‘receiver oriented’ (p. 295). The lexical density is calculated on the type-token ratio. The Gunning-Fog index is based on factors such as numbers of syllables and sentence length. A summary is provided below. While it may be that less strain may be imposed upon the reader in *Regulations 1* as a consequence of shorter sentences, the difference in lexical density is not great, and this would be one area to address in further rewriting of the text.

Table 6.5 Authentic text and rewritten text: Readability data

	Authentic text: <i>Regulations 2</i>	Rewritten text: <i>Regulations 1</i>
Total tokens	256	199
Total types	159	104
Complexity factor: lexical density	62.1%	52.3%
Readability (Gunning-Fog Index (6 =easy; 20= hard)	13.7	8.8
Average sentence length (words)	23	13
Maximum sentence length	40	22

6.2.2.4. Cloze test results

The results showed that there is a significant difference between Regulations 1 and Regulations 2 for 45 students and also for L1 graduates. Table 6.6 below shows summary descriptive statistics after univariate analysis. Each group had both a higher mean and a higher median in Cloze 1 than in Cloze 2. The median was checked as well as the mean in order to detect any outlier result/s that might affect the reliability of the mean. The lowest mean and median were in the population of students

attempting Cloze 2. There are noticeable differences between the two populations at the lowest end of the range, in both cloze tests, with (34 and 54 in Cloze 1; 23 and 47 in Cloze 2). The differences are much less noticeable at the highest end of the range (67 and 74 in Cloze 1; 52 and 70 in Cloze 2), showing that L1 graduates reached a certain point in their performance where they did scarcely better than some students. They had more accurate grammatical resources to draw upon, but could not recover lexical items from the context and co-texts. This is indicated in their feedback, below. Bormuth (1967) suggests that a score greater than 57% indicates the text can be understood by 90% of adults, whereas a score lower than 44 indicates a text with which the adult reader will require some assistance. I would argue, however, that much greater analysis of textual characteristics, and indeed reader characteristics, is necessary not only for each text but for each task before accepting these numbers. The computational data serve only as indicators of variance in difficulty, not as precise measurements of anything.

Table 6.6 Cloze test results

	45 students		20 L1 graduates	
	<i>Cloze 1</i>	<i>Cloze 2</i>	<i>Cloze 1</i>	<i>Cloze 2</i>
Mean	45.58	36.38	64.2	58.05
Standard deviation	8.49	7.28	6.1	6.8
Range	Min.34; Max.67	Min.23; Max.52	Min.54; Max 74	Min.47; Max 70
Median	49	36	64	57

In order to determine if the texts behaved significantly differently in each population, a number of unpaired t-tests were carried to measure the significance of the variance. In a first set of t-tests, the mean results for the group of 45 students in both tests were tested and it was found that the two-tailed P value is less than 0.0001, which is extremely statistically significant, with $t=5.5183$, $df=88$ and standard error of difference = 1.667. The same test was carried out for the second population: L1 graduates. The two tailed P value is less than 0.0048 which is very statistically significant, with $t=2.9937$, $df=38$ and the standard error of difference = 2.054.

In a second set of t-tests, the mean of both groups was tested in relation to Cloze 1 only. The two-tailed P value equaled 0.0001, which is extremely statistically significant with $t=8.8304$, $df=63$ and standard error of difference = 2.109. Then the mean of both groups was tested in relation to Cloze 2. The results were considered to be extremely statistically significant with a two-tailed P value of less than 0.0001, with $t=11.2637$, $df=63$ and standard error of difference = 1.924.

In relation to my four hypotheses, all were disconfirmed. There are significant differences between the readability levels of Text 1 and Text 2 in both populations. There are also significant differences between the two populations both in their handling of text 1 and text 2. A study of the range, however, shows that the differences between populations are more extreme at the lower end for both the authentic text and the rewritten one.

6.2.2.5. Participant feedback

While the differences between texts and between test-takers is significantly different, the responses to the texts are similar. Most of the test-takers agreed that Regulations 1 was easier than Regulations 2, but a minority in both groups could see no difference in difficulty between the texts. There were no positive comments about either of the texts. They were described as *tedious*, *dull*, *boring*, and *awful*. The student responses were minimalistic, but the graduates and EFL teachers elaborated. One L1 respondent wrote: *Both of them seem unnecessarily complicated, but the first seemed marginally easier to follow. However, in both of them my attention started 'drifting off' due to the dullness of both the subject and the language.* Another wrote: *In many cases in that second text, I had no idea what was required.* A teacher wrote: *I suspect that my students would just throw their hands up and forget about their appeal if they had to read and comprehend either of these texts* and another said simply that both texts were *too formally written for the average student*. All agreed, in one way or another, that *both texts were challenging*. A final point to make is that many of the L1 participants expressed surprise, in conversation after taking the cloze tests, that in fact Regulations 1 was a rewritten version of Regulations 2. They explained that they were so challenged by the language and the task that they didn't really know what the overall text was about.

6.2.2.6. *Discussion of readability study*

These comments are of interest mainly because they demonstrated to me for the first time that making surface changes to texts in order to improve readability statistics is far from enough. While the use of *you*, the reduction of passive sentences, the increase in shorter sentences and the lessening of lexical density are all good changes, they do not go far enough. Any improvement in textualized regulations should not be based on textual characteristics alone. Readability criteria must be less text-oriented and more stakeholder-oriented. The fundamental flaw in the rewritten text is that it is still monologic despite the superficial changes. It is not much more inclusive of the stakeholder. It does not redress the institutional imbalances of power that amount to dominance over the stakeholder. The rewritten text is no more inclusive of the student simply as a result of encoding changes. How these texts might be made more inclusive, while conserving these textual changes as fairly positive, will be discussed in Chapter 7.

This study of readability is extremely limited. A larger study might present many different levels of text to many different grades of readers. Alternatively, it might choose to work with one target population because of the operations of text in certain restricted social contexts. This study is also limited by not gathering more data about L2 participants. Future studies might take into account variables such as first language and age or take a measure of participants' grammatical, lexical and reading levels in a pre-test. Future studies of readability should also devise a broader range of tasks, putting the focus on the reader in order to triangulate the findings for each sample text. Participants could write a *précis*, for example; complete sentences with information derived from the text; answer questions which test some key concepts or main ideas and purposes of the text; or give an oral summary of what they had read. In these types of exercise, however, it is important to keep the focus on the text and readability, so that the research does not become an investigation into the reader and comprehension without a proper textual identification of what is being comprehended. Participants, as stakeholders, could also engage in a post-task interview or reflective writing to make the process of text construction more dialogic. Questions such as *Say one thing you would do to make this easier to read?* or *What did you find most difficult about reading this?* would provide valuable stakeholder feedback and

participation. It might also be useful to conduct more experimental research into lexical acquisition and reading comprehension in relation to texts of this nature in order to discover if there are any effective treatments that might make the decoding of such texts more manageable for readers.

Readability research currently presents conceptual and methodological challenges. Writers for organizations and government departments need to know that the computational data on which they base their revisions are inadequate or inaccurate. As well as that, research into comprehension and decoding processes, with an eye on text as well as on the reader, is far from advanced. The most useful thing I would keep from this small study is the categorization of data and an analysis of its recoverability, because it provides the means of detecting how recoverable the items may be, either from the co-text or from what the reader brings to the text. Computer software is ill equipped to undertake such a categorization task, and to account for the success or failure of items in the cloze procedure. Therefore, the process of producing more empowering texts, that address the real stakeholder need for easily decoded text, must go beyond obedience to the computational and formulaic and involve readers in more dialogic formulation of text.

6.3. THEME/RHEME PATTERNING

The challengingly difficult levels of readability considered in the previous section do not take into account two other aspects that affect readability: textual coherence and cohesiveness. Certain highly unreadable texts have been deliberately constructed, as has been seen from previous references to the literature, to exclude the reader as much as possible from easy access to information which an institution may be required to provide. While some texts may be difficult to follow because they are poorly constructed, it shall be argued in this section that Text 6.1 is carefully constructed and demonstrates clear patterns of cohesion and coherence.

Here, the primary focus is on Thematic organization. I follow Halliday (1994, p. 56) in regarding Topical Theme as that which extends from the beginning of the clause up to and including the first lexical item that has a transitive function (participant, process or circumstance), with all the remainder of the clause being Rheme, and with each clause capable of accommodating only one Topical Theme.

Eggins notes the contribution that Theme makes to textual cohesion and coherence in terms of how ‘Thematic elements succeed each other.’ (p. 324). Martin and Rose (2007) view this succession as information flow, or periodicity, that orients the reader.

So discourse creates expectations by flagging forward and consolidates them by summarizing back. These expectations are presented as crests of information, and the meanings fulfilling these expectations can be seen as relative diminuendos from the point of view of information flow. The term **periodicity** is used to capture the regularity of information flow. (p.176)

Theme/Rheme patterns, however, not only contribute to the cohesiveness of the text, but they also signal the authoring choices which have been made to orient the reader in the author’s preferred direction. Eggins notes that Theme provides ‘choices about what meanings to prioritize in a text, what to package as familiar and what as new, what to make contrastive’ (p. 321) while Downing & Locke consider ‘pragmatic motivations of an interpersonal kind ...may be the influencing factor in the selection and ordering of clausal elements, in particular the order of clauses in complex sentences.’ (p.246). Similarly, I would suggest, constructions of power relations such as institutional hierarchies in text can be reflected in what elements succeed in the competition for the prime Theme position that serves to orient the reader particularly as ‘the choice of what gets to be Theme in an English clause contributes significantly to the communicative effect of the message (Eggins, 2004, p. 298). While Theme/Rheme analysis is useful in discerning what choices were made in deciding what portion of the message is given most prominence in the clause, it is also useful beyond the clause in showing how the message is structurally developed across a larger unit of text. This is the study of ‘an unfolding process, not a rigid structure linking parts to wholes.’ (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 186). In the following section, the larger textual features of Text 1 are first considered. Then, the Theme of each clause in the text is identified and its relations with other aspects of the text is evaluated both from the point of view of coherence and cohesion and also the enactment of power relations with regard to its presumed target readership.

