

Fachbereich Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften

Institut für Englische Philologie der Freien Universität Berlin

The News Discourse

of Urban Planning and Development:

The Mitigation of Competing Claims and Controversies

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Concetta Balestra

Betreuer: Prof. Dr. Gerhard Leitner

Zweiter Gutacher: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Zydatiß

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Contents

1	Introduction	9
2	Theoretical and Methodological Framework	20
2.1	Critical Discourse Analysis	25
2.1.1	Defining Discourse	28
2.1.2	Concepts and Notions of “Text” in CDA	34
2.1.3	News as Discourse	39
2.1.4	The Question of Critique	43
2.1.5	The Discourse-Historical Approach	49
2.2	Corpus Linguistics	54
2.2.1	Definition of Corpus	56
2.2.2	Special-purpose Corpora as a Research Tools for CDA	59
2.2.3	Quantitative and Qualitative Notions of Keyness .	67
3	Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation	73
3.1	Mainstream Daily Newspapers vs Alternative Newsweeklies	74
3.1.1	History of Alternative Newsweeklies	77

Contents

3.1.2	Theories of Alternative Media	77
3.1.3	Alternativeness in the Alternative Newsweeklies . .	81
3.2	Corpus Compilation	83
3.2.1	Data Retrieval	83
3.2.2	Data Storage	85
4	Urban Planning and Development: Background Research	87
4.1	The Significance of Urban Planning: A Foucauldian Account	90
4.2	Critical Issues in Current Trends of Urban Planning	94
4.3	Social and Cultural Significance of Urban Planning and Development: Focus on Gentrification	98
4.3.1	Theories of Gentrification	101
5	Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis	110
5.1	Urban Planning and Development Order of Discourses . .	111
5.2	“Development” and “Growth” in the Corpus: a Pilot Analysis	119
5.2.1	The Discoursal Construction of Urban Development	120
5.2.2	Exploitation of Meaning Potential	126
5.2.3	Development as Re- or Mega-development	128
5.2.4	Development as Urban Process	138
5.2.5	Community Development	146
5.2.6	Urban/Economic Development	148
5.3	The Discoursal Construction of Growth	152

Contents

5.3.1	Smart Growth	159
6	Corpus Analysis	166
6.1	Urban Planning	167
6.1.1	“Planning” as the Field of Theory and Practise . .	168
6.1.2	“Planning” as the Professional Field of the Actors .	172
6.2	City	182
6.3	Gentrification	199
6.3.1	Earlier Episodes of Gentrification: Two Case stud- ies from the 1960s	200
6.3.2	Is Gentrification still a “Dirty Word”?	209
6.4	Change	231
7	Conclusion	246
8	Appendix	256
8.1	Developer thinks big to keep pace with growth Jim Thomas is leading a massive proposal for Universal City, a plan that could serve expanding real estate needs	256
8.2	Bloomberg, Avella and Thompson at WFP Mayoral Forum: Some Highlights	262
8.3	Sprawled Out	266
8.4	High-Rise Development Plans Threaten Vietnam’s Once Gracious Former Capital	269

Contents

8.5	It's not just for work. With clubs and bars popping up in the land of office cubicles, there are lots of places downtown for play	274
9	Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache	285
	Bibliography	300

List of Tables

3.1	Mainstream Quality Newspapers vs. Alternative News-weeklies	76
5.1	Actors and Locations	113
5.2	“Development” Frequency of Occurrence	121
5.3	“Planning” Frequency of Occurrence	121
5.4	“Redevelopment” Frequency of Occurrence	128
5.5	Co-occurrence of “Growth” with “Development” and “Re-development”	153
6.1	“Gentrification” Frequency of Occurrence	209

List of Figures

5.1	Urban Planning and Development Fields of Action	115
5.2	Development and Redevelopment Clusters	129
6.1	Is Gentrification a Dirty Word? (Gentrification and the Revanchist City, Smith 1996: 29)	206
6.2	Gentrification Concordance Plot	224

List of Abbreviations

AN	Alternative Newsweeklies
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COCA	Contemporary Corpus of American English
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
LAT	Los Angeles Times
LAW	Los Angeles Weekly
MQN	Mainstream Quality Newspapers
NYT	The New York Times
PCP	Pittsburgh City Paper
PPG	Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
VV	Village Voice

1 Introduction

Urban planning and development describe a wide arena where the interests and expectations of public officials, private professionals and the diverse social groups within the urban demographic are at play to shape the urban condition. This thesis studies the discursal constructions of urban planning and development in the news. The analysis concentrates on the controversial dynamics of the urban processes and specifically on the tensions separating the stakeholders' expectations. Relevant questions include whether, and how, discursive practises occur that contribute to mitigate such tensions and how those practises may impinge upon ideas of social justice. Also of interest are the social values made available to the public through the news to “interpret” and experience the city and its processes of change.

The motivation for studying urban planning and development as a topic of the news discourse originates from a strong interest in cities, their functioning, and in the relationship societies have with their cities. People have always been attracted to cities because of the opportunities they offer. This trend proves to be consistent throughout time, and across the

1 Introduction

various continents and countries of the world, regardless of economic and political settings. Recent studies have estimated that by 2050, 75% of the global population will live in urban areas (United Nations 2004; Veron 2006). Thus, the great majority of the world population will consist of urban residents. Furthermore, the centrality of city building to the global economy is expressed in the 2008 financial crisis that began in the US sub-prime housing market. Such issues represent compelling reasons to critically address the news discourse associated with the processes of planning and development and their impact on urban communities.

Discourse is an element of social practise that enables the exercise of power. It is now a well established category of analysis in various approaches of linguistics that study language in use and that are more interested in function rather than form, as well as in the social sciences (Fairclough et al. 2004; Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). This study adopts the research framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in combination with corpus linguistics. A relevant example of the interest for discourse within the social sciences is represented by the so-called “communicative turn” of planning theory, or “communicative planning”, i.e. a line of research within planning theory that examines the role of discourse in shaping the outcome of urban planning (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002; Huxley 1997; Yiftachel 1995, 1996, 2001). Power is the theoretical notion where CDA and planning theory overlap, making an interdisciplinary dialogue between the two particularly worthwhile.

News is one of the most substantial and pervasive realisations of dis-

1 Introduction

course. It covers an unrestricted number of (mostly) discursive topics and is nearly ubiquitous (Bell 1991; Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999; Fowler 1991; Leitner 1997; van Dijk 1991a). For this reason, the study of the news discourse associated with a specific topic can be decisive for the understanding of its related social structures and processes.

Research Methodology and Objectives CDA studies the role of discourse in societies and aims to make manifest the “relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality” (Van Dijk 1993: 249). To put it differently, the fundamental areas of investigation of CDA are the “power of discourse” and the “power over discourse” (Holzscheiter 2005, in Wodak et al. 2009). The power of discourse is not operated through coercion and repression; it refers to the capacity of discourse to influence social reality, by shaping the public understanding of the topic it is concerned with (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999; Foucault 1984, 1990, 1991; Wodak and Meyer 2001). To have power over discourse, instead, means to be able to determine the nature of the discursive practises and, hence, the meanings they attribute to the discourse topic (Holzscheiter 2005; van Dijk 1993a, 1995; Wodak et al. 2009). CDA investigates the nature of this dialectic and traces the ideologies that engender it. It is a relatively young research field inspired by two leading schools of thought of the past century, i.e. the Frankfurt School of critical theory and the scholarship of Michel Foucault, which succeeded in drawing scholarly attention to the *linguistic* and the *semiotic* as crucial aspects for social

1 Introduction

theory (Wodak and Meyer 2009, 2001).

The development and contribution of CDA in the humanities and in the social sciences, consist in creating a research tradition of critical studies that is interdisciplinary but highly forged by a linguistic orientation in its investigative methods and research output. The interdisciplinarity of CDA is a response to the composite nature of discourse, which is language in use and linguistic representations, but it also includes a more subtle system of social and ideological meanings and historical knowledge (van Leeuwen 2006; Wodak and Weiss 2003). Discourse comprehends a textual and an extra-textual (or contextual) dimension. The textual dimension can be dissected into the lexical, the grammar-semantic and the argumentative and rhetorical dimensions; while the contextual dimension encompasses the socio-cultural, historico-political and cognitive dimensions. Finally, discourse consists also of other discourses, since it includes interdiscursive relations. Thus, CDA accounts for the structure of the linguistic-textual realisations of discourse, but it also relies on interdisciplinarity to investigate the discourse topic under examination with the theoretical and methodological support of the dedicated research fields.

Over the past twenty years several CDA methods have been developed as a result of the greater attention allocated to aspects such as historical context (Wodak's discourse-historical approach), methods of data collection and analysis (Mautner's corpus linguistics approach), the dialectics between discourse and social reality (Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach), cognition (van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach) and multimodal-

1 Introduction

ity (van Leeuwen's social semiotics). Thus, while the theoretical grounding given by central notions such as "discourse", "critique" and "power" is common to the various approaches, their ways to operationalise theory differ. This study draws primarily on the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Wodak et al. 1990; Wodak 2001) and the corpus linguistics approach (Baker 2006; Bayley 2007; Mautner 2009), and integrates elements from the theoretical grounding of the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough 1995, 2003; Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999).

The notion of critique in DHA distinguishes among the immanent, the unmasking and the prospective critiques (Wodak and Reisigl 2001). The immanent critique consists in detecting the inconsistencies and contradictions of text structures. The unmasking critique aims to make manifest the manipulative nature of the specific stances isolated in the texts. In order to do so it relies on large contextual information, including knowledge of the discourse topic and its historical background. Finally, the prospective critique refers to the commitment of the analyst to indicate alternative ways to change the conditions of social inequality that emerge from the discourse analysis. Carrying out the prospective critique often depends on the dimension of the research project (e.g. time and financial resources), which may determine the possibility to undertake initiatives in collaboration with relevant institutions (Wodak and Reisigl 2009).

Within this study the immanent critique is informed by the use of the research tools of corpus linguistics, which assist the textual analysis providing the computations of frequency of occurrence, concordances and

1 Introduction

collocates of the selected lexical items. The interdisciplinary research for the completion of the unmasking critique addresses three main issues: the evaluation of urban planning and development as a domain that exemplifies the exercise of power (Foucault 1984, 1991); the partiality of the conventional view of urban planning and development as progressive fields of theory and practise (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002; Yiftachel 1996, 2001), and the impact that these urban processes exert on the social level, especially in relation to the less affluent social groups within the urban demographic (Brenner et al. 2009; Slater 2006; Smith 1996, 2008; Wacquant 2008).

In addition to informing our account for the power of discourse on social reality, the work of Foucault is relevant for the analysis of urban planning and development as fields of theory and practise that enable the exercise of power. Foucault (Foucault 1990, 1991, 2007) coined the term “biopower” to refer to the power (indirectly exercised) to discipline bodies and regulate populations. He considered space as “active” and urban planning as fundamental for establishing a subordinate relationship between people and space. Such a relationship is responsible for the “political control of the body”, and cities provide the ideal space to carry out this control and to “discipline life” (Foucault 1990). Research within communicative planning (above mentioned) is largely inspired by Foucault; this body of research questions the widespread perception of urban planning as intrinsically progressive, and sheds light on its questionably regressive character, or urban planning’s “dark side” (Flyvbjerg

1 Introduction

and Richardson 2002; Huxley 1997; Yiftachel 1995, 1996, 2001; Marcuse 1994).

The regressive side of urban planning has several manifestations. Moving from Lefebvre's (1991) definition of planning as "the public production of space", current planning trends promoting the conceptualisation of cities as commodities and the idea of basing municipal governments on corporate models, are critically evaluated as conducive to unsustainable relationships between the urban space and its residents (Boyle and Rogerson 2001; Brenner et al. 2009). This study focuses on the social phenomenon of gentrification, which is also correlated to class and ethnic discrimination and urban homogenisation. British sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term "gentrification" to denominate the phenomenon of social and cultural displacement of the lower working class from their communities due to the influx of members of the middle and upper class, which had started to take place in the post-World War II period in several cities in Europe, the United States and Australia (Glass 1964). Gentrification is often the outcome of urban planning and (re-)development projects. They impact property values by effectuating a structural renewal of the urban areas, which in turn causes their social transformation. Two theories of gentrification are discussed in order to single out the main features of the phenomenon and to gather insights concerning the discursal construction in the news of its early episodes.

To sum up to this point, the Foucauldian analysis of urban planning and development informs the delineation of the critical angle from which

1 Introduction

the news discourse associated with the urban processes can be examined. The review of current urban planning trends provides the background knowledge to optimise the critical reading of the data.