6.3.1. Textual features

The sample Text 6.1 below, seems like a typical extract from the corpus. The readability data show it has an average 21.6 words per sentence, 30% passive sentences, FRE 34.8 and FK 13.7. I conducted a lexical frequency test on this text using Wordsmith Tools 5, and it showed similar characteristics to the texts discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. See Table 6.7 below, showing a similar hierarchy of modal verbs and little occurrence of lexical verbs. The other high frequency lexemes referred mainly to university identities and process as will become clear in the Theme/Rheme table and paragraphs below.

Table 6.7 Lexical frequency data for Text 6.1.

	Frequency
THE	41
AND	11
OF	10
STUDENT	9
WILL	8
MUST	2
CAN	1

Text 6.1 below, represented in its original paragraphs numbered 3.8 - 3.12, presents an organizational narrative that describes events *if a student admits an allegation*. Another narrative immediately follows, in the original organizational volume of regulations, setting out what may happen *if the student does not admit an allegation*. To avoid repetition, that second narrative is not examined here because there is too much textual similarity. It can be found in Appendix 10. The Theme/Rheme structure of both texts is presented in Table 6.5 below.

Text 6.1 has the appearance of a group of related regulations in that it is set out in paragraphs, each paragraph numbered, with the particular numbers suggesting that it belongs within a larger framework of similarly formatted regulations. The paragraph numbering is maintained from the original text. Hoey (2000) calls this type of legalistic text *colony text* in that paragraphs can be added or removed, like insects in a colony, without injuring the integrity of the whole, unlike a tightly constructed narrative where jumbling and deletions can seriously injure the texture. While this

concept of colony may often be true, for example in a list of public park regulations, it may not apply well in institutional regulations which are, as here, constructed as narratives of usuality or the immutable with many *dramatis personae* enacting their roles according to the textualized promptings. The Mood is entirely declarative, and here also avoids *you* by narrating a process that involves third-person students in conflict with university entities.

Apart from what might be inferred from modality, interpersonal constituents are generally absent from the text. For example, the direct address form of the imperative, which would imply, elliptically, a *you* as reader, is absent. There is no interrogative which in a different type of text might engage the reader, again as *you*, and permit some negotiation of meaning. It is a text written about students in crisis, not to students in crisis.

6.3.2. Theme/Rheme data from a sample text

The top portion of Table 6.5 below shows what occupies Theme position in Text 6.1, represented separately below in its original numbering form (3.8 – 3.12). The bottom portion of Table 6.5 shows how the Theme/Rheme development continues in the remaining text, found in full in Appendix 10.

The student's main textual role is apparently to initiate a process and then disappear from view to resurface occasionally in some subordinate position in the Rheme portion of the clause. The process initiated by the student's admission, or not, of the allegation, will involve university staff, texts, and steps preordained by the university and set forth in this narrative. The second column of Table 6.5 below labels the participants in Theme position orienting the ideational development. Student appears 4 times; the Investigating Officer (IO) appears 6 times; other university personnel appear 4 times; texts that the university deem to be an admissible part of the process appear 6 times; the process itself is referred to four times; and finally, there is one circumstantial adjunct.

Table 6.8 Theme/Rheme identification in Text 6.1 and its companion text in Appendix 10

THEME	labeling
TEXT 6.1: paragraphs 3.8 -3.12	
If the student admits the allegation	student
The Investigating Officer	IO
[The Investigating Officer] { will ask }	
[The Investigating Officer] { will record }	
The Investigating Officer	IO
A copy of the letter	text
The penalty and or sanction	process
The University's Disciplinary Tariff Guidelines	text
[The University's Disciplinary Tariff Guidelines] { set out }	
The Guidelines	text
The Investigating Officer	IO
For the avoidance of doubt,	Circ. adjunct
If a student admits the allegation	student
Any appeal	process
[Any appeal] { must set out the grounds }	
The Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Learning and Teaching)	Other univ. personnel
[The Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Learning and Teaching)]	
There	existential
Companion text for text 6.1: See Appendix 10	
If the student does not admit the allegation	student
All statements	text
The Investigating Officer	IO
Which [report]	text
Observations of credibility of those involved	text
the Investigating Officer	IO
The Director of Administrative Services	Other univ. personnel
The Director of Administrative Services	Other univ. personnel
If the Director of Administrative Services intends to proceed to a hearing	Other univ. personnel
If a disputed allegation proceeds	process
The Investigating Officer	IO
The student and witnesses/ victims	student
The process	process

Note: Elliptical Theme in []. Related Rheme in { }

Text 6.1: par. 3.8

If the student admits the allegation the Investigating Officer will record the interview with the student on the appropriate form, ask the student to sign to confirm accuracy and record any mitigation offered by the student.

Paragraph 3.8 of Text 6.1 presages what will come. The first Theme *If the student admits the allegation* occurs again in 3.12 and these Themes echo the heading for this portion of text. The entire structure of paragraph 3.8 consists of a hypotactic clause with the student in dominant Theme position followed by a paratactic sequence of 3 clauses in which university authority, supported by personnel, texts and procedures, will establish itself. The Agent of the first Rheme, the Investigating Officer will record the interview, and then this Agent becomes the elliptical Theme of the next two clauses: *ask the student to sign....* and record *any mitigation offered by the student*. Such is the assurance of power positions here that the Agent can disappear from the field of reference. In the first Rheme, *with the student* positions the student as a prepositional adjunct. In the second Rheme, the elliptical Agent *will ask the student*, and in the third clause *the student* is the disposable Agent at the end of a not fully realized passive construction with a possible ellipsis of modality signaled by *any*: *any mitigation [which may be] offered by the student*.

In paragraph 3.8, in the Rheme position, where New, as distinct from Given, information is conventionally positioned, the lexical groundwork is laid for future ideational development. The reference to *interview* and *appropriate form* in the first Rheme develop into *sign* (elliptical: *the appropriate form*) in order to *confirm accuracy* (elliptical: *the record of the interview*). The lexical development through Theme/Rheme is very clearly on the side of the institutionalized personnel, texts and procedures, and the student's potential voice is only heard in the word *mitigation*, which is not developed further.

Text 6.1: par. 3.9

The Investigating Officer will then determine any penalty and or sanction in the light of the University's **disciplinary tariff guidelines from time to time**. The Investigating Officer will

inform the student of the outcome in writing. A copy of the letter will be retained on the student's file in accordance with the tariff guidelines. The penalty and or sanction will be communicated to the student in writing within five working days.

In paragraph 3.9, *The Investigating Officer* (IO) is in Theme position two out of four times. The other two Theme positions, *A copy of the letter* and *The penalty and or sanction* serve to reinforce the institutional power through its documentation and its right to impose penalties.

Because Theme positioning is a matter of authorial choice, it is useful to consider what options were available, syntactically at least, when encoding the key Theme in first position in section 3.9. The circumstantial adjunct could have been first to provide a time framing for the development of the process: *Then, the Investigating Officer will determine any penalty,..* which might place the IO in Rheme position bound by the Theme time frame. In other words, this would give prominence to the process rather than the powerful person, to be conventionally followed in sequencers such as *Next, After that*, and so on. Another option would be a passive construction, such as *Any penalty and or sanction will then be determined by the Investigating Officer in the light of the University's disciplinary tariff guidelines*. This might seem logical, given that the hyperTheme (Martin & Rose, 2007) of the paragraph is penalties and sanctions. The reason why the passive construction is not preferred in this instance, however, may be attributed, first, to the priority of textual cohesion.

Theme position is most usually occupied by Given information, recoverable usually from an earlier portion of co-text, and New information will occupy and be developed as much as is necessary in Rheme position. Because *penalties and sanctions* is entirely New information, not recoverable from immediate co-text, it is fitting that it should be in Rheme position and supported and extended immediately by the two prepositional phrases *in the light of the University's disciplinary guidelines from time to time*. There may also be pragmatic power-related reasoning. By the time the reader comes across *The penalty or sanction* in Theme position at the end of this section, 3.9, the groundwork will already have been laid in the three previous Rhemes.

Evidence of the tight cohesive structuring through Theme/Rheme relationships and lexical patterning exists throughout 3.9. In the second Rheme, it is stated that the IO *will inform the student of the outcome in writing*. While *the outcome* refers back to the IO's determination of a penalty or sanction in the first Rheme, *in writing* provides the co-text for the next Theme: *A copy of the letter* is a development of *in writing*. Another part of the third Rheme, *in accordance with the tariff guidelines* reiterates *the University's disciplinary tariff guidelines* in the first Rheme. This reiteration of Given information in New position is important in that it appears to serve no informational purpose but simply extends the university's rights to act according to its own texts. Not only does the university have the right to impose penalties but it also has the rights to build up the student's file with information potentially damaging to the student. The final Rheme in 3.9 *will be communicated to the student in writing within five working days* is noteworthy in that it is separated from the second Theme/Rheme which it most logically follows by the third Theme/Rheme which are like an interpolation asserting the University's right to its file-keeping procedures. Because of this interruption, much of the final Rheme is not in fact New information but Given and indeed repetition: *will be communicated to the student in writing* in Rheme 4 echoes *will inform the student ... in writing* in Rheme 2. The only truly new information in Rheme 4 *is within five working days*. If the Rheme does not fully accomplish its primary function of providing and extending new information, it can be posited that in this case, the author has strategic reasons.

The primary purpose of this text appears to be to articulate the university's absolute non-negotiable power to determine, sanction, file and inform, and such purpose may be accomplished first through reiteration and second through interpolation which interrupts the core narrative description of the process. The position of the student in section 3.9 is subordinate again: *inform the student; on the student's file; will be communicated to the student*.

Text 6.1: par. 3.10

The University's Disciplinary Tariff Guidelines can be found on the Portal and set out the range of penalties for different disciplinary offences. The Guidelines also deal with the recording and retention of disciplinary records. The

Investigating Officer is entitled, in accordance with the Guidelines, to refer the matter to a Disciplinary Panel if the penalties set out in the Guidelines appear inadequate.

Paragraph 3.10 does not advance the ideational aspect of the process as a sequence of actions. The major focus of the paragraph is on the authority of the University's Guidelines. While the authoring authority might have explicated the next step in the procedure, within a time-frame, the paragraph instead serves to consolidate the university's authority as established 3.8 and 3.9 and then establishes an additional entitlement for itself while introducing a new university entity: a Disciplinary Panel. The first and second of the three Themes in 3.10 are Given information.

The first Theme, *The University's Disciplinary Guidelines* is a direct echo of the first Rheme in paragraph 3.9. and the second Theme is an elliptical repetition of the first Theme as the Agent of *set out the range of penalties for different disciplinary offences*. The third Theme, *The Guidelines*, in 3.9 is a condensed version of the first and second Themes. The Rheme development associated with these three Thematised Guidelines shows a growth in the university's power. The first Rheme simply informs where the Guidelines can be found. The second Rheme, in stating the content of the Guidelines, refers back to the main topic of 3.8: penalties. The Third Rheme refers back to the interpolated Theme/Rheme in 3.8 where the university's power to file damaging information about the student was asserted and repeats the University's textualized authority in this regard in that the Guidelines deal with the recording and retention of disciplinary records. In the last Theme in 3.10, the Investigating Officer appears again, with a statement of this person's entitlement to advance the procedure to a new level *if the penalties set out in the Guidelines appear inadequate*. It is not stated to whom the penalties might appear inadequate, but one may infer that it is the Investigating Officer. It is certainly not the student. Paragraph 3.10 contains no reference to the student.

Text 6.1: par. 3.11

For the avoidance of doubt, any case in which the misconduct is such that suspension, exclusion or expulsion might reasonably be expected to result will be dealt with by a Disciplinary Panel.

Paragraph 3.11 also contains no reference to the student despite the fact that such serious issues as suspension, exclusion, or expulsion are in Rheme position as well as the persons who will impose these penalties, now at last specified. The choice to exclude the student from the field of reference in this paragraph, about exclusion, facilitates the process of depersonalization. The primary stakeholder, whom these procedures will most greatly affect, is so marginalized as to disappear. The Theme in this one-sentence paragraph, *For the avoidance of doubt*, I read as a circumstantial adjunct of purpose related to the ideational encoding. It is not specified whose doubt will be satisfied by the inclusion of a Disciplinary Panel. However, it might refer to a student's doubts about the conduct of the procedures that have lead to penalties such as those stated in the Rheme of 3.11. Such doubts might lead to an appeal, one might infer.

Text 6.1: par. 3.12

If a student admits the allegation, they have a right of appeal against the penalty and or sanction only. Any appeal must be notified in writing to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Learning and Teaching) within five days of receiving the outcome of the investigation, and must set out the grounds for appeal in full. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Learning and Teaching) will review the penalty and or sanction within 10 working days and notify the student of the decision. There will be no further appeal.

The hyperTheme of Paragraph 3.12 is in fact the student's right of appeal, introduced by the repeated Theme: If a student admits the allegation, which initiates an extension of the process with New information about the crucial aspect of appeal all packed into the next two Rhemes. The most powerful word in the first Rheme is possibly the last one in which the range of the student's right of appeal is restricted: they have a right of appeal against the penalty and or sanction only. This excludes procedural issues. The second Theme, *Any appeal*, is recoverable from the first Rheme, but the second Rheme, instead of elaborating on the student's right of appeal, imposes further university conditions upon the appeal using an authoritative modal: *the appeal must be notified in writing to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Learning and*

Teaching) *within five days of receiving the outcome of the investigation*. Here are stipulated how the appeal must be made --in writing--and to whom, and with a timeframe stipulated. The next Theme related to the student's right has been made elliptical: Any Appeal. It stipulates that *the grounds for the appeal must be set out in full*, with the most important information, *in full*, in the last position as a prepositional adjunct in the Rheme. While the student has five days to put together an appeal in full, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor in the next Rheme is given 10 working days to review it. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor, recoverable from the second Rheme, becomes the Theme of two clauses, in the second one elliptically, and dominates the appeals procedure which ends with New information that the Pro-Vice-Chancellor will *notify the student of the decision*. There are only two references to the student in this crucial paragraph about appeals. The first is in the first Theme and signals the student's admission of guilt; the second is as the recipient of information about a decision. Thus, the process ends, except for a coda. The last sentence in this entire section is an existential construction: *There will be no further appeal*. This is not encoded as negotiable. The right does not exist. The appeal will not exist. In the encoding field of reference for this ultimate annulment of rights, the student does not exist.

To avoid repetition, it is not proposed to mine the second portion of the text in a similar way here because the main points have already been made, and there are no major differences. From Table 6.5 above, beginning with *if the student does not admit the allegation*, and from Appendix 10 it can be seen that the balance of encoded power remains similar. The student hardly appears in Theme position. As in Paragraphs 3.8 -3.12 of Text 6.1, the Thematic continuity is sustained primarily through reference to University personnel, texts and processes. The difference is mainly in the detail, in the named entities, not in a new foregrounding of the student as an active participant engaged equally in the process. The corpus data from Chapter 4 showed that this lexical positioning of the student in a non-agentive role is typical, and the clausal analysis in Chapter 5 illustrated the ideational consequences of this position in more detail.

The data so far in this chapter have shown that the student is excluded not because of the factors that constitute textual readability. Instead, or in addition, the primary stakeholder is marginalized semantically and syntactically. 'Important Theme-Topic-Subject referents set up *referent chains* which can transcend clausal

boundaries, maintaining *topic continuity* as long as the speaker or writer wishes. This is an important test for “aboutness.” (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 227). In this case, the text appears to be primarily about the university’s processes and entities with the student ranking low. Referent chains are also known as *identity chains*, and clearly the identity of the student is subservient. An identity chain is established by virtue of ‘a major referent as it is repeated across several clauses by an anaphoric pronoun, by an alternative NG or by repetition of the name or proper noun.’ Downing and Locke, 2006, p. 227).

The text itself is a model of textual cohesion and coherence, with sustained focus on a primary topic. Cohesion is sustained through tight relationships between Theme and Rheme, with frequent repetition of Theme, reiteration of information even in Rheme position along with carefully positioned New information. The main point to come out of this identification of Theme development, however, is that there is a serious shortfall in democratic power relations, which may lead not only to marginalization but possibly also to exclusion.

6.4 CHAPTER DISCUSSION

This chapter has considered data representing two different levels of stakeholder marginalization: how students may be excluded from constructing regulatory text easily, and how students are constructed in texts. First, the readability indices show that, as target readers, students are required to deal with regulations directly pertaining to them mostly encoded at extremely difficult levels of readability. The institutions have chosen to position the texts encoding their own powers, and the students’ limited rights, beyond the range of what is considered easily readable. A small scale readability study confirmed that readers find these texts difficult, although this study raised major issues about the current state of research into readability and comprehension, or into texts and readers and the dynamic encounter between the two. Second, across longer stretches of text, Theme/Rheme analysis confirms the earlier collocation patterns from the corpus, discussed in Chapter 4, and clausal patterns, discussed in Chapter 5: the student is very often constructed as so little agentive that s/he becomes marginal within the university’s processes. It is the processes

themselves, enacted through powerful entities upholding the institution's powers, which are given prominence, very often conjoined against the student.

It is axiomatic of critical discourse analysis that there are alternative encoding choices which the author disregarded. Some of these alternatives were attempted, with disappointing results, in the rewritten text piloted in the readability study described in this chapter. In the final chapter, a more radical approach to encoding will be considered. The view that regulatory discourse at universities can be reconstructed to include the student as a primary stakeholder must be the driving force behind textual revisions.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

7.1. SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE ISSUE

‘Unequal power relations can be bent, circumvented, strategically appropriated or countered through language, creating openings not only for alternative meanings but also for micro-emancipatory projects’ (Zanoni et al., 2010, p. 17). In my introduction (1.7.1), I stated my belief that the primary aim of all critical research is grounded in social life, and perhaps every contribution to CDA research engages in such micro-emancipatory projects. Textual research is only the small first step in the construction of an informed power base to create openings for the encoding of alternative meanings. My small-scale readability study showed that measurable changes to the surface features of text, in order to increase reader-friendliness, are not enough in themselves. There needs to be a sea-change within organizational thinking before there is a change in organizational encoding. This rethinking will involve a radical reconceptualization of stakeholder identity in more equitable and inclusive organizational narratives.