Corpus Data and Analysis The analysis is based on a small special-purpose corpus compiled at the outset of the study¹. The corpus contains 100 newspaper texts sampling the news discourse of urban planning and development in New York, Los Angeles and Pittsburgh. Each city represents an example of the three main planning models in the United States: the grid system, the sub-urban model and a composite model which comprises elements of both (see e.g. Rossi 1997). New York City is an example of the grid system. This consists of a network of orthogonal roads; it favours vertical architecture, a highly dense population and an active street life (Kotkin 2005). The suburban model favours the expansion of the urban territory and the decrease of population density. With the mass production of the automobile, the suburban model became the major planning trend in the US. With this regard, urban planning scholars have talked of a “triumph of suburbia” in the United States (Kotkin 2005). Suburbs were built on the city fringes of most cities to provide a home to the middle class, a fact which caused the central urban areas to function almost exclusively as business districts and as residential areas for less affluent social classes and minority groups. Los Angeles is unequivocally the symbol of this model. Finally, the third planning model,

¹The software used in this study is *ANTCONC*, developed by Prof. Lawrence Anthony at Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

1 Introduction

here represented by the city of Pittsburgh, combines elements of the grid and suburban model. Cities with a composite planning model have urban and suburban neighbourhoods, in addition to a downtown where a high percentage of the economic activities are concentrated.

It is well known how these urban planning models bear a strong symbolism of the American way of life and of American culture in general. However they are not fixed. Counter-trends are possible and periodically in act, which produce radical changes in the infrastructural and social make-up of entire neighbourhoods. The alternation of these trends produces actual “boom and bust cycles” for which the same urban area undergoes periods of great flourishing and great decline (Gottdiener and Budd 2005).

The news outlets used are daily mainstream quality newspapers (MQN) and city-based alternative newsweeklies (AN). The daily mainstream newspapers are quality newspapers (Bell 1991; Jucker 1992). They are *The New York Times* (NYT), the *Los Angeles Times* (LAT), and the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* (PPG). The alternative newsweeklies are *The Village Voice* (VV, based in New York), *LA Weekly* (LAW), and the *Pittsburgh City Paper* (PCP). Unlike MQN, AN are not frequently object of study within CDA. The frequent use of mainstream newspapers, both quality broadsheets and tabloids, is a result of their greater influence for the manufacture of public consent, which together with strategies of manipulation and legitimation represents a main area of investigation of CDA. AN first started to be published in New York City, where the *The Village*

1 Introduction

Voice was founded in 1955. Later, they diffused to each major city in the USA and recently in Europe and Australia. Based upon the theories of alternative media, AN stand out as a hybrid type of news publication. They align with mainstream news outlets for aspects related to ownership structure, but differ for aspects related to content coverage. Their format is similar to that of the MQN in that it includes hard and soft news sections; they cover the arts more extensively, though the focus is on local events and facts. Precisely, their focus on local urban coverage makes them suitable data sources for our study of the discourse of urban planning and development. The use of two different data sources and the consequent distinction of two sub-corpora inform the completion of the analysis. It facilitates the monitoring of over- and under-interpretation of the practises under examination, and allows the immediate internal comparison of the findings. Moreover, once ascertained the extent of their divergence, further analysis can assess whether some of the findings yield discourse emancipatory considerations, which can be used for the prospective critique.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 present the theoretical and methodological framework, the data sources, the criteria for the corpus compilation, and the interdisciplinary research on urban planning and development, introduced in the discussion above. With chapters 5 and 6, the focus shifts from the theory and methodology of the research to the operationalisation of the analysis.

Chapter 5 first provides a detailed analysis of the order of discourses

1 Introduction

in which the news discourse of urban planning and development is situated, and proceeds with the pilot analysis of the occurrences of the following keywords: “development”, “redevelopment”, “mega-development”, “growth” and “smart growth”. The analysis of the order of discourse serves to build a model of the main inter-relations among the groups of stakeholders and their discourses, which, in turn, is instrumental to single out a semiotic point of entry through which orient the analysis, and develop a hypothesis concerning the aspects of the topic that are likely to be strategically textured. The hypothesis formulated concerns an overall promotional intent embedded in the representations, as the macro discursive strategy of the news discourse of urban planning and development. The exploitation of lexical meaning potential stands out as one of the most recurrent discursive practises and is correlated to several communicative effects and the shaping of the representations of the various urban planning and development aspects taken into consideration. Finally, chapter 6 is entirely dedicated to the data analysis, and it examines the discursive constructions of “planning”, “city”, “gentrification” and “change”.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Introduction

The theoretical and methodological framework of this study combines qualitative and quantitative research methods and tools. CDA provides the qualitative research apparatus for the study of discourse, while corpus linguistics provides the quantitative research tools necessary for the semi-automatic scans of the corpus data. This chapter is divided into two parts to review both fields and explain their integration in our analysis of the news discourse of urban planning and development. The first part reviews the research field of CDA and introduces its main notions, namely “discourse”, “text” and “critique”. This discussion integrates elements from the two methods of CDA which have been influential for this study, i.e. the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Wodak and Reisigl 2001; Wodak 2006) and the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough 1995, 2003; Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). However as our analysis of the

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

public discourse of urban planning and development is an application of the DHA, this is reviewed in greater details, particularly in relation to the notion of “critique”.

The second part of the chapter reviews the field of CL and explains how this study uses a corpus. After a brief overview of the development of the field, the discussion concentrates on the contribution of small special-purpose corpora within the primarily qualitative research framework of CDA. Following an emerging trend within CDA, this study merges qualitative and quantitative methods and research tools in a way that defines the analysis as primarily qualitative, but significantly optimised by the integration of quantitative research tools (Mautner 2009; Baker et al. 2008). With this regard, it will be reasoned that the optimality of the synergy between the qualitative methods of analysis of CDA and the quantitative research tools of corpus linguistics is decided by the size of the corpus and its internal distinction between two sub-corpora. The empirical analysis presented in chapter 5 and 6 will make the case for this argument.

Introductory Remarks on the Combined Methodology

The combination of qualitative research methods with quantitative research tools proves useful for two main reasons. First, CDA provides a qualitative apparatus for analysing discourse but lacks the quantitative tools provided by corpus linguistics. Thus, through their combination the research retains the theoretical suitability of discourse analysis without

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

sacrificing the empirical richness of corpus-based research. Second, their combination suits the distinction of two basic levels of analysis, a micro or local level, and a macro or global level which optimally serve the (critical) analysis of discourse, exemplifying both locally and globally conveyed meanings.

A combined framework of this kind also represents an attempt to tackle questions about the representativity of the considerations made by means of qualitative methods of research. Though systematic empirical analysis is currently becoming more common, a large part of the research produced within CDA is not empirically driven. Its critics point to this general lack of empirical intensity caused by the use of small-scale raw data, and also by a seemingly ad hoc selection of the texts analysed. More precisely, data selection has been reckoned as opportunistic, i.e. shaped around hypotheses a priori formulated (Widdowson 1995, 2004). The integration of the tools of corpus linguistics, which grant a significant increase in data volumes and the accuracy of semi-automatic data scans, serves to directly address the problem. However, while many researchers have embraced the criticism and have begun to produce studies based on larger data sets (e.g. Baker 2006; O'Halloran 2007), it is important to consider that CDA purportedly places itself in the tradition of hermeneutic methodology, rather than in the analytical-deductive tradition (Meyer 2001: 25). Thus, the systematisation (and automatisisation) of some analytical tasks does not represent a methodological priority. The use of linguistic corpora is to further strengthen CDA abductive research approach which

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

consists in “a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data” (Wodak 2001: 70) and is to be distinguished from the inductive and deductive systems of inference production. This also reflects the epistemological shift brought by post-structuralism for which quantification and the discovery of new facts have ceased to be a central and crucial aspect of academic research particularly in the humanities and the social sciences (Gouveia 2003). Rather, the new objectives consist in suggesting intervention, and bringing change in relation to the questions raised within the research (Baker 2006: 9). The criticism addressed to CDA will be further discussed while reviewing the field in order to present the redress of CDA.

The quantitative tools of corpus linguistics used in conjunction with the qualitative tools of CDA also comply with the distinction of two basic levels of analysis required by the nature of discourse. The distinction is between a micro or local level of analysis and a macro or global level of analysis. Such distinction does not entail that the tasks of each level of analysis be carried out separately, nor does it correspond to the attempt of achieving an understanding of the discourse (in this case the discourse of urban planning and development) through cumulative analyses of a (possibly large) collection of sentences and whole texts. This type of attempt can only constitute an initial/intermediate phase of the analysis of discourse and complies with a definition of discourse that this study rejects. The definition in question comes from the more structural approaches within discourse studies, normally referred to as “text linguistics” which

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

concentrates on the constitutive properties of the texts in order to account for the function they complete, viz. descriptive and instructive (Werlich 1979). As far as this study is concerned, the distinction of these two levels of analysis points to how the quantitative methods and tools of corpus linguistics research can contribute to the qualitative analysis of discourse. The micro/local level of analysis accounts for the lexical, the phrasal and the sentence dimensions of the texts. Within this level of analysis, the use of text analysis software allows to perform semi-automated scans of the texts and to gather information concerning those linguistic features that have a high degree of surface regularity, such as frequency of occurrence, and the tendency of words to co-occur (Garretson and O'Connor 2007). The computation of these subsets of data also provides a basis for the macro level of analysis which examines the textual dimension while acknowledging an extra-textual or contextual dimension, namely whose components are not realised by means of linguistic forms and which include socio-cognitive, cultural, historical and political aspects, all crucial to carry out the critical analysis of discourse. In other words, the contextual dimension of discourse does not contemplate a clear-cut referential relationship between linguistic forms and social and ideological meanings. Thus, the duality of textual components as proper linguistic forms – forms that physically compose the text - and implicit meanings in the structure of the text is to be seen as a fundamental of discourse theory, and will be extensively discussed when setting out the notions of “discourse”, “text” and “critique” as understood in CDA.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis studies the role of discourse in society, and specifically aims at revealing the “relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality” (van Dijk 1993b: 249). For this reason it is accurate to define CDA as an applied linguistic discipline oriented towards solving social problems (Wodak 2001). Such an orientation is grounded in the belief that language is a means of social construction, and that discourse does not merely recount social processes and structures, but actively contributes to their production and reproduction. The central role of discourse for the shaping of social orders in contemporary societies is also seen as related to the transformation of Fordist economies (oriented towards the production and consumption of “goods”) into service-based economies (Harvey 1996, in Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). Due to this shift it is possible to speak of a new discursive orientation of economic models, also reflected in the coinage of terms such as “knowledge-based economy” and “information age”. Thus, a crucial consequence of the change in the economic models in the “late modernity” societies is the greater pervasiveness of language and of discursive practises:

It is an important characteristic of the economic, social and cultural changes of late modernity that they exist as *discourses* as well as processes that are taking place outside discourse, and that the processes that are taking place outside discourse, are substantively shaped by these discourses (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999: 4, emphasis in the original).

2 *Theoretical and Methodological Framework*

CDA is inspired by two main philosophical schools of thought of the past century, i.e. the Frankfurt School and the French tradition of critical theory best represented by the work of Foucault. As pointed out by Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) the critical theory produced by the Frankfurt school and the body of work by Foucault showed how significant social processes are enacted through language and discourse and hence how the critical study of discourse can be emancipatory when it succeeds to make manifest the mechanisms of its working. The critical theory of the Frankfurt School arose as a reaction to the tragedy of the two world conflicts during which, propaganda was largely employed to create consensus. Epistemologically, it represented a reaction to the extreme form of empiricism promoted by positivism, for which only experimental investigation and observation of reality granted knowledge. Such understanding of knowledge and science supported their radical transformation into *productive* sources, and thus favoured the dominance of instrumental reason over critical reason (Aronowitz 2002). Critical theory promoted a social function of philosophy, which aimed at questioning reality and its orders, and at demystifying the apparent relations of equality among the various members of society (Horkheimer 2002). Foucault (1990) largely focused on the regulating (or normalising) function of discourse; he considered discourse as a device through which exercise control. As he remarked in the *History of Sexuality*, while arguing against a repressive hypothesis, the regulation of sexuality was through “useful and public discourses” (Foucault 1990: 25) rather than through measures that enforced repres-

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

sion.

CDA has been inspired by the research produced in these academic circles, but it has developed and made its own contributions by creating a research tradition of critical theory that is linguistically oriented. The linguistic orientation of CDA however does not delimit its analytical endeavour to the linguistic levels of analysis, i.e the phonological, morpho-syntactical, the semantic and the pragmatic. The research in the field actually includes these levels of analysis, but, as it has been already mentioned above, it also includes extra-linguistic levels of analysis. These can be subsumed in a complex notion of context which includes cultural, social and psychological components, as well as political and ideological.

Though with different emphases, all CDA methods are interested in deciphering aspects of the dialectics between context and discourse. Hence the necessity of studying discourse within composite theoretical and methodological frameworks that promote interdisciplinarity and/or transdisciplinarity (Chilton 2006; Fairclough 1995, 2009; Meyer 2001; van Dijk 2006b; van Leeuwen 2006). The distinction between inter- and transdisciplinary research is to emphasise the different types of dialogues the relevant disciplines engage themselves with. Interdisciplinary research takes into consideration the knowledge produced in other research fields in order to complete a more exhaustive discourse analysis without any commitment to changing the boundaries and relations between the engaged fields; transdisciplinary research implies a more active dialogue with the other disciplines and theories as a source of theoretical and methodolo-

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

gical development and enrichment for all the fields considered (Fairclough 2006: 68). With respect to DHA, great emphasis is placed upon the historical background research as crucial for disclosing salient information on aspects related to the current state of the things reflected in the discourse under investigation (Wodak and Reisigl 2001). Ultimately, the aim of interdisciplinary research is to deepen the knowledge and understanding of the discourse topic through directly engaging in the review of the relevant literature of the research fields that study the same topic. The question of the interdisciplinarity of CDA can be better appreciated with the review of the concepts of “discourse”, “texts” and “critique” which evidences additional features of the “researched object” and questions of CDA.

2.1.1 Defining Discourse

The definition of discourse within CDA draws on Foucauldian theory. Foucault considered discourse as a body of knowledge, which, notwithstanding its denomination (*viz.* discourse) is not exclusively composed by linguistic structures and statements, but rather is to be understood as “the domain of all statements” (Foucault 1972, 1990). Thus, the study of discourse is to be differentiated from genuine linguistic analysis. More precisely, for Foucault pure linguistic analysis could not account for the nature and the effects of discursive events. He emphasised that while linguistic analysis aims at describing the various rules of composition that

2 *Theoretical and Methodological Framework*

produce specific statements, the analysis of discourse aims at answering questions such as: “how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?” (Foucault 1972: 27). Following Foucault, also within CDA discourse is not seen as a collection of statements that satisfy the rules of text composition, nor as a medium for rational argumentation. On the contrary, a considerable amount of the meanings conveyed through discourse are not overtly expressed, i.e. they are not linguistically encoded. The definition of discourse escapes the exact association (of discourse) with real events, nor does it include the indication of a specific point of origin. The development of discourse is based on the “already and/or never said” which, as it follows, do not correspond to utterances or written sentences or that have been formulated at a certain point in time (Foucault 1972: 25). We can see how this definition of discourse contrasts with the classical notion of discourse as “logos” elaborated by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*. According to the Greek philosopher, discourse is one of the three modes of persuasion, together with pathos and ethos. Precisely, discourse unlike the other two modes, appeals to reason, that is to say “to the use of facts, number, argumentation” to persuade (Cheng 2006: 4). However, the persuasive function of discourse and, consequently, its capacity to shape the knowledge and understanding of the recipients with regard to a specific topic are traits in common with the classical definition.

Discourse is a form of power that can be compared to a mode of social relating and of formation of beliefs/values/desires. It is of course language (text and talk) but it also includes images, attitudes, and ideology

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

and social practises. It is a multi-modal component of reality and of the social practises included in this. If we consider the social process as the result of the interplay of (social) structures and events, social practises relate the general and abstract components that define social structures to the particular and concrete components of social events (Fairclough 2009: 164). The institutions of a society result from a network of social practises (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, in Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999: 140). Also, social practises can be seen as a kind of environment in which individuals recognise themselves as members of a society. Subjects, which also embody the social relations between them, instruments, time and space, values and discourse are the components that define social practises (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). Discourse is a permanent component of social practises and has a distinctive peculiarity: it is a constitutive component and at the same time shapes the social practise, in other words “discourse is socially constituted and socially constitutive” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 89). Discourse is socially constitutive in four ways: it *construes* certain social conditions, and/or it *transforms* others already existing, it *reinforces* them, and it can also *intervene* on existing social practises, and on the conditions that these enable, to dismantle them. The latter indicates that discourse has also an emancipatory power as it can contribute to the levelling of social imbalances (Wodak and Reisigl 2001: 40). This understanding of discourse integrates the proposal of “social constructivism” (or “structuralist-constructivist” social theory), which proposes to research social life as influenced by social structures

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

and as “an active process of production which transforms social structures” (Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), in Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999: 1). Thus, language is seen as structured but, also, as structuring, and texts and discourse are influential in shaping social life. With this regard, an illustrative example is based upon the evaluation of the systematic exposure to advertisement, which has led to the formation of a (new) identity for people as consumers (Fairclough 2003: 8). However, while an extreme version of social constructivism is rejected by CDA, a moderate version of it is widely accepted. Precisely, CDA distinguishes between “construal” and “construction”; namely construal refers to the textual representation of social practises, while construction is strictly dependent upon tangible contextual factors (Fairclough 2003: 9). Such distinction is of value for a congruous formulation of the research questions and objectives of CDA. As Fairclough points out, after the contributions of Foucault and of the Frankfurt school which shed light on the constitutive power of discourse and on the centrality of the *linguistic* and the *semiotic* within social theory, a large investigative effort has culminated into “discourse idealism” (Fairclough 2003: 28). Discourse idealism is based upon the misleading and partial understanding of social practise as essentially constituted by discourse. Thus, while it is important to acknowledge and investigate the social import of discourse, this should not lead to reduce social life to discourse (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). It is the dialectic between the various components of social practise and discourse that CDA intends to investigate: “the questions of how flows

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

-translations- occur across the various components is a central concern of CDA” (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999: 6).

A discourse is a way of “signifying a particular domain of social practise from a particular perspective” (Fairclough 1995: 14). Remarking this point, Fairclough (2003) defines discourses as:

ways of *representing* the aspects of the world - the processes the relations and the structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world. [...] Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather as it is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds [...] (Fairclough 2003: 124, my emphasis).

The quote above draws attention to what discourses “do” and “are about”. They represent “aspects of the world” or “domains of social practises”, and they do so selecting a particular perspective. Thus, discourses are related to topics (Wodak and Reisigl 2009) and determine the possible imageries that can be associated with them. Possible imageries here refer to ways to conceptualise and learn about the macro-topic; they can derive from specific ideologies or reflect an attitude or a bias with regard to the same. Another important feature of discourses is that they vary based upon the relationship between the involved agents, e.g. discourse makers and discourse recipients, and in accordance with their own position in the world. Again Fairclough (2003) clarifies that:

Different discourses are different *perspectives* on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depend on their positions in

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationship in which they stand to other people. (Fairclough 2003: 124, my emphasis).

Thus, CDA isolates the perspectives discourse includes, and explains whether and how they relate to specific ideologies, values or to other discourses. In the latter case, the analysis indicates the ideologies and set of values that percolate from a discourse to another. This is to account for the semiosis, i.e. of the meaning-making process of discourse, namely its functioning as a semiotic way of construing aspects of the social order (Fairclough 2009: 164). Foucault's definition of discourse as a body of knowledge is again relevant. Here, knowledge is not to be understood as the intellectual equipment to know-how-to do something, but rather as a set of conditions which permeate the social and historical spheres and which influence how the discourse topic is perceived. Discourse as a body of knowledge is then the meaning-making process responsible for producing those imageries that determine the public understanding of the topic it is concerned with. It is in relation to this process of meaning/knowledge production that discourse is seen as a form of power, viz. a way of exercising power (Foucault 1990). The exercise of power is not devised through direct and coercive measures of subjugation or control. While this holds true for earlier historical stages of the development of our societies, now it represents an outdated concept of power, one that does not suffice to account for the relations of dominance that can be currently ratified:

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Power in this sense as essentially a right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself; it culminated in the privilege of seize hold of life in order to suppress it (Foucault 1990:135, 136).

Thus, the exercise of power is subtle, in that it does not require the parties involved to engage in overt negotiation or conflictual exchanges. Also, different discourses associated with different topics and enabling various forms of power and social imbalances do not claim their stances:

we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies. It is in this distribution that we must reconstruct, with the things said and those concealed, the enunciations required and those forbidden, that it comprises; with the variants and different effects - according to who is speaking, his position of power [...] (Foucault 1990: 100).

So far we have drawn attention to the complex nature of discourse, as a multimodal component of social reality that is both socially constituted and socially constitutive. The following section examines the notions of “text” within CDA with the purpose of clarifying aspects of the properly linguistic and textual dimension of discourse.

2.1.2 Concepts and Notions of “Text” in CDA

Text is considered the basic meaning unit within CDA (Wodak 2001). Texts are parts of discourses. In the context of different discourse studies, different constitutive features of texts can be the focal point of the

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

analysis. For instance within the approach of social semiotics, texts are analysed in conjunction with the images and the other graphic components they exhibit (van Leeuwen 2005). Texts can also be seen as “elements of social events” (Fairclough 2003: 10). Fairclough’s three-dimensional model for CDA sees text, discourse and socio-cultural practise as meaningfully related, and actively operating in the construction and organisation of discourse orders. Thus, texts are not comprehensively studied if taken out of the institutional, historical and social settings that enclose them, and the analysis of discourse cannot neglect the study of the processes of production, consumption and distribution of texts (Fairclough 1995: 9). As a result, while it is accurate to maintain a basic notion of text as an essentially language-structured entity, it is also relevant to consider it as the place where language structures produce knowledge and social meanings. Texts can be considered as socio-cultural artifacts. Matthiessen’s definition of text stresses that “texts are semiotic forms of social production” (Matthiessen 1992, in Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). With this regard, Fairclough draws attention to the fact that like any other form of social production texts are also “joint action” (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999: 141); a fact that is explicit in the case of conversation, but less so, though equally true, in the case of written texts. In other words, reading (interpreting/consuming) a text does not only stand for the mere activity that discloses facts about the text such as the topic, the style, and other more or less hard features of texts; but it also means to take part in the meaning-making process enacted in the

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

activities included in the production of the text, in the text itself, and the reception of the text (Fairclough 2003: 10). The realisation of this process entails that (new) knowledge has been produced. Following Foucault (1990), the knowledge produced is not to be understood as instrumental in order to know how to complete a task, or perform some kind of (intellectual) action. Rather, knowledge is to be understood more subtly, i.e. as the set of conditions that permeate and define the social and historical spheres.

The production of new knowledge does not follow fixed patterns and is recalcitrant to measurement. From the cognitive perspective for example, it is not straightforward to account for how much knowledge is produced in a given communicative exchange such as the reading of a text. In order to answer this question we need to know how much knowledge the participants possess prior to the communicative exchange, as well as whether they command the knowledge in a passive or active way, and to assess the role that the existing knowledge plays for the production of new (additional) knowledge (van Dijk 2006b). From the perspective of CDA, an important question is how to account for the knowledge implied in a text. The knowledge implied or embedded in a text, also shapes the text itself and its interpretation. Many scholars have defined the ideological content of a text as that part of the text that does not physically figure in it (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1991; Wodak 2001). The implicit knowledge (or implicit content) of a text, is related to the selection of a frame of reference through which a given subject matter is represented, and which

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

is ultimately influential for how this is perceived. Thus, what is implied in a text can reveal the author's stance on the topic, i.e. the ideologies and values he or she promotes and associates with it.

Fairclough (2003) calls the knowledge implied in a text "external text(s)". External texts are of two types. The first type refers to the possible contributions from other texts from the "world of texts" (Fairclough 2003: 40) which are explicitly integrated in the node-text, i.e. the analysed text, in the form of direct or indirect reported speech. The second type of external text also consists of contributions from other texts, but their integration in the node-text cannot be as precisely localised (unlike the reported speech of the first type), since its origin is not mentioned in the node-text (Fairclough 2003: 41). Thus, the external texts of the second type are implied components of the node-text. This means that while they are not formally inserted or directly quoted, their contents are embedded in the node-text. Foucault refers to this type of external text as the "unsaid" of a text. Often the unsaid can be considered as the background against which the said (text) is set. If it is agreed that external texts influence the node-text, advancing hypotheses on the nature of the unsaid (content) is a way to investigate the underlying values and beliefs on which the explicit content of the text is grounded. In other words, the retrieval of elements from external texts and the identification of the relevant texts are then actual analytical tasks of the discourse analyst. Put differently, one of the goals of the analyst is to make manifest the intertextual relations of texts.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

The concept of intertextuality derives from earlier research by Bakhtin (1981; 1986) and Kristeva (1980). CDA distinguishes between intertextuality and interdiscursivity. According to Bhatia, intertextuality exemplifies the use of older texts, i.e. of properly textual resources, while interdiscursivity describes a larger set of forms of (re-)appropriation of resources of other genres and practises through their embedding or mixing in the node-text (Bhatia 2004, 2010). The interest in isolating relations of intertextuality and interdiscursivity lies in their strategic nature (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999; Wodak and Reisigl 2001). Thus, the analysis of intertextual and interdiscursive relations investigates the mutual influence of two or more discourses and texts on the discourse (and text) under investigation. The analysis of metaphors provides a basic illustrative example of intertextual and interdiscursive relations. From the perspective of CDA, the analysis of a metaphor and of its role in characterising the text(s) in which it occurs, consists first in identifying the elicited domains, i.e. the source and target domains of a metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 2003), and second in estimating how these qualify the subject of the metaphor. In other words, the first task clarifies what is compared to what, and the second allows to make inferences about the association of the two domains. The classification of the domains elicited by the metaphor is based upon common cultural knowledge, but it also draws on the analysis of other texts in which the metaphor has already occurred. Several studies in CDA concerned with the discourse of immigration and with the discriminatory practises therein reproduced have

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

shown how the coverage of news events related to immigration often use metaphors from the domain of natural catastrophes. Expressions such as “flow” and “inundation” are often used to describe the arrival of immigrants. The use of these metaphors assimilates the arrival of immigrants to negative events, natural catastrophes, and elicits additional meanings such as “alarm”, “tragic consequences” etc.