7.2. SUMMARY CONCEPTUALIZATION OF TEXT

This study began by conceptualizing text at three levels: as a material entity that lends itself to quantitative analysis; as a dynamic process of encoding and decoding that lends itself to more constructivist analysis and interpretation; and as an agentive force, potentially disempowering, within an organizational hierarchy that invites quantification, analysis and interpretation to take place from a critical perspective. Each of these conceptualizations of text relates to the architecture of power.

Text, reified, may be a weighty tome bearing the imprimatur of powerful agencies such as prophets, legislators and chief executive officers. Reified, it may be a volume to be learnt by heart, consulted, and then referenced, quoted as an authority,

chapter and verse, to contest, uphold or deny rights. It can be a book or sentence that underpins knowledge or belief. It can be presented as tangible and perhaps immutable evidence of what has been agreed, or what has been willed. It can be seen as the embodiment of intent. Text reified provided the data analyzed here, measurable and observable in its corpus frequencies, clausal structuring, and texturing beyond the clause.

When text is conceptualized as process, the analysis goes beneath the surface features in order to understand the rationalization that went into the encoding choices. The foregrounding of certain agents, processes or circumstances to the detriment of others serves to indicate the encoding author's ontology. The text, by categorizing certain issues more saliently while others are subservient or removed, encodes an organizational belief system about the way things are, or ought to be. The text encodes its own world of usuality as the norm in order to secure stakeholder consent, at best. At worst, any stakeholder challenge to the encoded hegemony will be risky, to the stakeholder rather than to the organization, if what is constructed as the usual has been encoded properly.

The third aspect of text is agentive. It is not enough, in a CDA context, to look from a micro-level perspective only at the pragmatic power of textual utterances: for example, to ask permission, declare hospitals open or disagree politely. Texts seek to do things by virtue of their material existence and processing choices. They can seek to construct problematic teenage identity by means of an ASBO, including the debates, Hansard reports, wording of the legislation and national media discourse that surrounded the bringing into being what was intended to be a powerful instrument of textual control called an ASBO. In the same vein, the multiple texts and discourses of organizations can construct students as potential plagiarists, and malingerers who are guilty until they can document their innocence. These texts have the agency to alienate, or exclude.

7.3. RESEARCH FINDINGS, SCOPE AND VALIDITY

The research began by asking four questions (1.8). The first inquired to what extent students, as primary stakeholders, were empowered in regulatory texts across a wide spread of British universities. A sample corpus across fifty British universities was

created, to be analysed by Wordsmith Tools 5. The corpus provided adequate quantifiable evidence of disempowerment in texts that resembled each other so closely that they constitute a prevalent genre across a wide spread of universities. Irrespective of the institutions' age, local character (as sold in the marketing literature) or particular students, their texts are subsumed into a national discourse whose register allows them to present their particular codes as universal. The findings can easily be generalized in that similar texts are easily found in similar institutions both in Great Britain and in countries where such discourse is replicated.

The second question inquired into the linguistic mechanisms that position students in texts. The research derived its validity from progressing systematically from corpus *description* to principled *analysis* based on quantifiable evidence to *interpretation* of the most salient data. The researcher was aware of the accusations of bias leveled against the selective use of critical research and sought to make the process of data selection transparent, so that it could be replicated in future research. Regarding the findings, Chapter 4 detailed how important modals are in constructing a normative view of the organization into which the students' actions and beliefs must be constructed. These modals dominate the lexical frequency to such an extent that verbs representing material processes scarcely appear. When they do appear, they are constructed, as Chapter 5 showed, governed by modal constructions encoding the authors' beliefs rather than the stakeholders' rights. The most prominent verb with a modal function was *will*, encoding not obligation but usuality. This fits the hegemonic construction of the organization in that it is understood that stakeholders will consent to conformity more readily than they will succumb to overt commands. The prevalence of mental processes was also noted in Chapter 5, suggesting that the organization understood that its governing of the stakeholder's knowledge and beliefs about the organization was the key to the ultimate governing of stakeholder behavior. Chapter 6 considered how the stakeholder could be marginalized or excluded as a result of text encoded at such a very high level of difficulty that it would be of little use as a reference in times of confrontation with the organization. Chapter 6 also noted that the Theme/Rheme patterns confirmed the lexical patterns noted in the corpus in Chapter 4 where the student was less in agentive position and more in an embedded or recipient position. The concept of *student* rarely drives the direction of the discourse in powerful Theme position; the attention of the author/s favors more

powerful organizational entities, usually capitalized in relation to the student. Linguistic techniques such as passive voice and nominalization were also noted as means to marginalize or exclude the student.

The third question inquired into the adequacy of some linguistic methods, such as corpus linguistics, SFL, and Theme analysis in the service of a critical investigation. While the notion of adequacy must be subjective, I believe it is clear that no single one of these linguistic methods is sufficient in itself to support the burden of interpretation that the critical discourse analyst will wish to make about a social issue. A multi-faceted approach is essential. This research derives part of its validity from favoring a bottom-up approach, driven by the evidence of lexical frequency at the start. Others, such as Downing and Locke, would advocate that the broad textual work of Theme/Rheme should be done before examining the minutiae. Both approaches have value, as long as they attempt to develop a variety of interconnected perspectives upon the text.

The fourth question asked if linguistic and organizational analysis provide means for constructing alternative means for constructing more dialogic equitable texts. The scope of my research permits the making of only very limited claims, but the value of the study was in challenging some assumptions about readability indices and suggesting issues and methods for further research. My very limited readability study attempted to construct a more readable text, according to computational criteria, but the text did not achieve its desired aims. The linguistic analysis of text did create an awareness of the strain that long words, sentences and paragraphs imposes upon the reader, and the rewritten text was better for a marginal easing of this strain. However, organizational analysis was lacking. The rewriting was done in a vacuum. The revised text was not more dialogic. It was still a monologic text but with better readability features. The construction of genuinely dialogic texts requires a radical rethinking not just of the text, but of the stakeholders: their needs as readers and stakeholders, their rights as primary participants in the organization. Dialogic text, in structurational terms, should be designed as a resource primarily to empower rather than constrain the stakeholder. Many texts and conversations will have to precede the ultimate dialogic handbook of student regulations, but these conversations must be more inclusive, and not be simply the result of conversations among the encoding minorities in order to decide what is best for everyone.

7.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Rogers et al (2005) referring to Fairclough's *analytic framework* note that 'each discursive event has three dimensions' (p. 371): text, discursive practice and sociocultural practice. One of the more obvious limitations of this study is that it has been primarily focused on text, with very little room for fieldwork that would link text and stakeholders in observations of sociocultural practice. Rogers et al (2005) summarise the third dimension of CDA, sociocultural practice, as 'concerned with issues of power – power being a construct that is realized through interdiscursivity and hegemony.' (371). However, research into how text such as a student handbook operates institutionally in precise situations also raises research questions beyond the scope of this study. It would be reasonable, for example, to enquire if these hegemonic texts are in fact foundations for negotiation, or possibly even supplanted by alternative discourses and challenges.

While this study focused on textual features that encode power, it did not examine the processes of production, distribution and consumption. An examination of production would involve examining the behind-the-scenes meetings, written communications and informal chats that go into the ultimate production of the organizationally sanctioned anonymous text. The discursive processes of interpretation and consumption of text raised too many large issues to be dealt with here. Such a study would have required research among readers in the format of, e.g. structured interviews and questionnaires which would determine how hegemonic texts are constructed by readers who are productive consumers rather than passive recipients of text.

A further limitation of this study is the small corpus size. This research is not intended to show how British universities construct students, generally. A larger corpus would no doubt find positive constructions of the student across a wide range of university discourses. I have limited my research focus to situations where the student stakeholder's interests are potentially in conflict with the university's interests, where issues of power may become polarized.

7.5. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

While organizational researchers recognize the centrality of text and discourse in organizational life, they also acknowledge that there is a general failure in the field to apply analytic techniques that enable a micro-level understanding of the operation of texts. This study has synthesized the disparate understandings of written text, discarding the fuzzy notions of text as anything that communicates a message, into a three-tiered schema: as an artifact whose features can be measured and observed; as a process; and as an agentive force. Related to this circumscribed and operational notion of text, there is a suite of linguistic methods that can be used in interdisciplinary research to carry out critical and emancipatory analysis of organizational text and discourse. Many of these methods can be applied, flexibly, by non-linguists in organizational analysis. For example, corpus linguistics is available to all interdisciplinary researchers and will enable them to provide quantitative evidence of what is being said and written in their organizations. Corpus data can facilitate entry into the grammar of the organization, as lexical frequencies and lexical patterning show what actions and entities are given prominence. Theme/Rheme analysis also is a technique based primarily on rigorous observation of lexical patterning which would enable non-linguistic researchers to trace how topics are introduced, prioritized and extended in text. Interdisciplinary research remains a problematic area, where the discourse and methodological gap between linguistic specialization and organizational studies has not yet been fully bridged, but studies such as this seek to share the same field and establish a common discourse.