The next section continues the discussion of the definitions of “discourse” and “text” by providing an account of the discursive nature of the news.

2.1.3 News as Discourse

Since its early developments in the 1960s and 1970s CDA has devoted particular attention to the world of information media. Apart from the practical concern posed by the ability to access the data, which in the case of newspapers is rather simple, from a theoretical perspective news represents a valuable area of study for CDA due to its decisive role in most contemporary societies in shaping the knowledge and understanding of the general public concerning the topics and the events covered. Reading or listening to the news is an actual social practise. As famously remarked by Hegel, newspapers have substituted the morning pray for the realist, in that they provide a way (which is alternative to religious faith) for one to orient oneself in the world (Gozzini 2000). In accordance with the Frankfurt School, CDA considers news as a discourse, that is to say as a

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

discursive world of its own (Fowler 1991; van Dijk 1988; Fairclough 1995). News produces messages that only apparently convey pure information, in the form of reported facts. News can be seen as a manifestation of the (powerful) role of language in social construction and is to be “decodified”, and analysed in both its content and form (Curran and Seaton 1991; Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991; van Dijk 1988) .

News discourse is language-based both in terms of the forms of communication it exemplifies, and also in terms of its content, since most news are discursive events themselves (Bell 1991). News discourse pertains to and defines the public domain, and is considered a fundamental part of the political discourses. According to Chilton and Schaffner (2002), politics is essentially language and discourse, and the news discourse provides the main platform where this develops and finds its course. Also for this reason, news discourse is socially constitutive, that is to say, it exercises influence on social orders. News communication media have the crucial function of rendering “content accessible for the public” (Leitner 1997). This points to the dominant position of media in the manufacture of the public opinion. How a piece of news is created, or how certain facts become the subject matter of the various news genres constitutes a social construct of its own (Fowler 1991). In other words, a fact or an event does not constitute a piece of news per se, unless news agencies enact that process, which is a creative as much as a selection and transformation process, through which the fact or event in question is “appointed” to the public domain.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

News is mediated discourse (Leitner 1997; van Dijk 1988). Fairclough says that “communicators texture the text” (Fairclough 2003: 22), where texture concerns coherence and cohesion, respectively dealing with form and content (Halliday and Hasan 1985). The public on the contrary can only indirectly inform the texture. This points to another aspect of the news discourses, i.e. the intrinsic asymmetry of the positions of the discourse makers and the recipients. Such asymmetry is exemplified also by the technologies that support news discourse (Bell 1991; Leitner 1997). Audience participation is then bound to be marginal, even in those formats of radio or television programmes where a dialogical form of communication is more likely than in print news outlets. Though older theories of a completely passive role of the audience have been replaced by those that describe its role as influential, it is an exclusive function of the discourse maker to create and introduce a new text in the public domain (Leitner 1997). The same asymmetry characterises the news media discourse circulated by means of the most up to date technologies (e.g. laptops, smart phones, mobile televisions) and the new genres that they foster, as for instance (news) blogs, news aggregators in addition to the online versions of newspapers, which can exhibit more or less significant changes from the print versions. These are misleadingly advertised as interactional, or interactive whereas they only provide a more facilitated opportunity for the audience to share its opinion. Particularly congenial to this purpose is the link (with fixed wording) “post a comment” found at the end of nearly every newspaper article in the online versions of

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

newspapers, and of all the other instances of website formats designed to provide information listed above. Also common in the same formats, is the link “send an email to the author” at the end of the piece. While both these options enable the publication of the opinion of the reader, they do not provoke a significant change in the influence he or she is able to exercise during the creative process for the realisation of a message. It is also a rule that the editor, or the “owner” of the website filters all comments and posts, preserving the authority on what it is published. By the same token, the possibility for individuals to start a personal blog or a website does not attenuate the asymmetry between established discourse makers and the public as in this case the fragmentation and consequential “invisibility” of the initiatives do not render them adequate counterparts.

Finally, news supports and embodies within its own structures and components elements of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. This is particularly evident in the case of the political discourse. As anticipated above, the news discourse overlaps and intersects with the political discourse. The introduction and assimilation of political actions is usually mediated through the news discourse (Chilton and Schaffner 2002). One of the main functions of the political discourse is to manufacture public consensus around the various issues on the political agendas. To that end the news discourse constitutes an institutionalised platform to carry out the activities for the achievement of consensus (Wodak and Reisigl 2001; van Dijk 2006a). For this reason, the study of the news discourse (in relation to a specific macro-topic) can be decisive for the understanding

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

of certain social processes. It is possible to say that the news discourse represents a fertile ground for the study of the power *in* and *of* discourses, as well as of the power *over* discourses (Holzscheiter 2005: 57, in Wodak et al. 2009). The former two stand for the potential of discourses to reproduce imbalanced relations of power among the various social groups; the latter, i.e. the power over discourse, indicates the ability of a social group to influence (or produce) a discourse that is supportive of its needs, inspirations and ideologies. The power of news discourse lies in its ability to regulate what content is to be made public, and is further realised in the angles that it shapes for the representation of the same content.

Discussing the definitions of “discourse” and “text” has allowed to introduce the main elements of the theoretical grounding of CDA. With the concept of “critique” in the following section, the focus shifts to how CDA operationalises the theory.

2.1.4 The Question of Critique

The review of the etymology of “critique” is useful to single out its core meaning and clarify what is intended by “critique” in CDA. The term derives from the Greek “*krinein*”¹ which means: “to separate, to evaluate, judge etc.”; this shows that “critical” and “critique” refer to the analytical activities of observing and discerning. Thus, the common idea associated with critique or criticism as “negative accounts about something”, or “being against something” only partially convey the actual

¹Skeat (1911) “Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language”.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

meaning of “critique”. More akin to the understanding of critique in CDA is the meaning associated with the critique of the arts; art critics are professionals in *evaluating* a given art work.

Billig (2003) reviews the meaning of “critical” in academic disciplines such as philosophy, psychology and linguistics. In an effort to clarify the partiality and incorrectness of the connotation of “critical” as “being negative about something”, Billig takes as an example Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* where critique stands for the philosopher’s “analysis of reason which would be conducted by rational a priori principles” rather than criticism towards books or systems (Billig 2003: 37). Within psychology, Billig refers to Burman’s “critical developmental psychology”, an approach that is closer to CDA rather than to the work of Jean Piaget (also within critical developmental psychology). Burman (1996) places the work of critical developmental psychology closer to critical theory in order to promote a critique that contributes to the overcoming of the flaws in existing social conditions. Wodak (2007b)² says that:

Critical means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenge reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflexive in my research, and through these processes, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest. Critical, thus, does not imply the common sense meaning of “being negative” -rather “sceptical” (Wodak 2007b: 3).

²Published interview with sociology Prof. Gavin Kendall, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Thus the critique carried out by CDA aims at uncovering those stances in discourses that contribute to the reproduction of inequalities and social imbalances. Such an objective is grounded in the idea that inequalities and social imbalances can be channelled through reductionist and dogmatic representations embedded in discourses without being questioned. In other words, by concentrating on semiosis, i.e. on the discursal constructions of aspects of social reality, CDA singles out the assumptions that are embedded in discourses, investigates the “modalities” of their occurrence and evaluates how and to what extent they favour social inequality.

The critical stance of CDA and its various methods, is object of criticism by scholars of related disciplines as for instance “conversation analysis” (e.g. Schegloff 1997), and other approaches to the study of discourse closer to social psychology (e.g. Potter 1996) and applied linguistics in general (Widdowson 1995; 2004). The criticism originates from the question on how to position the research carried out within these disciplines as far as their own critical stance is concerned. The research output of these disciplines is not critical in the same way as CDA, but at the same time, it cannot be defined as “uncritical” (Billig 2003). For instance, gender issues and other aspects of social reality are also taken in consideration in conversation analysis, though *only if* explicitly pertinent to the data sample under investigation and to the protagonists of the communicative exchanges therein included. With this regard, Schegloff (1997) remarks the necessity for discourse analysis to be conducted within the paramet-

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

ers of formal, or in his terms, technical, analysis. By technical analysis, Schegloff means the analysis of the endogenous components of the conversational episode, which should necessarily account for social and political variables, as long as these are directly ascribable to the participants of the conversational episode (Schegloff 1997: 183). With this regard, his major concern is that within CDA, relevance is assigned to too large a number of factors and variables from the external sociopolitical domain for the text to be accurately -internally- analysed:

You need to have technical analysis first, in order to constitute the very object to which critical and sociopolitical analysis might sensibly and fruitfully be applied (Schegloff 1997: 174).

The criticism of Potter (1996) shares Schegloff's view in that it stresses the importance of following exclusively a deductive method of analysis. Moreover, Potter raises an issue with regard to the role of the analyst. According to Potter, the evaluations of the communicative potential of specific linguistic practises only reflect the judgement of the analyst. For example, if the analysis examines the use of passive forms and how they contribute to the removal of agency from the representation, considerations about the impartiality of the representation (with regard to the specification of the agents) have to be considered as the analyst's own judgement (Potter 1996: 227). However, Potter himself acknowledges the fact that the study of conversation, unlike the study of formal texts, such as newspaper texts, naturally grants the analyst more certainty about his or her considerations, as conversations often display the actual negoti-

2 *Theoretical and Methodological Framework*

ation of the meanings between the participants, which in turn attenuates (or completely eliminates) the possible ambiguities. Several interventions of Widdowson have produced similar conclusions. Widdowson (1995) purports that there is a “confusion” that characterises CDA with regard to the use of crucial notions such as “text” and “discourse”, and emphasises the difference between *analysis* and *interpretation* as two incomparable investigative activities. The former enables the understanding of the mechanisms responsible for the proliferation of meanings and of all possible interpretations e.g. of a text; the latter (i.e. interpretation), which he associates with CDA research, leads to the identification of one explanation, supposedly presented as the only one that can account for the nature and the meanings of the given text. Thus, Widdowson considers the lack of plurality of the interpretations of CDA research as an indication that the discipline consists of the mere expression of the researcher’s own point of view on the subject matter (Widdowson 1995: 155). In support of this claim he points to the intrinsically subjective nature of text processing, for which any interpretation, unlike the analysis of texts and discourses, can be considered as valid as others (produced for the same texts or discourses). While these points are not to be overlooked, it is true that they betray a superficial understanding of how critical discourse analysis is done. Starting with the considerations by Widdowson, the lack of plurality of the analysis produced per text, is a consequence of the labour-intensity of the various phases of the research. This means that several critical analyses of the same discourse samples are indeed

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

possible, though the spectrum of their variations is not expected to reflect their contradictoriness, but rather greater exhaustiveness, and/or the selection of different focuses on the topic or different semiotic points of entry. Much in the spirit of the Frankfurt school, CDA is a self-reflective discipline whose goal is not impartiality per se, but rather the demystification of social inequalities enabled by biased discursal constructions (Horkheimer 2002, in Wodak and Reisigl 2001). This is also consequential to the hermeneutic methodology of every CDA approach which, rather than positively describing the researched objects (as in the analytical-deductive tradition), attempts to identify meanings and decode aspects of their formations (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 22, 28).

Furthermore, the same points raised by CDA critics about the accuracy and efficacy of the analysis are also internally addressed by CDA scholars. The problem is defined as a problem of mediation, i.e. how to mediate theories of discourse and society with concrete instances of social interaction found in the texts, or more simply, how to operationalise the theories (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 23). In other words, how one can show the interdependence between the linguistic/textual dimension (of discourse) and social reality, and thus account for the dialectics between the various components of discourse, i.e. those that lie within the formalised textual dimension, and those that form the socio-political dimension in which the text is produced and processed.

Solving the mediation problem can be seen as the ultimate theoretical goal of CDA. However, the solution of the mediation problem does not

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

amount to the ability of establishing clear-cut types of relations between linguistic realisations of discourse and actual configurations of social reality. As Wodak (2001) points out “causal models do not fit this complexity”, viz. the complexity of discourse. Thus, the objectives of the analysis consist in elaborating a “symptomatology” of the dynamic which relates discourse practices to social orders (Wodak 2001: 64). The following section expands on this aspect by presenting the DHA and its proposal for the mediation problem, here applied for the analysis of the news discourse of urban planning and development.

2.1.5 The Discourse-Historical Approach

The discourse-historical approach, also known as the Vienna school of CDA, has been developed by Ruth Wodak and other scholars based in Vienna (among others Rudolf De Cillia, Gertraud Benke, Martin Reisigl, Christine Anthonissen). Numerous applications of DHA concern the study of racist and antisemitic discourses and political discourse in general, e.g. in relation to immigration policies and marketization of universities and research institutions (Reisigl 2007; Wodak 2009).

DHA shares with the other CDA approaches the same understanding of discourse as a component of social practice that exemplifies a form of power, and consequently, a device for the reproduction of social inequalities. As far as the question of “critique” is concerned DHA follows the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory and adopts a complex

2 *Theoretical and Methodological Framework*

concept of social critique which includes:

- “text/discourse-immanent critique,”
- “unmasking critique/socio-diagnostic critique,” and
- “prospective critique” (Wodak and Reisigl 2001, 2009).

The distinction of these three types of critiques structures the overall organisation of the discourse analysis into various phases and tasks, thus clarifying aspects of the operationalisation of the theory. The discourse-immanent critique is carried out while analysing the internal structure of the texts to make manifest inconsistencies, or instances of the partiality of the representations. The categories of analysis are not fixed, but are selected (and elaborated) for each study on the basis of the problematic under investigation (Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 95). Thus, they can refer to any aspect of the logico-semantic, the syntactic, and the argumentation structures of the texts (Wodak and Reisigl 2001: 32). In addition, non-linguistic categories of analysis such as topics and content are taken into account. Though the analyst cannot neutralise completely his or her viewpoint, the immanent critique is chiefly technical, and for this reason less normative. Instead, with the unmasking or socio-diagnostic critique, the analyst takes in consideration aspects that do not necessarily belong to the linguistic-textual dimension of discourse. The purpose of the unmasking critique is to single out the angles and the bias embedded in the representations, and to indicate what is problematic about them, e.g.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

how they result persuasive or manipulative (Wodak and Reisigl 2001). Here, the personal attitude of the analyst seems to be crucial for the outcome of the analysis. However the tasks envisioned by the unmasking critique are completed by relying on large contextual information, including knowledge of the historical background of the discourse topic. In addition, DHA usually allocates resources, in proportion to the type and dimension of the research project, towards the completion of fieldwork and ethnography, as well as towards the collection of varied data samples on which to base the empirical analysis (Wodak and Reisigl 2001: 35). The prospective critique refers to the commitment of the research to indicate alternative ways to change the conditions of social inequality emerged from the discourse analysis. It consists of the undertaking of concrete initiatives preferably in collaboration with the concerned institutions. For example, Ruth Wodak has founded the “European Monitoring Center for Racism, Xenophobia, and Anti-Semitism” in Vienna. Other scholars using the DHA have contributed guidelines to reduce language barriers (e.g. in hospitals and courtrooms) and sexist language. In general, the prospective critique of DHA puts forward a model of “deliberative democracy” of Habermasian inspiration within which language functions as the principal medium for the organisation and realisation of those activities, that are contemplated in a pluralistic view of democracy, and which aim at removing forms of discrimination and social injustice and at promoting self-determination and emancipation, again in the spirit of the Habermasian idea of “difference-sensible inclusion” (Habermas 1996,

in Wodak and Reisigl 2001).

The Principle of Triangulation

DHA's proposal for the solution of the mediation problem refers to triangulation (or triangulatory approach). The triangulatory approach consists in using three different perspectives which make it possible to account for the multimodal and multi-layered nature of discourse and at the same time cross-check the considerations formulated in each modality and layer of analysis (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 2009). The three perspectives are: the linguistic, the socio-political and the historical perspectives (Wodak and Reisigl 2001: 40). These three perspectives reflect the nature of the context within which discourse is situated. Context is linguistic and textual; here meanings are realised both explicitly or implicitly, for instance they are elicited through intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Context also corresponds to a socio-political set of variables. In this sense context refers to "the context of situation" of the communicative event, which accounts for the status of the participants in society, the type of relationships they entertain. Finally, context is constituted by the historical background of the discursive event, also connected to its political setting.

The three perspectives of the triangulatory approach can be seen as three observation points selected by the analyst to study discourse. The first observation point corresponds to the textual dimension where the properties of the linguistic realisations are analysed for how they contribute to the representations of the topic. The second observation point

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

corresponds to the inter-textual and inter-discursive dimensions; here the purpose is to account for the significance of the text as a text in the world of texts, and of the discourse as a discourse in an order of discourses. To that end, the analyst relies on (or aims at acquiring) knowledge of other discourses. The third observation point is within the sociopolitical and historical dimension where the analyst gathers additional knowledge of the discourse topic, its history and possibly its former discursive representations. The knowledge gathered from the historical background may explain why aspects of the topic happen to be represented in that specific way (i.e. as in the data under investigation). But it allows to interpose some distance between the analyst and the subject matter of his or her study, thus ensuring greater transparency to the analysis. Though not completely exempt from internal controversies, the historical background knowledge represents an open source of information, accessible (e.g. by other scholars) for further investigation. Thus, by constantly switching between the three observation points, the risk of “simple politicising” as put by Wodak (2001) or for the analyst’s bias to influence the analysis is reduced. Ultimately, CDA does not claim to be positioned in a somewhat a-discursive tradition of thought, or outside the flow of various academic discourses (see e.g., Burman 2003; Wodak and Meyer 2001, 2009). Academic research and science are socially embedded, and scientists, as well as philosophers, are not “outside the societal hierarchy of power” (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 2009). Nonetheless, the research endeavour of CDA aims to “produce and convey critical knowledge for the enlightenment

and emancipation of human beings” (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 7).

2.2 Corpus Linguistics

The use of linguistic corpora precedes corpus linguistics and derives from the former traditions of philological and lexicographic studies. For example, at the end of the 19th century, the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* was compiled by individually analysing thousands of paper slips containing samples of language use (Scott and Tribble 2006: 4). The emergence of corpus linguistics in the 1950s and 1960s represented a radical change in the methodology of linguistics in terms of the level of accuracy granted by semi-automated techniques of analysis and in terms of the data volume that was possible to manage electronically. Manual systems of data collection and storage were replaced by computer corpora which typically relied upon an individually tailored software package. Already, in 1967 Francis Nelson and Henry Kucera published *Computational Analysis of Present-Day American English*, an analysis based on the *Brown Corpus* which contained over one million words.

Over the past decades, advances in corpus linguistics have been marked by advances in computer power. Faster computing has permitted easier compilation and processing of larger corpora in less time. More advanced computer technologies have diversified and specialised the types of enquiries and computations of corpora-based research.

Although corpus linguistics has been embraced by many linguists, its

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

early development met with slow recognition. As Jan Swartvik recalled in his speech delivered at the *International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English* (2006), the 1950s and 1960s were difficult years for scholars who were interested in corpus-based research. Its empirically-oriented methodology was a significant object of criticism. A corpus is an organised, machine-readable collection of samples of linguistic performance, i.e. *parole*, and at the hardcore of corpus linguistics, lies the idea that the study of language must be grounded on an observation of samples of linguistic performance. Generative grammar, which by then, represented the most authoritative school of thought in linguistics, rejected this idea outright. Generativists dismissed the utility of empirical analysis of samples of language-use because this grants only descriptive adequacy. Instead, they maintained that explanatory adequacy is the only criterion that the study of language must fulfil (Chomsky 1964, 2000).

Criticism of corpus linguistics was not only based on theoretical concerns. Many other scholars, although convinced of the importance of empirical evidence, snubbed the use of automated analysis. The general disagreement reflects the division of scholars into two main groups, the “humanist” and the “modernist”. Humanists appreciate and promote qualitative approaches to language study. They maintain that manual work must be conducted to gain sufficient accuracy. Modernists consider the integration of automated analysis as crucial for the accuracy of the analysis and for the advancement of linguistic science as a whole: empirical accuracy of accounts based on large bodies of data are needed to

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

gain scientific recognition traditionally available only to natural sciences (Garretson and O'Connor 2007).

The integration of the research tools of corpus linguistics in CDA represents a median position between that of the humanists and modernists. CDA sees a corpus as an actual research tool that can potentiate qualitative analysis. In other words, qualitative methods of analysis can benefit from the broader applicability and accuracy of the descriptive accounts produced with the aid of text analysis software that process larger volumes of data than what is normally afforded to manual work. The view of linguistic corpora as mere research tools contrasts with their view within pure corpus linguistics. The following section provides a description of the main features of corpora and indicate the main point of divergence between these two conceptions. Afterwards, details concerning the use of linguistic corpora in CDA will be discussed.

2.2.1 Definition of Corpus

Numerous corpus designs have been developed to serve different research interests and purposes, varying in size, percentage of written and spoken language samples, and distributions of linguistic varieties, genres and registers. Yet a corpus is essentially a collection of authentic linguistic data. Particularly large corpora such as the the *British National Corpus* and the *Bank of English* contain several linguistic varieties in order to be sufficiently representative of the linguistic system. Authentic linguistic

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

data are samples of actual language use, i.e. they exist prior to and independently from the compilation of the corpus. However, authentic linguistic data do not coincide with naturally occurring language. Even though authentic linguistic data constitutes original linguistic output created independently from the compilation of the corpus, this is removed from its original context of use at the moment of its retrieval and storage in the corpus. Due to the impossibility of preserving all contextual elements while compiling a corpus, authentic linguistic data provide a good opportunity for studying language as it is actually used.

To date, the concern for maximising corpus size and for improving technologies that support the compilation and the processing of the data still dominate corpus linguistics. The increase in electronic data availability has simplified the collection of written language samples limited only somewhat by copyright laws. The collection and storage of spoken language samples remains however, a time- and resource-consuming activity. To create or find good recordings, and transcribe them, requires much manual work, though notable improvements have been made (see Meyer 2002). The general rule has always been “more data is better data”. There is a push for algorithms which can mine large data banks such as the World Wide Web as a whole in a reduced amount of time. Newer developments involve creating dynamic and web-based corpora, also known as monitor corpora (Renouf 2007) where new texts are continually added. Such techniques automate a large part of the compilation work and enable drastic reductions to compilation time.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

From a theoretical point of view, larger data sets are considered as more valuable bases for analysing linguistic phenomena. Programmatically, corpus linguistics, aims at carrying out linguistic analysis following the inductive procedure suitable for corpus analysis. It moves from the results of the empirical work (of the corpus analysis) to then formulate theoretical statements (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 2).

Over time corpora have been increasingly employed in research contexts outside of corpus linguistics. In these contexts the role of corpora is modified from both the methodological and theoretical viewpoint. Other disciplines, including CDA, use corpora as research tools rather than as the ultimate object of the study. With this regard, Baker (2006) rightly suggests to distinguish between scholars that use corpora and corpus linguists. In the former case, the same compilation of the corpus is shaped by the research topic and objectives, hence their denomination as special-purpose corpora (or specialised corpora). Thus, the emphasis is not on the quantity of the data stored but rather on the type. This is due to the fact that the goal of the analysis of special-purpose corpora is not to formulate general considerations on aspects of grammar, lexis and or linguistic phenomena, but rather, to provide an account of the properties of the linguistic variety sampled in the corpus with a view towards answering particular research questions. The section below explains how special-purpose corpora are used in CDA.

2.2.2 Special-purpose Corpora as a Research Tools for CDA

CDA uses linguistic corpora in different ways, varying in the labour intensity dedicated to the corpus analysis. In some studies corpora are used as mere data banks of examples (Bayley 2007), but more often they are significantly integrated in the research methodology. As mentioned above, particularly special-purpose corpora, i.e. corpora compiled to sample a particular language variety and/or discourse topic, have become more common in CDA in the past few years (Baker 2006; Fairclough et al. 2007; Partington et al. 2004). These corpora are also denominated as “do-it-yourself corpora” since they are designed and compiled by the researcher at the outset of the study, as an alternative to using other large corpora such as the *Bank of English* and *Wordbanks Online*.

As it has been pointed out, CDA relies on a corpus as a research tool, unlike corpus linguistics where the corpus is the actual research object. With this regard, Leech (1992) remarks that:

linguistic research based on corpora does not represent a self-standing branch of the linguistics enterprise but rather a set of devices and investigative practises that serve the major objectives of the field of linguistics (Leech 1992: 105).