This study has also sought to address the criticism leveled against critical discourse analysis that it is driven by the researcher's agenda rather than by the textual evidence. The corpus-dependent bottom-up approach provided one means of reducing researcher bias. A systematic sequence of description, analysis and interpretation helps to strengthen the position of CDA as a credible research enterprise despite the reservations noted in Chapter 3.

Despite the references, above, to a systematic approach, this study has in fact taken place in relation to evolving rather than perfectly constructed conceptual frameworks. CDA is still in the process of defining itself, as a perspective, perhaps with an embarrassing plethora of methods. Finally, in reference to the conceptual

framework, this study has put the stakeholder at its centre, but in Chapter 2 it was seen that the stakeholder concept is still evolving in organizations, polarized between conflicting emancipatory and regulatory agendas. My CDA perspective and mixed methodology showed one means of challenging the regulatory agenda.

The most important contribution of this study, and further related research, is that it may have practical applications. These applications are outlined in 7.7 below.

7.6. FURTHER RESEARCH

Critical research has been at its most powerful in its identification of majority discourses that essentialize minorities. However, the potential for power abuse exists in all social relations and CDA will gain increasing resonance as it borrows from these studies in order to address more mainstream social contexts where stakeholder consent is textually manipulated and relations of dominance are routinely encoded, and accepted. Zanoni et al (2010) demonstrate the irony that even such a concept as *diversity* can be taken up by employers to essentialize those who are diverse in order to fit them into their organizational narrative. Zanoni et al (2010) point to

the need for more empirical investigations of diversity in organizational settings. Organizational actors do not simply take over existing grand, hegemonic discourses of diversity but rather selectively appropriate them, and re-combine them with other available discourses to make sense of diversity, their organization, and of their work, and to construct an own professional identity. (p.17).

Students, as organizational actors, like those essentialized as diverse, do not need to accept the grand hegemonic discourse of who they are, but they can construct an alternative student identity. Of course they will do that in any case, but the challenge is to ensure that their re-construction then contributes to the encoding of organizational texts. Detailed research needs to be done on students' sense-making processes in organizations. What elements of the official discourses do they selectively appropriate, and with what do they combine them in order to construct alternative images of themselves, and in what registers? Interviews, case-studies and a study of alternative perhaps more subversive texts within the organization should

form part of research into self-construction within a very regulated environment. Alvesson & Wilmott (2002) referring to structuration theory observe that: 'self-identity is conceptualized as a reflexively organized narrative, derived from participation in competing discourses and various experiences' (p. 623). Student narratives, particularly when they engage in conflict with organizational narratives, could be usefully examined. It should be inquired what range of texts, conversations and reconstructions of self brought certain students to end up losing hope with their university's regulatory system and appealing to an outside body. In this type of research, there can be interdisciplinary exploration of the relations between text and conversation (Taylor & Robichaud, 2004). Richly detailed linguistic and ethnographic research could be carried out into how organizational conversations lead to the construction of regulations (for example, to deal with allegations, appeals and complaints) and how these regulations are then referred to, negotiated or resisted in future conversations such as hearings.

The concept of student as stakeholder is of course an essentialization in itself, but it may be more empowering than some of the alternatives. Further work on evolving stakeholder theory should be done with the student as focus. Friedman & Miles (2002) note that there is a 'lack of work that distinguishes different types of stakeholders ... Stakeholder theory has been hampered by almost exclusive analysis of stakeholders from the perspective of the organization' (p.2). This organizational perspective can be challenged by critical research among stakeholders themselves, to redress an inequity in the research because until now the research focus puts the organization 'at the centre of the analysis and discourages consideration of stakeholders in their own right as well as discouraging balanced viewing of the organization/stakeholder relationship' (Friedman & Miles, 2002, p.3).

The final suggestion for research to be made here regards the complex relationship between readability and comprehension, which also means the complex relationship between text and stakeholder. Regarding the issue of clarity, the OIA reports (2009) states that complainants who appeal to them 'do little to make clear what the process involves' (p. 12) and in 2008 recommend in the decision on a case that 'plagiarism guidance and the basis for awarding penalties needs to be made clear' (p.18). The same reports, however, assume that many such regulations are clear to the stakeholder without showing what criteria they use to judge clarity: In one case, they

rule against a student's complaint: 'This was because the handbook made it clear that the student should submit mitigating circumstances at the appropriate time and she had provided no valid reason for late submission' (OIA, 2009, p.30). They note that 'students were clearly informed by the university of all possible outcomes in the examination process' (p.30). How the OIA determined the clarity of the information, in relation to particular stakeholders, is not stated. It is interesting to search the texts of the OIA for the use of the words *clear* and *clearly*; they state their pride in the clarity of their own literature. The assumption of clarity may be based in their own ability, rather than the stakeholder's, to decode challenging prose. The dialogic interface, in real organizational contexts, between purposeful text and purposeful reader has scarcely been explored: What does the text, purportedly and really, bring to the reader, and what does the reader bring to the text? How does the text construct the reader and how does the reader construct the text? How empowering is the text, how serviceable in the hands of a stakeholder with reasons to read it in a real social context, not just in a test situation? This area of research will aim to effect positive change: a reconceptualization, first of all, of the ideational and agentive aspects of text within a given context, and, more fundamentally, a reconceptualization of the student as a primary stakeholder without whom the organization has no important purpose.

7.7. APPLICATION

This project, and future research, should be geared towards a practical application, so that texts and universities serve their primary stakeholders better. First, the stakeholder concept must be put at the centre of organizational writing. The stakeholder should be encoded not as a problem to be regulated but rather as a fully fledged member to be empowered by the existence of the organization and the stakeholder's relationship to it. Revisions to organizational text should apply the criterion of how much or how little they succeed in encoding such a concept of the stakeholder. Second, stakeholders must be included in the construction, and ongoing reconstruction, of texts which directly affect them. They need to determine to what extent their rights, and responsibilities, are clearly expressed, in relation to the university's rights and responsibilities. Third, organizational texts need to be piloted among stakeholders, with a view to determining the readability features of the texts,

and their proper fit with a diverse reading population. It needs to be established, by a variety of methods, how easily these texts are comprehended, and how well they will serve. Fourth, organizations can take some simple first steps towards measuring their texts against readability indices in order to gauge their surface level of difficulty. Although these indices have their flaws, they may offer a good starting point for rewriting in that they signal overly long sentences and paragraphs, and lexical density. Reconstructed texts may reduce reader strain by encoding more often in the active voice, using the second person pronoun, shortening sentences and paragraphs, and preferring plainer English, wherever appropriate, to legalese; I say plainer rather than plain English, because this genre of writing will still be governed by sensible considerations of linguistic pragmatics and appropriacy as well as the social contexts of the text. Organizations must ask themselves if they really need to construct their stakeholders and activities linguistically, even in problematic situations, as complainants and appellants in the legalistic and combative context of hearings. Finally, the format of these texts should not emulate legal texts. The punctuation should be changed so that university entities are not capitalized; the sometimes complex alphanumeric system of paragraphing and cross-referencing could be abandoned in favour of a more reader-friendly format, such as question-and-answer, with examples; and graphic input in the form of figures and diagrams could serve to illustrate the details and sequences encoded in the text. These different formats of presenting information might, it could be argued, serve only to reinforce the sense of usuality in organizations, but it would be a concept of usuality jointly constructed in a dialogic context.

These changes would help to initiate the process whereby organizational texts become less hegemonic and more genuinely dialogic.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Parallel texts of regulations

Authentic text	Rewritten text
<p>A student's request for a review should be made through the submission of an appeal form to the Secretary of the Board. The form should draw attention to any matter that the student feels to be relevant to his or her academic performance and of which the Board may have been unaware when it made its decision. Any supporting documents (e.g. medical certificates) should also be sent to the Secretary.</p>	<p>If you disagree with the decision, you may appeal against it. The first step is to complete an appeal form and hand it to the secretary of the academic appeal board. On this form, you should mention any circumstances beyond your control that affected your academic performance. Attach supporting documentation, such as medical certificates</p>
<p>The review will be conducted by a committee comprising three Deans or Sub-Deans of the Faculties. The membership of the committee will exclude the Dean or Sub-Dean of the Faculty in which the appellant is registered (the Faculty Board of which will have recommended the termination of course). The Dean or Sub-Dean of the student's Faculty may, however, attend the meeting to report on the Faculty Board's consideration of the student's case. The student will be informed of the time and place of the committee's meeting. The student may attend the meeting and may be accompanied by another member of the University. Personal attendance provides an opportunity for the student to expand upon, and answer questions about his/her submission. The student's companion (if any) will be invited to make a brief statement on the student's behalf, but will take no part in the proceedings unless requested to do so by the Chairman. The student's Personal Tutor and a representative of each department involved will also be invited to attend. At the end of the meeting the committee will reach its conclusions in private discussion. The committee will report to the Faculty Board which recommended the termination of course, and the Secretary of the Board will notify the student in writing of the Board's decision. At the conclusion of the review, the student will be sent a completion of procedures letter and details about the Office of the Independent Adjudicator.</p>	<p>Three deans or sub-deans will form a committee and listen to your appeal. However, these deans may not be from your own Faculty. Your own faculty dean may attend, but may not take an active part.</p> <p>The committee will tell you when and where it is meeting. You may attend this meeting. You may bring a companion who is a member of the university with you. At this meeting, you may present your own point of view and you can answer questions if you wish. Your companion may speak for you, briefly. The university will also invite your personal tutor and a representative from your department. The committee will make its final decision behind closed doors. It will then tell the faculty board what it has decided. The secretary of this board will write to tell you what the committee has decided. It will also inform you how to contact the Office of the Independent Adjudicator if you are not happy with the decision.</p>
<p>It is the responsibility of students to inform their Departments of any matters (whether of an academic, personal, medical or other nature) which may be relevant to their academic performance, and to supply substantiating evidence, for example, a medical certificate. Such information should be submitted before the expiry of any departmental deadlines governing the submission of evidence of special circumstances. If no such deadlines exist, the evidence must be submitted as soon as it is available, and in any event before the meeting of the relevant Board of Examiners is due to take place.</p>	<p>You must inform your department of any circumstances that affect your academic performance. These circumstances could be academic, personal, medical, etc. The department may ask you to provide evidence, such as medical certificates. You should hand in this evidence as soon as possible, and before any departmental deadlines. You cannot submit this evidence after the meeting of the Board of Examiners.</p>
<p>Appeals against degree classification and appeals against termination of course may be disallowed if the appeal is based on mitigating circumstances which the appeals committee believes should have been communicated earlier to the department concerned.</p>	<p>In other words, the appeals committee will not accept any late evidence.</p>
<p>Appeals against degree classification are permitted only where <i>prima facie</i> evidence of material irregularity relating to the operation of the University's assessment procedures can be produced. Students may not challenge the academic judgements of the examiners, and the decisions of properly-constituted Boards of Examiners operating in accordance with approved procedures will always be upheld by the University.</p>	<p>You can appeal against your mark, or grade, only when you can show that there was a flaw in the assessment procedure. You cannot appeal simply because you disagree with the examiners' judgment.</p>