Similarly, Lee (2008) maintains that the same label “corpus linguistics is something of a misnomer” (Lee 2008: 87). He points to the impropriety of separating research based on corpora, from the research that is not based on corpus data analysis (i.e. data-driven), but deals with the same

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

linguistic or discursive phenomenon. Thus, according to Lee (2008) the emphasis should not be on the expertise that corpus linguists have with regard to the set of tools, e.g. computerised data sets or text analysis software, but rather on the area of linguistic research that they are interested in.

The use of small special-purpose corpora within CDA is to fulfil two main requirements: a) to collect a uniform body of data, and b) to meet the quantitative standards to satisfy the needs of the discourse analyst interested in the discursive practises associated with the selected discourse topic. The former requirement strictly refers to the necessity of retrieving data based upon the suitability of its content (and genre) in relation to the design of the research project. The fulfilment of the second requirement raises the methodological issue of the representativity of the data. In other words, how much data is enough data? Enough data is to be intended as sufficient data to support the claims formulated based on the initial observations and intuitions, but, also, as sufficient for the analyst to be able to exhaustively complete qualitative (i.e. manual) analysis. Again the divergence from pure corpus linguistics research is significant. Thus, while large corpora of at least a million words are required in studies on lexical frequency (e.g. for the definition of style and genre markers), for the study of language variation (Leitner 2000; Meyer 2002), and comparative analysis; small corpora of approximately 100.000 words are adequate for the study of semantic prosody (Kennedy 1998: 68, in Baker 2006: 28).

2 *Theoretical and Methodological Framework*

Baker (2006) emphasises the role of the research topic and objectives to determine the dimensions of corpora in CDA. He points out how the study of the discursual constructions of a specific subject matter is better served by the use of a small corpus with numerous occurrences of the selected subject, rather than by the use of a large corpus where the subject is sporadically mentioned (Baker 2006: 28). Moving from here, the special-purpose corpus compiled for this study which contains one hundred complete newspaper texts (126.28 tokens; types: 13.918) covering various events and issues concerned with urban planning and development, is assumed to be a representative sample of the news discourse associated with the topic³.

A small corpus essentially enables the analyst to avoid the constraints that derive from having to rely, largely or exclusively, on software computations to extract information about the data. Thus, the total number of one hundred texts is also adequate to grant the analyst a sufficient familiarity with the corpus material, which is of help throughout the analysis (Hardt-Mautner 1995; Partington 2003). Software computations contribute to the research in a significant way, but without the manual work of the analyst they cannot assist the study of the linguistic/discursive practices. As Hardt-Mautner (1995) points out, the problem that arises with software computations is that the analyst is distanced from the text:

the coding and counting procedures distance the analyst from the source text. Once a linguistic phenomenon has become a

³Chapter 3 describes the sources and the criteria used for the corpus compilation in detail.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

tick on a coding sheet, to be processed by statistics software, the co-text, so vital for interpretation, is lost, and very often irretrievably so (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 4).

Thus, rather than a notion of representativity that rests upon the law of large numbers that maintains that larger sample sizes produce estimates closer to expectations of reality, we opt for a qualitative notion of representativity. An early definition of corpus by one of the founders of corpus linguistics, Nelson Francis, draws attention to this aspect:

A corpus is a collection of texts assumed to be *representative* of a given language, dialect, or other subset of a language to be used for linguistic analysis (Francis 1982: 7, my emphasis).

Though the definition above is broad, it does not suggest a desirable numerical value to obtain a representative data set, rather its main idea is that the representativity of a corpus lies in the fact that this represents a collection of material purposefully sampled to represent the given language variety. Mautner (2009) remarks that the analysis of particularly large data sets cannot provide but a large empirical base for the relevant study. In other words, even an optimal contribution of the research tools of corpus linguistics does not suffice, by its own, to carry out *critical* discourse analysis. This results from the necessity of examining aspects of the textual dimension that have no surface regularity and that pertain to the multiple contextual layers of discourse. Thus, the use of a (relatively) small data set is particularly sustainable for the qualitative and interdisciplinary CDA.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Finally, concerning the specific corpus design adopted here, the use of two different data sources and the consequent distinction of two sub-corpora (alternative newsweeklies and mainstream quality newspapers) inform the completion of the analysis. The internal text variety allows the immediate comparison of the findings, thus facilitating the monitoring of over- and under-interepretation of the practises under examination. Moreover, once ascertained the extent in which the data diverge, some of the findings can yield discourse emancipatory considerations which, in turn, can be used for the prospective critique of discourse.

The next section explains in detail the use of the concordancer in CDA, and extends the discussion on data representativity by explaining how a small special-purpose corpus proves adequate for an effective concordance analysis.

The Use of a Concordancer

A concordancer computes the occurrences of any selected word in a corpus, and displays them with their co-text. The use of a concordancer is crucial for discourse analysis because it allows to expand the level of analysis beyond the lexical dimension which corpus analysis is best suited for. The advantages of using a concordancer are to easily access (repeated times) specific portions of the entire corpus, and to gather the occurrences of the same word in different texts (and co-texts). The default concordance horizons are of a few words to the left and to the right of the selected terms, but these can be expanded to examine larger excerpts of the co-

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

text or, also, the text as a whole. This is particularly useful for research projects within CDA, as enlarging the concordance horizons is the only expedient available to recreate the original context of occurrence of the word, and to carry out the analysis (Hunston 2002; Widdowson 1998). In addition, a concordancer enables the switching from the textual to the inter-textual dimensions of the corpus, which in turn permits the examination and comparison of the occurrences in different texts of the words under examination.

In a combined methodology that integrates quantitative and qualitative research methods, the concordance analysis can be seen as the gateway from one to the other. An optimal use of the concordancer in CDA is dependent on the size of the corpus (which determines the number of concordance lines per keyword). This is particularly true in the case of special-purpose corpora, where most occurrences of the word under examination are relevant material for the analysis, since cases of corpus noise are rare. However, large corpora are not completely ruled out and can be fruitfully used to (critically) study discourse. In this case, Baker (2006) suggests that the qualitative analysis should concentrate on a sample of data randomly retrieved.

The isolation of semantic prosodies significantly contributes to the analysis of the discursive strategies. The concept is related to collocation, but it is not exhaustively explained in terms of collocation patterns. Semantic prosody is realised through the more or less frequent/systematic occurrence of a word with other words whose meanings are, to a cer-

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

tain extent, straightforwardly associated with social values (Louw 1993; Sinclair 1991). It is akin to notions such as “semantic preference” and “discourse prosody”. Semantic prosody and discourse prosody differ from “semantic preference”, as the latter refers to a limited set of lexical items whose selection is independent from language users. For example, the semantic preference of “glass” is for terms that denote drinks. In the literature, the definitions of discourse prosody and semantic prosody are nearly equivalent; both are concerned with how evaluation and social attitudes are conveyed through words. Discourse and semantic prosody refer to the tendency of words to co-occur with an unlimited category of terms which nonetheless have the type of values (e.g. positive or negative) that they evoke in common (Stubbs 2001). A few common examples of semantic prosody include the complementary meanings of “big” and “large”. While they are commonly understood as synonyms, they instead have a positive and negative semantic prosody respectively. Another example is the difference between “bachelor” and “spinster”, the former being used in neutral or positive terms to refer to unmarried men, and the latter being used to refer to unmarried women as unpleasant and annoying. An accurate account of semantic prosodies requires the consultation of a reference corpus and the completion of background research. Both require labour and time, and can suit the analysis of a small special-purpose data set. Again the use of a small special-purpose corpus seems to best suit the completion of both tasks, not only because it produces a more manageable quantity of concordance lines (which favours more in-depth

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

analyses) but also because it can enhance the analysis by facilitating the account of cases of anaphora and cataphora, which instead are likely to be overlooked if using a large corpus.

A reference corpus is a corpus larger than the one on which the analysis is based, i.e. node corpus. It is used to verify patterns that emerge from the analysis of the node-corpus. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA, with 400 + million words from 1990-2009) has been used here as a reference corpus. In order to grant homogeneity with the analysis based on the node-corpus, the settings of the queries were restricted to the portion of the reference corpus containing newspaper texts. The rule observed for the comparison was to check the first one hundred hits displayed. In general, the comparison with the reference corpus has the function of limiting cases of over- and under-interpretation, rather than drawing specific statistics on aspects of the occurrence of the word taken in consideration as is the case in corpus linguistics (see e.g. Biber and Jones 2005; O'Halloran 2007).

The function of interdisciplinary research within DHA (and CDA in general) has been previously discussed (see 2.1.5). One of its most explicit applications is in relation to the specific phase of the analysis concerned with the isolation of semantic prosodies. Even though its use is less immediate, and hence time consuming, the interdisciplinary research on the discourse topic complements the function of the reference corpus by providing additional knowledge to interpret the various data samples.

The following section discusses the selection of keywords, and illustrates

the notion of keyness adopted in this study and how it differs from that adopted in corpus linguistics.

2.2.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Notions of Keyness

The heuristic process for discerning keywords in corpus linguistics is machine- and statistics-driven. Specific software applications have been developed to compute keywords that are often used in tandem with other text analysis applications (e.g. “Keyword” contained in the Wordsmith Tools software developed by Mike Scott). According to Scott and Tribble (2006) keyness, i.e. the defining property of keywords, is a function of the repetition of a lexical item (including its synonyms and other conceptually related words) within a text or within a collection of texts (viz. corpus). Thus, to identify keywords means to identify the central topics of a text, or what the text “boils down to” (Scott and Tribble 2006: 56). The repetition of a word in a text is automatically monitored and measured with the aid of the dedicated computer application. The computation of keywords consists then of a comparison between the frequency of occurrence of a selected lexical item in two different corpora, i.e. the node-corpus and the reference corpus. A keyword is a word with an unexpected high frequency of occurrence in the node text vis-à-vis its frequency of occurrence in the reference corpus. Hence, the keyness of the word is a result of its unexpected frequency of occurrence and is data-driven.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

The advantages of the automated retrieval of keywords in terms of accuracy are well-known. The quantitative constraint of having to deal with particularly large corpora, as required by Scott's approach, makes it more difficult to focus on a specific content area and compile a special-purpose corpus, and consequently, to optimise the conditions for qualitative analysis. Thus, within the context of qualitative critical discourse analysis, the automated retrieval of keywords may not adequately serve the research objectives. The main point of divergence is reflected in the position of the analyst with regard to the data. Within corpus linguistics the analyst is not cognisant of the data, while in the case of CDA, the analyst has gathered enough knowledge through the interdisciplinary research to establish the areas of focus for the corpus analysis and choose the keywords. In CDA the notion of "saliency" as a substantiating factor that indicates the relevance of a term is preferred to that of raw frequency. In general, the critical analysis of discourse is not suited for rigid criteria of evaluation. For instance, within CDA it is useful to account for the various lexemes within the lemma taken in consideration, as well as for synonyms and related terms; thus for the study of the discursive construction of refugees in the news discourse, it is worthwhile to compute the concordances of terms such as "illegals" and "aliens" regardless of their possibly lower frequency of occurrence (Baker 2006: 74). Thus, the selection of the keywords on which to focus on is largely determined by the selection of the discourse topic, while the wordlists can be helpful to refine the selection.

Keywords and Keyness in this Study

In this study the selection of keywords is not automatically computed, but based on a qualitative understanding of the notion of keyness. Qualitative notions of keywords have already been used in remarkable research projects. Three prominent publications, *Understanding Cultures through their Keywords* (Wierzbicka 1997), *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (1999), and *Keywords* (Williams 1983) exemplify an approach to the comparative study of cultures and societies by examining sets of keywords. In Williams' study, keywords are considered as words that can be intuitively discerned. He defines keywords as:

significant, binding words, in certain activities and their interpretation; they are significant indicative words in certain forms of thought (Williams 1983: 13).

Williams' study is a sociological study examining the meaning of over a hundred keywords, which he reckoned were explicative and indicative of salient aspects of the society he lived in. Although the objectives of our research are different, these views have been influential for this study. Following Williams (1983), our notion of keyness is related to the capacity of language users to attribute and recognise the keyness that certain words and expressions have within a given socio-cultural context, which can be sampled and reflected in a text or in a collection of texts. Thus, our keywords include words that are key to the text(s) collected in the corpus for denoting aspects that are revealing of the context, and

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

their selection is based on the analyst's competence as a language user and on her cognisance of the discourse topic.

The quantitative data- and machine-driven method for keyword retrieval used in corpus linguistics is only in part integrated, to perform checks that can contribute to the selection and hence to optimise the analysis. The use of word lists and file view functions facilitate a survey of the items ordered per frequency of occurrence or alphabetically. The goal however is not to locate words with a high frequency but rather to gather information concerning their use, or possibly to find others originally not taken into consideration. In this sense, also the low frequency of a word can be a "useful" finding, and can point to relevant aspects of the representations. However hapax legomena might be excluded to avoid the fragmentation of the analysis by concentrating on too many words. Thus, it can be of interest to explain the sporadic occurrence of specific words to ascertain whether this exemplifies a strategic omission, and hence the realisation of a discursive practise. As Biber *et al.* (2004) points out:

Frequency data identifies patterns that must explained. The usefulness of frequency data (and corpus analysis generally) is that it identifies patterns of use that otherwise often go unnoticed by researchers (Biber et al. 2004: 376).