APPENDIX 2

Lexical frequency showing the first 100 words in the corpus

RANK	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%
1	THE	45502	9.103	50	100
2	OF	23841	4.7696	50	100
3	TO	16917	3.3844	50	100
4	#	12620	2.5247	44	88
5	A	11167	2.234	50	100
6	OR	10910	2.1826	50	100
7	AND	10678	2.1362	50	100
8	BE	9123	1.8251	50	100
9	IN	9092	1.8189	50	100
10	STUDENT	6230	1.2464	50	100
11	FOR	6165	1.2334	50	100
12	IS	4854	0.9711	50	100
13	UNIVERSITY	4520	0.9043	50	100
14	BY	4357	0.8716	50	100
15	WILL	4259	0.852	50	100
16	SHALL	3806	0.7614	47	94
17	ANY	3760	0.7522	50	100
18	THAT	3677	0.7356	50	100
19	MAY	3651	0.7304	50	100
20	WITH	3280	0.6562	50	100
21	AN	3164	0.633	50	100
22	STUDENTS	2962	0.5926	50	100
23	ON	2933	0.5868	50	100
24	NOT	2918	0.5838	50	100
25	AS	2884	0.577	50	100
26	ACADEMIC	2527	0.5055	50	100
27	ARE	2491	0.4983	50	100
28	WHICH	2433	0.4867	50	100
29	AT	2303	0.4607	50	100
30	BOARD	2179	0.4359	45	90
31	FROM	2105	0.4211	50	100
32	IF	2071	0.4143	50	100
33	ASSESSMENT	2051	0.4103	42	84
34	COMMITTEE	2044	0.4089	49	98
35	HAVE	1852	0.3705	50	100
36	EXAMINATION	1826	0.3653	44	88
37	APPEAL	1817	0.3635	48	96
38	S	1796	0.3593	50	100
39	HAS	1775	0.3551	50	100
40	OTHER	1721	0.3443	50	100
41	REGULATIONS	1644	0.3289	49	98
42	THIS	1623	0.3247	50	100
43	WHERE	1584	0.3169	50	100
44	IT	1565	0.3131	50	100
45	DISCIPLINARY	1530	0.3061	48	96
46	ALL	1462	0.2925	50	100
47	SHOULD	1418	0.2837	49	98
48	SUCH	1405	0.2811	50	100

49	WHO	1394	0.2789	50	100
50	MUST	1382	0.2765	49	98
51	THEIR	1337	0.2675	50	100
52	YOU	1323	0.2647	24	48
53	DECISION	1307	0.2615	48	96
54	BEEN	1288	0.2577	50	100
55	CASE	1227	0.2455	49	98
56	PROGRAMME	1186	0.2373	43	86
57	PANEL	1157	0.2315	37	74
58	APPROPRIATE	1070	0.2141	49	98
59	HER	1067	0.2135	45	90
60	TIME	1040	0.2081	50	100
61	HIS	982	0.1965	46	92
62	WITHIN	978	0.1957	50	100
63	UNDER	964	0.1929	50	100
64	PROCEDURES	918	0.1837	49	98
65	STAFF	917	0.1835	50	100
66	MADE	911	0.1823	50	100
67	MEMBER	866	0.1732	46	92
68	CIRCUMSTANCES	862	0.1724	49	98
69	COURSE	856	0.1712	47	94
70	STUDY	844	0.1688	47	94
71	THESE	831	0.1662	50	100
72	ITS	820	0.164	50	100
73	WORK	817	0.1634	46	92
74	AWARD	796	0.1592	47	94
75	EXAMINERS	792	0.1584	40	80
76	VICE	782	0.1564	38	76
77	NO	781	0.1562	50	100
78	CHAIR	778	0.1556	39	78
79	HEARING	764	0.1528	40	80
80	EVIDENCE	750	0.15	47	94
81	APPEALS	746	0.1492	44	88
82	THEY	743	0.1486	49	98
83	MODULE	736	0.1472	27	54
84	FOLLOWING	735	0.147	50	100
85	CHANCELLOR	733	0.1466	35	70
86	OFFICER	730	0.146	43	86
87	HEAD	726	0.1452	44	88
88	COMPLAINT	710	0.142	36	72
89	RELEVANT	696	0.1392	50	100
90	YOUR	691	0.1382	22	44
91	SUBJECT	688	0.1376	50	100
92	HE	681	0.1362	47	94
93	INFORMATION	678	0.1356	47	94
94	MEETING	678	0.1356	47	94
95	REQUIRED	673	0.1346	49	98
96	PERSON	671	0.1342	50	100
97	MEMBERS	668	0.1336	48	96
98	ONE	660	0.132	49	98
99	DAYS	640	0.128	48	96
100	THAN	639	0.1278	50	100

APPENDIX 3

Concordance Table of all instances of student will not

N Concordance

1 H5.1 Where it becomes clear that a student will not meet the academic or
2 be taken. Failure to so inform such a student will not prejudice subsequent
3 During a period of suspension, a student will not be entitled to attend
4 offence against the criminal law, the student will not be required to admit or
5 to submit a written statement. A student will not have the right to demand
6 by the University but otherwise the student will not be entitled to tuition. At
7 permission of the College: a. an internal student will not be permitted to register
8 student's programme directly leads, the student will not normally be permitted to
9 placement are frustrated in this way the student will not be able to continue on
10 the beginning of each academic year. A student will not normally be permitted to

Concordance Table of all instances of university will not

N Concordance

1 the general principles below: E1.2 The University will not admit applicants
2 the police. In such circumstances the University will not normally proceed with
3 changes to local address. The University will not accept responsibility
4 approved but not yet conferred. 8. The University will not normally consider
5 Credit transferred in from outside the University will not be graded. Credit
6 Qualification at level 3. E2.5.3 The University will not normally make
7 other individuals) your career in the 14. University will not be prejudiced by
8 over which you are complaining. The University will not consider 42.
9 the police. In such circumstances, the University will not normally proceed with
10 entirely at the owner's risk and that the University will not be responsible for any
11 down in the examination timetable. The University will not consider requests from
12 of seven days (one calendar week). The University will not accept retrospective
13 University is brought into disrepute. The University will not normally investigate
14 Board. Students in debt to the University will not have a qualification
15 have prompted the complaint. The University will not normally consider
16 is, as a matter of law, a child and the University will not act in loco parentis for
17 loco parentis for them. That means, the University will not act in place of the
18 will not cooperate in their enquiries, the University will not take any internal
19 already been reported to the Police, the University will not normally take
20 attending an Appeals Committee. The University will not meet any legal
21 students with outstanding debts to the University will not be invited to the
22 though it must be appreciated that the University will not always have the
23 a Research Degree Appeal Panel. The University will not meet any legal
24 The disciplinary proceedings of the University will not be invalidated by
25 requirements. Students in debt to the University will not normally be
26 9.11.2 A student who is in debt to the University will not normally be permitted

APPENDIX 4

Complete collocation patterns for *must*

N	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	STUDENTS	MUST	BE	THE	THE	THE	THE
2	STUDENT		NOT	BE	IN	OF	OF
3	YOU		HAVE	A	TO	TO	TO
4	CANDIDATES		ENSURE	MADE	BY	WRITING	IN
5	AND		SUBMIT	SUBMITTED	WITH	IN	AND
6	APPEAL		ALSO	THAT	WITHIN	A	OR
7	THEY		INCLUDE	IN	A	AND	A
8	COMMITTEE		INFORM	TO	AT	OR	STUDENT
9	WHICH		COMPLY	THEIR	OR	WITH	BY
10	IT		NOTIFY	WITH	ANY	FOR	WHICH
11	UNIVERSITY		REPORT	ALL	THAT	ANY	ANY
12	BOARD		COMPLETE	AT	OF	STUDENT	WRITING
13	COMPLAINT		PROVIDE	RECEIVED	ON	ON	NIVERSITY
14	THIS		GIVE	NOTIFIED	AND	BY	ACADEMIC
15	APPEALS		OBTAIN	LODGED	STUDENT	ALL	AT
16	SHE		DO	AN	BEFORE	AN	IS
17	EXAMINATION		ABIDE	BY	UNIVERSITY	AS	DAYS
18	ASSESSMENT		MAKE	SENT	ALL	THEIR	CHAIR
19	EVIDENCE		WRITE	PRESENTED	FOR	REGISTRAR	AS
20	WORK		FOLLOW	ANY	AS	WITHIN	SECRETARY
21	PROGRAMME		TAKE	SO	REASON	WHY	SUCH
22	DECISION		OBSERVE	REFERRED	ACADEMIC	OWN	THAT
23	OFFICER		REGISTER	YOUR	MEDICAL	CERTIFICATE	WITHIN
24	REQUEST		THEN	AND	NO	EXAMINATION	FOR
25	APPELLANT		STATE	ENGAGE	THEIR	NOT	HEAD
26	USERS		NORMALLY	REPORTED	FROM	ACADEMIC	OTHER
27	THERE		ADVISE	GIVEN	USED	THAT	RELEVANT
28	PROGRAMMES		RECORD	COMMUNICATE	APPEAL	FORM	THEIR
29	HE		SHOW	GOOD	WRITTEN	UNIVERSITY	AMINATION
30	BUT		PAY	INFORMED	MATTER	SOON	THAN
31	NOMINEE		SATISFY	PAID	HER	IT	WITH
32	FORM		PRODUCE	PROVIDED	CLEAR	POINT	ON
33	PANEL		CONTACT	PASSED	AVAILABLE	LATER	FROM
34	THESE		SIGN	SUCH	LEAST	AT	VIGILATOR
35	CIRCUMSTANCES		APPLY	COMPLETED	LEVEL	MATTER	WORKING
36	CONTACT		REACH	HIS	IMMEDIATELY	ADVANCE	AN
37	THAT		MEDIATELY	THIS	WHERE	WRITTEN	OLLOWING
38	MODULE		LEAVE	RECORDED	BE	WORK	MARK
39	INVIGILATORS		EITHER	APPROVED	WRITING	LEAST	ANSWER
40	CHAIR		A	LEFT	AN	TEN	MEDICAL
41	EXAMINATIONS		USE	FOR	ATTENDANCE	FROM	WRITTEN
42	CASE		REMAIN	CLEARLY	APPROPRIATE	S	PROPRIATE
43	ASSESSMENTS		REFER	SATISFIED	GUIDANCE	EVIDENCE	QCA
44	CANDIDATE		BRING	OUT	OWN	THREE	ALL
45	VEHICLES		CONSULT	INFORM	HEAD		REGISTRY
46	STATEMENT			TAKEN	GROUND		WORK
47	REGULATIONS			ON	CASE		STUDENT'S
48	ENQUIRY			CONSIDER	DIRECTOR		NOT
49	CONCERNED			ABLE	EXAMINATION		STUDENTS
50	DRIVERS			ACCOMPANIED			G
51				APPROPRIATE			ROOM
52				THEMSELVES			PERSON
53				EITHER			THIS
54				LEAVE			
55				OBTAINED			
56				PRODUCED			
57				KEPT			
58				FOLLOWED			
59				STUDENTS			
60				IT			

APPENDIX 5

Concordance lines for WORK (1-30)

N Concordance

1 and the M.A. degree in Social [Work](#)); behaviour which brings the
2 For the purposes of this Regulation the [work](#) of a University officer, employee,
3 the work as an individual piece. Where [work](#) is done collaboratively and a single
4 and calibration of standards. 3. All [work](#) should be able to be moderated
5 must not, in relation to assessed [work](#) at any stage of their programme: *
6 in Education and the M.A. in Social [Work](#)) the Committee shall, if
7 see the Harassment and Dignity at [Work](#) Policy). 13.1.3.4 deliberately
8 must not, in relation to assessed [work](#) at any stage of their course: cheat
9 mark for the module. Major pieces of [work](#) (defined as pieces of work counting
10 for plagiarism. This includes [work](#) that has already been submitted,
11 fails to attend an examination or submit [work](#) punctually for assessment, without
12 granting of interruption of studies. No [work](#) involving ionising radiation may be
13 Nor should it be confused with group [work](#) on an assignment where this is
14 academic contacts are unavailable. 11 [Work](#) for assessment submitted after the
15 of the module. Failure to submit [work](#) by the deadline will result in failure
16 such requirements. . Requirements for [work](#) and attendance may include
17 replaced by a 'substitution score'. We [work](#) this out from the scores of all your
18 following penalties relating to assessed [work](#): a Not allowing all or part of an
19 Students whose academic or clinical [work](#) may involve personal details or
20 be made to the assessment board. The [work](#) in question will be marked on its
21 be a warning about future conduct. The [work](#) in question will be marked on its
22 late submission of numerically marked [work](#) for assessment in the absence of
23 include a copy of the student's [work](#) and copies of pages of the
24 in writing. Any additional assessed [work](#) or examination required under (1) or
25 close paraphrasing, copying from the [work](#) of another person, including another
26 in most cases. Where the submitted [work](#) is impeded by bad academic
27 in mitigation no longer apply. 11.4.4 All [work](#) submitted for examination, for
28 else; *?submission of another student's [work](#) with or without that student's
29 set out in section 1 above that all [work](#) submitted by the student must be
30 to them after marking. Assessed [work](#) so retained may be recalled from

APPENDIX 6

Concordance lines BY THE (lines 1-30)

N Concordance

1 may be amended from time to time by the Academic Board and its
2 with such amendments approved by the Board of Governors. These
3 and social engagement is supported by the acceptance of core values that: •
4 the required assessment approved by the University? (ii) determine the
5 and distinctions on persons selected by the University? (iv) accept in partial
6 assessments as may be recognised by the University and have been
7 awards conferred or recommended by the University? 4 (ix) grant and confer
8 5.2.2 Programmes approved by the University will conform in terms of
9 and informed by active participation by the teaching staff in research or
10 for that award as determined by the University's degree awarding
11 degree awarding powers and by the principles and regulations
12 curriculum for an award approved by the Academic Board. It is also a
13 other than through procedures defined by the Academic Board and within limits
14 Academic Board and within limits set by the Academic Board. (iv) A copy of
15 other countries as may be recognised by the Academic Board as equivalent to
16 entrance qualifications required by the professional statutory body (for
17 • any other qualification approved by the Academic Board. • Nonnative
18 entrance qualification as specified by the Training and Development Agency
19 fee within the timescale specified by the University. Students on
20 to the previous year as prescribed by the Regulations, including
21 any additional periods of study required by the programme regulations.
22 experience or other activities prescribed by the programme regulations is
23 decision within the policy established by the Academic Board. Students
24 are expected to be in good standing by the prompt payment of all monies due
25 immediately on a demand being raised by the University. Charges for residential
26 of misconduct will first be investigated by the Head of School in which the
27 disciplinary matters are published by the Board of Governors and appear as
28 Minor offences may be dealt with by the relevant service or the programme
29 required to observe instructions issued by the University for the maintenance of
30 is part of the Scheme provided by the Office of the Independent

APPENDIX 7

Cloze Test Regulations 1 & Regulations 2

Ray's Course

You are logged in as Raymond Sheehan (Logout)

LISIG > RMS01 > Hot Potatoes Quizzes > Regulations1

Update this Hot Potatoes Quiz

Regulations1

Gap-fill exercise

Read through all the text first to get the general idea. Then, go back and fill in the blanks with the word that you think best fits the space.

If you disagree with the decision, you may appeal against it. The first step to complete an appeal and hand it to secretary of the academic board. On this form, should mention any circumstances your control that affected academic performance. Attach supporting , such as medical certificates.

deans or sub-deans will a committee and listen your appeal. However, these may not be from own Faculty. Your own dean may attend, but not take an active .

The committee will tell when and where it meeting. You may attend meeting. You may bring companion who is a of the university with . At this meeting, you present your own point view and you can questions if you wish. companion may speak for , briefly. The university will invite your personal tutor a representative from your . The committee will make final decision behind closed . It will then tell faculty board what it decided. The secretary of board will write to you what the committee decided. It will also you how to contact Office of the Independent Adjudicator if you are not with the decision.

You inform your department of circumstances that affect your performance. These circumstances could academic, personal, medical, etc. department may ask you provide evidence, such as certificates. You should hand this evidence as soon possible, and before any deadlines. You cannot submit evidence after the meeting the Board of Examiners. other words, the appeals will not accept any evidence.

You can appeal your mark, or grade, when you can show there was a flaw the assessment procedure. You appeal simply because you with the examiners' judgment.

Regulations2

Gap-fill exercise

Fill in all the gaps, then press "Check" to check your answers.

A student's request for a review should be made through the submission of an appeal form to the Secretary of the Board. The form should draw _____ to any matter that _____ student feels to be _____ to his or her _____ performance and of which _____ Board may have been _____ when it made its _____. Any supporting documents (e.g. _____ certificates) should also be _____ to the Secretary.