In sum, the selection of keywords in this study emphasises the role of the research questions, and is modulated by the design of the research project and the corpus. The design of the corpus and of the research project in general produces the following space and time coordinates that contribute

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

to an effective selection of the keywords:

- **Spatial Coordinates:** urban planning and development in New York City, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh.
- **Time Coordinates:** July 2006 to December 2006, which corresponds to the time span of the data collection.

Being the representation of present-day urban planning and development and their social impact the area of research of this study, the selection of the keywords such as “planning” “development” and “gentrification” is self-explanatory and clearly induced by the research questions. Less so, but still clearly related to the research questions and to the design of the corpus, is the selection of keywords such as “growth” and “smart growth”, “change”, “city”, “redevelopment”, “revitalisation” which are all salient aspects of current urban planning and development, and denote processes that often lead to socially significant phenomena. Thus, the idea is to carry out the analysis of the representation of “planning”, “development” and “gentrification” and to enrich it by examining the occurrences of the related keywords. If different temporal coordinates were to be selected and we were to deal with data from the 1920s for example, instances of (more) relevant keywords for urban planning and development would be: “(racial) segregation”, “ghetto”, “black(s)” “Harlem” (in relation to New York City). This is because the background research might show that urban planning and development projects were more directly related to racial compartmentalisation at that time. Thus, although these keywords

2 Theoretical and Methodological Framework

refer to issues that are still actual, the space/time coordinates above point to different key aspects.

The chapter has presented the theoretical grounding of CDA by reviewing the salient notions of discourse, text and critique and has outlined the criteria for the operationalisation of the theory as within DHA. The second part of the chapter has further explained aspects of combined theoretical and methodological by providing an account of the integration of the research tools of corpus linguistics. In accordance with the abductive methodology, it has been clarified how CDA uses linguistic corpora as research tools to carry out “checks and balances” while completing the qualitative discourse analysis (Mautner 2009). This is not remitted to the corpus for the indication of key aspects to take into consideration, but it develops and benefits from a continuous back and forth from theoretical investigation to empirical analysis and vice versa. The following chapter further discusses the design of the small special-purpose corpus compiled for this study.

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

The data sources are three daily mainstream quality newspapers (MQN) and three alternative newsweeklies (AN) based in New York City, Los Angeles and Pittsburgh. The MQN are: the *New York Times* (NYT), the *Los Angeles Times* (LAT) and the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* (PPG). The AN are *The Village Voice* (VV), *the LA Weekly* (LAW), and the *Pittsburgh City Paper* (PCP). The electronic versions of the publications were preferred to the print, since they are more amenable for the data retrieval and storage as machine-readable data.

This chapter discusses the main features of “quality newspapers” and “alternative newsweeklies” in order to estimate the extent of their divergence. To that end, a review of the theories of alternative media is provided to compensate the expected information gap in relation to AN, which unlike MQN i.e. “quality newspapers”, are not frequently used as data sources in CDA. In general, studies on media language have focused on mainstream newspapers paying more attention to the distinction

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

between “quality” and “popular” press (Bell 1991; Jucker 1992). These studies have documented the contrasts between those two news outlets with regard to linguistic registers and the representation of ideologies (e.g. Fowler 1991, van Dijk 1993a, 2000). As for the objectives of this study, the following discussion clarifies to what extent AN differ from MQN, and in what ways they can be comparable and provide data that is worthwhile to examine in parallel. After a brief review of the main features of MQN, two main theories of alternative media are reviewed in order to explain the salient characteristics of alternative media and verify to which extent they apply to the AN here examined. Finally, a few details concerning the corpus compilation are presented which can clarify aspects concerning the analysis.

3.1 Mainstream Daily Newspapers vs Alternative Newsweeklies

The denomination of “quality newspapers” refers to matters of both presentation and representation (Bell 1991; Jucker 1992). Quality newspapers have traditionally used the broadsheet format. However, the distinction between broadsheet and tabloid formats once valid to distinguish between quality and popular press is not as strict and accurate as it was ten or fifteen years ago. Today, formats vary more often with publication type. With regard to the linguistic register and the editorial content, quality

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

newspapers cater to upper-scale readership; their linguistic register tends to be formal and avoids colloquial expressions (Jucker 1992; Bell 1991). This aspect still distinguishes quality newspapers from other publications that fall within the category of “popular press” or “yellow press”. For this reason, quality newspapers represent an important portion of the news media communication. They are associated with the production of those discourses that reflect the beliefs and world views of influential social groups, a fact which makes them interesting data sources for studies within CDA.

AN tend to use less formal linguistic registers, and colloquial expressions can occur in their texts. However, also in spite of their tabloid format, it is not accurate to compare them with “popular press” or “yellow press”. For instance, unlike popular press they do not feature scandal news nor sensationalism. Their weekly distribution is free, and it largely relies on the placement of copies in pick-up boxes near shops and destinations usually attended by the readership, in addition to an online presence. Like MQN, AN distinguish between news and feature articles in their internal organisation. However they almost exclusively cover political issues on the local, i.e. city level. Moreover, AN emphasise editorial content and offer a particularly rich coverage of the arts, that routinely includes a calendar of local artistic events.

Advertising data from the *Association of Alternative Newsweeklies* (AAN) describes the readership of alternative newsweeklies as shown below:¹

¹*Media Audit Study (September 2003) of 111 Newspapers and 75 Markets,*

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

Sex male - 52% female - 48%

Status not married - 51%

Age 18-34 yrs - 39%; 18-49 yrs - 72%; 25-49 yrs - 58%

Income average household income (annual) - \$64,120

Education attended college or college graduate - 70%

Roughly 56% of alternative newsweekly readers are “influentials”, namely they are included in “the 10% of the population that tells the other 90% where to shop and dine, how to vote, and, most importantly, how to spend their free time and income”.²

Though in different terms and for different aspects of social reality, the readership of the MQN has also an influential capacity. The readership mostly belongs to upper-middle social classes and, is closely related to elite groups which by definition are influential for holding power positions.

The table below summarises the main features of both news outlets:

Type	Format	Distribution	Content Focus	Readership
Mainstream Dailies	Broadsheet	Daily/Not free	Local/National	Influential/High-profile
Alternative Newsweeklies	Tabloid	Weekly/Free	Local	Influential

Table 3.1: Mainstream Quality Newspapers vs. Alternative Newsweeklies

¹<http://aan.org/alternative/Aan/ViewPage?oid=145320> accessed 9 July 2006.

²http://www.aan.org/alternative/alt_weeklies_attract_influential_readers/Aan/ViewArticle?oid=136810 accessed 9 July 2006.

3.1.1 History of Alternative Newsweeklies

AN appeared in the larger cities of the United States during the early 1950s. The first was *The Village Voice*, which appeared in New York City in 1955, followed by the *Chicago Reader* in 1971. Today, AN represent a well-established portion of the news communication media of American metropolitan areas where one, or sometimes two, newsweeklies are distributed. The *American Association of Alternative Newsweeklies* (or AAN) counts 123 members. The AAN is concerned with advertising revenue. They reported a combined readership of more than 12 million and advertising revenues of \$502 million for 1991, from only \$100 million in 1981 (Torres 1993, in Gibbs 2003). This rapid growth has brought to consolidation amongst AN now led by only two groups, the *New Times Corporation* and the *Stern Publishing Company*. The greater consolidation has been cited as a major cause of the decline of the alternative character of the publications. Further considerations regarding the ownership structure of AN and their classification as alternative will be discussed in following sections.

3.1.2 Theories of Alternative Media

What makes alternative media ‘alternative’? In this section we briefly survey two main theories of alternative media in order to answer this question. The two theories are content-based theories and production- or distribution-based theories. These categories are concerned with citizen-

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

ship and ownership, respectively. The crucial point in these theories is that alternative media are defined by their ability to provide the means for democratic communication to groups who are normally excluded from the activities of news media production (Hamilton 2000). Both a thorough analysis of alternative media is a wide topic to be yet exhaustively covered within cultural and media studies (Atton and Couldry 2003). Here, the discussion aims to clarify the collocation of AN in the world of (alternative) communication media, which, in turn, can be helpful for the completion of the discourse analysis, to the extent that it can clarify in what ways AN differ from MQN and provide data that is worthwhile to examine in parallel.

Content-based Theories

Alternative media historically radiated counter-culture. The study of the dialectic between media activism and institutional power structures is crucial to define alternative media (Gillet 2003; Atton 1999; Conmedia 1984). A simple explanation offered in the introduction to a special issue on alternative media of the academic journal *Media, Culture & Society* defines alternative media as that media produced outside of the mainstream institutions and networks (Atton and Couldry 2003). There have been several attempts to create an all-inclusive record of alternative media activity. The difficulty of the task is that many titles circulate in small numbers and most never appear in newsagents or book-shops (Atton 2002; Joyce 1979; Rodriguez 2001). In the 1960s alternative media were often

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

referred to as the “Underground Press” (papers such as *The Rat* in the United States, and *Oz* and *IT* in the United Kingdom), while during the 1970s a second wave of underground-like press produced publications referred to as “zines” and “fanzines”, many coming from the punk subculture (Atton 2002). Certainly the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century offer examples of publications that supported revolutions and anarchism (Quail 1978). In this period these publications are still interchangeably referred to as “alternative”, “underground”, “radical”, “oppositional” – even “samizdat”. Each of these instances are more or less similar, in that they represent cultural and/or political publications produced by groups from the counter-fringes of power or sociopolitical thought.

A comprehensive survey of alternative media today invariably includes publications of new social movements: environmentalism, feminism, and the gay and lesbian movement in addition to radical and subversive media (Gillet 2003). The anti-globalisation movement that emerged in the 1990s has produced several alternative media, and in this case the new easier access to useful technologies such as Internet has been crucial to elude the common economic problems of independent and small initiatives in the field of information. A particular effect of the larger presence of alternative media related to the anti-globalisation movement has been considered one of the reasons why they have received greater scholarly attention in cultural and media studies (Atton and Couldry 2003).

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

Production- and Distribution-based Theories

Other theories of alternative media propose to integrate content with factors related to their production and distribution. Atton (2002) defines alternative media by “their capacity to generate non-standard, often infactory, methods of creation, production and distribution as much as by their content” (Atton 2002: 3-4). As it has been anticipated above, the participation of citizens is an important element (Hamilton 2000; Lewes 2000). With this regard, Williams (1980) singles out three aspects of democratic communication in relation to communication media: de-professionalisation, de-capitalisation and de-institutionalisation. These serve as foci for realigning the content-based alternative media theory towards production and distribution concerns. Emphasising de-professionalisation and de-institutionalisation, Cecil (2000) notes, “the question of what is alternative is a pertinent one, particularly with the fragmenting of media brought on by the proliferation of cable television channels and the explosion of the World Wide Web” (Cecil 2000: 355). Also, issues concerning de-capitalisation, i.e. the reduction of investment capital required to produce and distribute media, have been addressed. The basis of these arguments is that of ownership – both of the production and distribution processes. These theories of alternative media maintain that independent ownership structures eliminate the influence of groups who capitalise media production and distribution, thus providing an “alternative” to mainstream media. Indeed, many alternative media are

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

self-classified as “independent” or “indy” to directly emphasise their independent ownership structure, and media with alternative content that are not independently owned are often criticised for not being truly alternative due to their ownership structure.

3.1.3 Alternativeness in the Alternative Newsweeklies

Content

As Cecil (2000) points out, the recent fragmentation communication media makes it more difficult to define alternative media in terms of their opposition and divergence to the “monolithic media” i.e. established mainstream media. AN cover issues and events related to politics, and devote a significant portion of their space to arts and entertainment. While their coverage of politics produce “biting political commentary” and feature “off-kilter cartoonists” (AAN News 1994, in Gibbs 2003) it is their coverage of the arts and entertainment that often exhibits an alternative character, at least as described by content-based theories of alternative media. In addition to high arts and entertainment, newsweeklies cover avant-garde arts. The additional coverage represents a way to satisfy their metropolitan audience. Generally, editorial views differ from mainstream editorial views, and extensive coverage is given to social movements. The AAN website reports that each member’s editorial position “presents an effective challenge to established orthodoxies in a manner consistent with

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

the mission of alternative newspaper journalism”³. With this regard, Bruce Burgmann, owner of the *Bay Guardian*, an alternative newsweekly based in San Francisco, describes their editorial view by noting that “our political and cultural agenda is liberal” (McAuliffe 1999). Most of the AAN members maintain the same editorial position.