The _____ will be conducted by _____ committee comprising three Deans _____ Sub-Deans of the Faculties. _____ membership of the committee _____ exclude the Dean or _____ of the Faculty in _____ the appellant is registered (_____ Faculty Board of which _____ have recommended the termination _____ course). The Dean or Sub-Dean _____ the student's Faculty may, _____, attend the meeting to _____ on the Faculty Board's _____ of the student's case. _____ student will be informed _____ the time and place _____ the committee's meeting. The _____ may attend the meeting _____ may be accompanied by _____ member of the University. _____ attendance provides an opportunity _____ the student to expand _____, and answer questions about _____ submission. The student's companion (_____ any) will be invited _____ make a brief statement _____ the student's behalf, but _____ take no part in _____ proceedings unless requested to _____ so by the Chairman. _____ student's Personal Tutor and _____ representative of each department _____ will also be invited _____ attend. At the end _____ the meeting the committee _____ reach its conclusions in _____ discussion. The committee will _____ to the Faculty Board _____ recommended the termination of _____, and the Secretary of _____ Board will notify the _____ in writing of the _____ decision. At the conclusion _____ the review, the student _____ be sent a completion _____ procedures letter and details _____ the Office of the _____ Adjudicator.

It is the _____ of students to inform _____ Departments of any matters (_____ of an academic, personal, _____ or other nature) which _____ be relevant to their _____ performance, and to supply _____ evidence, for example, a _____ certificate. Such information should _____ submitted before the expiry _____ any departmental deadlines governing _____ submission of evidence of _____ circumstances. If no such _____ exist, the evidence must _____ submitted as soon as _____ is available, and in _____ event before the meeting _____ the relevant Board of _____ is due to take _____.

Appeals against degree classification _____ appeals against termination of _____ may be disallowed if _____ appeal is based on _____ circumstances which the appeals _____ believes should have been _____ earlier to the department _____.

Appeals against degree classification _____ permitted only where prima _____ evidence of material irregularity _____ to the operation of _____ University's assessment procedures can _____ produced. Students may not _____ the academic judgements of _____ examiners, and the decisions _____ properly-constituted Boards of Examiners _____ in accordance with approved _____ will always be upheld _____ the University.

Check Hint

APPENDIX 8

Regulations 1: Categorization of Cloze test items and analysis of recoverability

	GRAMMAR	LEXIS	Collocation	Recoverability
1	is			✓
2		form	<i>complete a</i>	Recoverable
3	the			✓
4		appeal		Recoverable: appeal form/appeal board
5	you			✓
6	beyond		<i>your control</i>	✓
7	your			✓
8		documentation	<i>attach supporting</i>	such as....+ example
9		Three		Irrecoverable
10		form	<i>will ____ a committee</i>	Medium recoverable: collocation
11	to		<i>listen ____</i>	
12		deans		Recoverable: <i>repetition</i>
13	your		own	Recoverable: <i>repetition</i>
14		faculty		Recoverable: <i>repetition</i>
15		may		Recoverable from syntax: may... <i>but may not</i>
16		part	<i>take an active ____</i>	Medium recoverable: collocation
17	you			
18	is			✓
19	this			Medium recoverable: demonstrative
20	a			✓
21		member		irrecoverable
22	you			✓
23	may			Medium recoverable: register, co-text
24	of		<i>point ____ view</i>	✓
25		answer	<i>questions</i>	(ask? raise) medium

				recoverable
26	Your			✓
27	You			✓
28	also			Recoverable co-text
29	and			✓
30		department		Medium: repetition. Or Faculty?
31	its			✓
32		doors	Behind closed	✓
33	the			✓
34	has			✓
35	the			✓
36		tell		Medium recoverable
37	has			✓
38		inform		Medium recoverable
39	the			✓
40		happy		Medium; satisfied....
41	must			Medium
42	any			Medium
43		academic		Challenging?
44	be			✓
45	the			✓
46	to			✓
47	medical			Challenging?
48		in	hand in =lexical verb	✓
49	as		As soon as possible	
50		departmental		irrecoverable
51	this			✓
52	of			✓
53	In		In other words...	✓
54		committee		Co-text? Challenging?
55		late		Co-text? Challenging?
56	against		Appeal against	Collocation
57	only			Recoverable? Medium?
58	that			✓
59	in			✓
60		cannot		Recoverable from syntax: you can... you cannot

APPENDIX 9

Sample test answers from L1 participants

Ray's Course

You are logged in as English Speaker 3 (Logout)

LISIG > RMS01 > Hot Potatoes Quizzes > Regulations2

Regulations2

Gap-fill exercise

Your score is 56%.

Some of your answers are incorrect. Incorrect answers have been left in place for you to change.

A student's request for a review should be made through the submission of an appeal form to the Secretary of the Board. The form should draw **attention** to any matter that **the** student feels to be **detrimental** to his or her **academic** performance and of which **the** Board may have been **ignorant** when it made its **report**. Any supporting documents (e.g. **medical** certificates) should also be **given** to the Secretary.

The **investigation** will be conducted by a committee comprising three Deans **and** Sub-Deans of the Faculties. The membership of the committee **must** exclude the Dean or **Sub-Dean** of the Faculty in **which** the appellant is registered (**the** Faculty Board of which **may** have recommended the termination of course). The Dean or Sub-Dean of the student's Faculty may, **voluntarily**, attend the meeting to **speak** on the Faculty Board's **view** of the student's case. **The** student will be informed of the time and place of the committee's meeting. **The** student may attend the meeting **and** may be accompanied by a member of the University. **Such** attendance provides an opportunity for the student to expand **testimony**, and answer questions about **their** submission. The student's companion (if any) will be invited **then** make a brief statement on the student's behalf, but **can** take no part in **the** proceedings unless requested to **do** so by the Chairman. **The** student's Personal Tutor and a representative of each department **here** will also be invited to attend. At the end of the meeting the committee **will** reach its conclusions in **closed** discussion. The committee will **write** to the Faculty Board **if** recommended the termination of **students**, and the Secretary of **the** Board will notify the **student** in writing of the **final** decision. At the conclusion of the review, the student **will** be sent a completion of procedures letter and details of **the** Office of the **university** Adjudicator.

It is the **duty** of students to inform **their** Departments of any matters (**arising** of an academic, personal, **medical** or other nature) which **could** be relevant to their **academic** performance, and to supply **written** evidence, for example, a **medical** certificate. Such information should **be** submitted before the expiry of any departmental deadlines governing **the** submission of evidence of **these** circumstances. If no such **certificates** exist, the evidence must **be** submitted as soon as it is available, and in **any** event before the meeting of the relevant Board of **something** is due to take **place**.

Appeals against degree classification **and** appeals against termination of **studies** may be disallowed if **the** appeal is based on **any** circumstances which the appeals **board** believes should have been **made** earlier to the department **head**.

Appeals against degree classification **are** permitted only where *prima facie* evidence of material irregularity **relevant** to the operation of **the** University's assessment procedures can be produced. Students may not **question** the academic judgements of **the** examiners, and the decisions of properly-constituted Boards of Examiners **acting** in accordance with approved **regulations** will always be upheld **by** the University.

Regulations1

Gap-fill exercise

Your score is 63%.

If you disagree with the decision, you may appeal against it. The first step is to complete an appeal form and hand it to the secretary of the academic appeal board. On this form, you should mention any circumstances beyond your control that affected your academic performance. Attach supporting documents, such as medical certificates.

The deans or sub-deans will form a committee and listen to your appeal. However, these deans may not be from your own Faculty. Your own academic dean may attend, but can not take an active role.

Your score is 63%.

The committee will tell you when and where it is meeting. You can present your own point of view and you can ask for a meeting with a representative from your department. The committee will make a final decision behind closed doors. It will then tell your faculty board what it has decided. The secretary of the board will write to tell you what the committee has decided. It will also tell you how to contact the Office of the Independent Adjudicator if you are not satisfied with the decision.

You should inform your department of any circumstances that affect your academic performance. These circumstances could be academic, personal, medical, etc. Your department may ask you to provide evidence, such as doctor's certificates. You should hand in this evidence as soon as possible, and before any university deadlines. You cannot submit your evidence after the meeting of the Board of Examiners. In other words, the appeals board will not accept any further evidence.

You can appeal against your mark, or grade, something when you can show that there was a flaw in the assessment procedure. You cannot appeal simply because you disagree with the examiners' judgment.

APPENDIX 10

Theme/Rheme text 6.1 continued

Where a student does not admit an allegation

3.13 If the student does not admit the allegation the Investigating Officer will take a statement from the student and any witnesses the student names. All statements should be signed as a true record. The Investigating Officer will then submit a full report (which will normally include a recommendation as to what action should be taken) based on the Misconduct Report Form, the interview with the student and witnesses and any other material or evidence which the Investigating Officer deems appropriate, to the **Director of Administrative Services**. Observations of credibility of those involved may be included as appropriate although the Investigating Officer should remember that their report will be disclosed as part of this process.

3.14 The **Director of Administrative Services** will receive and read the report and recommendations and may discuss them with the Investigating Officer. The **Director of Administrative Services** may:

- confirm the allegation will proceed to the next stage
- dismiss it
- refer it for further investigation.

If the **Director of Administrative Services** intends to proceed to a hearing they will normally consult with the student's Head of Department before taking the final decision.

3.15 If a disputed allegation proceeds, there must be a hearing before a disciplinary panel, usually no more than **five working days** after the investigation is completed. The Investigating Officer will present the case against the student to the Panel. The student and witnesses/ victims will be expected to be available for questioning. The

process will follow the procedure set out in an Appendix 4.

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