Ownership Structure

AN only partially support ownership-based theories of alternative media. Some are independently held, but the increasing process of consolidation among American newspapers has also effected AN. Their rapid growth in past three decades has led to consolidation between two groups, the New Times Corporation and the Stern Publishing Company. New Times and Stern own the majority of the alternative newsweeklies (see above section 3.1.1). Though sometimes there is no direct causality between ownership structure and editorial position, independent ownership is thought to strengthen the alternative identity of the media outlet (Atton 2002). Many agree that the editorial content may shift towards the centre in response to the new conglomerated ownership structure and to the financial concerns of those structures. McAuliffe (1999) observes,

If the time should come were today’s alternatives are herded into two or three dominant clusters, not only would the identity and the originality of those papers be at risk – the reason behind their very existence would have been fatally undermined (McAuliffe 1999: 46).

³<http://aan.org/alternative/Aan/EditorialAwards> accessed 11 July 2006.

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

To conclude, based upon the review of the theories of alternative media, AN can be considered as alternative according to content theories of alternative media. Their consolidated ownership structure, instead, render them more similar to mainstream news media. The analysis of the data in chapters 5 and 6 will reflect their hybrid character in relation to their coverage of urban planning and development.

3.2 Corpus Compilation

We conclude this chapter by explaining the criteria used for the corpus compilation. Aspects of the data retrieval and storage such as the productivity of the keywords used to mine the newspaper websites and the differentiation of the text types also offer insights into the actual analysis.

3.2.1 Data Retrieval

The symbolic number of 100 was decided to be the number of texts to be retrieved. The collection includes texts published in the time span ranging from July to December 2006. An exception was made to more exhaustively complete the analysis of the discoursal construction of “smart growth”. The expression does not occur in the AN during the time frame above indicated. However, since the analysis of its occurrences in the MQN have yielded insightful results which were worthwhile to test against data from the other news outlet, relevant material was later purposefully retrieved.

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

The processes of urban planning and development represent a versatile news topic coverable within different newspaper sections, however it is not as frequently covered as for instance domestic or international politics. Hence the use of several news outlets and the decision not to distinguish among the various news genres of the retrieved texts, to avoid a too long time span for data collection and data fragmentation.

The online versions of newspapers are built and organised as search engines. All issues and supplements are archived, and, like with search engines, they can be mined through keywords. The following keywords were used to retrieve the texts:

- (Urban) Planning,
- (Urban) Development, and
- Gentrification.

“Planning” and “development” were highly productive, more so than “gentrification”. The low productivity of “gentrification” is considered a significant finding extensively discussed in chapter 6. For now, we anticipate that the finding concerns a) the way the diverse typologies of planning and development projects are referred to in the discourse, and b) the extent to which urban planning and development news events are narrated from an angle that accounts for their impact on the social level.

3.2.2 Data Storage

The data storage is organised to distinguish between two internal sub-corpora: one for the texts from the MQN, and the other for the texts from the AN. Within these two sub-corpora further subdivisions distinguish text groups per city and per individual publication. These internal arrangements are to monitor the distribution of various linguistic practices across the corpus. As mentioned above, the internal arrangement does not reflect the variation of the different journalistic sub-genres, even though the texts retrieved include news articles, cover stories, editorials and advertorials (letters and comments by readers are not included in the corpus). The versatility of the topic adapting to the various journalistic sub-genres and registers has discouraged such an internal arrangement as it would have produced a high level of data fragmentation. As a result, the notion of register in this study refers to the broad concept of journalistic register as a linguistic repertoire typical of journalism and media communications (Agha 2004: 24). The appendix contains a few illustrative examples of the complete texts collected in the corpus.

The genre and register variation within a specialised corpus on urban planning and development could be researched in a successive study (possibly relying on a larger corpus), which could benefit from this preliminary work on the news discourse of urban planning and development. With this regard, as the empirical analysis in chapters 5 and 6 will indicate, the specific sub-genre of advertorials, i.e. texts that combine elements

3 Corpus Data Sources and Criteria for Compilation

from the advertisement and editorial texts, deserve attention in the context of a specialised study. In our corpus, 7 texts (5 in NYT and 2 in LAT) out of the total 100 are advertorials, and several other texts associated with other journalistic sub-genres share several characteristics with advertorials.

Having provided the details of the corpus data and design, this chapter concludes the discussion on the theoretical and methodological framework adopted by this study. The following chapter presents the background interdisciplinary research on the processes of urban planning and development and illustrates the critical perspective from which the urban processes are examined.

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

Introduction

Within CDA and in particular within DHA, the completion of background research on the discourse topic constitutes an actual phase of interdisciplinary research rather than the “backdrop” for the empirical analysis (Burman 2003; Wodak and Reisigl 2001; Wodak and Meyer 2001, 2009). The background research has both a general and a historical orientation which assist the completion of the three critiques (particularly the socio-diagnostic critique) and favour triangulation. The goals are to account for those aspects of the processes of urban planning and development that characterise them as a topic that is worthwhile studying within CDA, and, hence to clarify the reason why the study has been undertaken and the stance it endorses toward the topic.

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

At the operational level, the completion of background research contributes to the formulation of hypotheses to be tested with the empirical analysis (Baker et al. 2008; Hardt-Mautner 1995). The use of a corpus of data does not affect the utility of this task since the analysis is not corpus-driven, but rather corpus-based. Moreover, while providing inputs for the analysis, the interdisciplinary research also functions as a filter against cases of over- or under-interpretation.

The chapter is organised as to present the processes of urban planning and development first, and to successively expand upon the social phenomenon of gentrification. The main points taken in consideration are:

- the significance of urban planning and development as a domain that exemplifies the exercise of power (Foucault 1984, 1990),
- the partiality of the conventional view of urban planning and development as progressive fields of theory and practise (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002; Yiftachel 2001), and
- the impact exerted by the urban processes especially on those social groups within the urban social fabric that have scarce resources and limited or no political power (Brenner et al. 2009; Slater 2006; Smith 1996, 2008; Wacquant 2008).

The work of Michel Foucault (already influential for the notions of discourse and power), and relevant academic debates within planning theory

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

provide the theoretical basis for a critical approach to urban planning and development. Foucault's studies on urban planning point to the significance of the process as a means of social control and dominance. Particularly in "The History of Sexuality" (1990) and "Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison" (1991) the role of space and of urban planning is examined in relation to the exercise of power. The review of relevant academic debates allows to introduce the main features of current urban planning trends and identify some of its critical aspects of what is currently promoted and prioritised within the field. With this regard, the discussion concentrates on the urban planning trend known as the "New Urban Policy" (see Boyle and Rogerson 2001). The general idea at the base of the New Urban Policy promotes the conceptualisation of the city as a commodity, and focuses on the profit motives of the various planning and development sector-related enterprises, rather than on the completion of projects that promote a sustainable relation between the urban space, its economic/financial potential and its residents (Harvey 1996; Brenner et al. 2009). The widespread understanding of urban planning and development as progressive fields of theory and practise is questioned (Yiftachel 1996, 2001) to focus on how, instead, the completion of urban planning and development projects can have contrasting effects for the social groups involved and lead to social imbalances. Thus, relying on both lines of research we draw attention to the fact that urban planning and development constitute a wide arena where opposing interests and hopes of different social groups with different roles and capacities are at

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

play to shape the urban condition. Put differently, we show that there exists a “dark side” of urban planning and development (Yiftachel 1996). It is in relation to this other side, that the interdisciplinary research deals with the social phenomenon of gentrification as a detrimental outcome of the completion of planning and development projects.

4.1 The Significance of Urban Planning: A Foucauldian Account

How the urban space influences people, defines a society and contributes to its government is a question that has been intensely studied and still occupies scholars from various fields spanning the social and political sciences, architecture, history and philosophy. French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault (2007) studied the role of urban planning in the context of bio-politics. Bio-politics and bio-power are terms that Foucault coined to refer to certain spheres of politics, such as the health, education and security systems within which he identified systematised practises that were used by administrative governments to manage populations. Foucault remarked that “space is fundamental in any form of communal life (...) and in any exercise of power” (Foucault 1984: 252). He considered space as “active” and urban planning as fundamental for establishing a subordinate relationship between people and space. Such a relationship is primarily responsible for the “political control of the body”,

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

and cities in general provide the ideal space to carry out this control and to “discipline life”.

Foucault (1984) explains how during the eighteenth century a systematised set of considerations began to circulate through a specific body of political literature that defined “what the order of society should be”, and how cities should be organised for health concerns and maintenance of public order (Foucault 1984: 239). This, according to Foucault, had the major effect of politicising architecture and urban planning in a more radical and straightforward way compared to previous civilisations (e.g. the Roman Empire). The reference to the eighteenth century as the starting point for the use of urban planning as a form of political power does not presuppose a new theory of architecture, i.e. a theory of architecture that called for its explicit political function. Rather, in the eighteenth century, unlike earlier, police reports began to make explicit references to the organisation of the territory and its built spaces, which were now considered to represent government functions (see e.g. Delamare 1705, in Foucault 1991). Foucault observes that the city ceased to be an “exception” in the constitution of the political territory, until then predominantly rural, and it gradually became a common metaphor for the state itself, a fact proved also by the proliferation of political treatises of good government based upon the model of city government, which began in this period (Foucault 1984: 241). Thus, the power of planning is not rooted in, nor necessarily linked to, the symbolic representation of power through architecture, as it had been the case for some ancient civilisations. Rather the power of

4 *Urban Planning and Development: Background Research*

planning is the power over the organisation and the administration of the urban space.

Foucault maintains that the ultimate function (and effect) of planning is that of “normalising” the population. He shows how urban planning projects, apparently motivated by medical concerns, reassigned and distributed space among the different social groups that composed the urban demography. In *The History of Sexuality* Foucault shows how starting from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a new discursal apparatus that promoted the ideas of the institutional seats of power, (educational, religious, political, etc.), produced a dense set of rules, documents, and behavioural codes that were concerned with sexuality. The discourse was supported and reinforced by the leadership’s choice of architecture and planning, both on the domestic and public levels (Foucault 1990: 28-29; 98). For these reasons Foucault contends that the configuration of space signifies practises that promote specific values and ideologies.

The notion of *dispositif* of space is fundamental to explain the realisation of social dominance through the configuration of space. Foucault defines it as a heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discursive and non-discursive practises and of the knowledge produced by these:

the dispositif is an ensemble of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral philanthropic propositions (Foucault 1980: 194, in Pløger 2008).

Foucault was interested in explaining how discourse influences social real-

4 *Urban Planning and Development: Background Research*

ity. Thus, the notion of *dispositif* has the function of (re-)connecting language and action, discursive and not-discursive elements of social practises. The *dispositif* helps to account for the meaningfulness of the interplay among the various factors and components that constitute the process of urban planning and the form of power that this exemplifies (Pløger 2008). In this way, *dispositif* serves as the basis for explaining the power of discourse to affect social orders. The same concern is also addressed within CDA (see 2.1.5).¹

Foucault's analysis of urban planning is useful for de-emphasising the dichotomy between urban space and urban residents. It reveals urban planning's sphere of influence and the power it can exercise on urban communities. The present work is concerned with how the news discourse of urban planning and development contributes to the production of that power. It is specifically concerned with practises of inclusion and exclusion (in the same discourse) that compromise the ability for people to enter or remain in the city, and how those practises may impinge upon ideas of social justice (Yiftachel 2001; Harvey 1989; Mayer 2009). While the changing nature of cities throughout time and socio-economic shifts is not negated, a critical discourse analysis of the processes at play to implement and direct the change of the physical and social environment of cities aims at accounting for how all the involved social groups participate in the same processes and questioning any defining factors of such pro-

¹The Duisburg school of CDA aims at conducting both discourse and *dispositif* analysis (e.g. Jaeger and Maier 2009).

cesses if not geared towards the maximisation of all parties joint welfare. These issues are at the centre of the discussion in the following section.

4.2 Critical Issues in Current Trends of Urban Planning

A fully encompassing and universal definition of urban planning is not available, as several approaches can be distinguished by looking at various countries' planning traditions. Following Yiftachel's survey (2001), both planning theory and practise can be carried out with different focal points, ranging from aesthetics (e.g. in Italy), to regulation on urban and regional scales (e.g. in the United Kingdom), to the efforts of community-based groups (e.g. sometimes in the United States). Lefebvre's definition of planning as "the public production of space" however, seems to be embedded in all of these various planning traditions and typologies (Lefebvre 1991 [1974], in Yiftachel 2001).

Another aspect of urban planning that emerges from the survey regards the attribution of a generally progressive character to the field. Since their beginning, the academic and professional fields of urban planning and development have been associated with progressive and beneficial intents, aimed at producing a "public good", i.e. something from which city residents, or the public in general, benefit (Yiftachel 2001, 1996). Yiftachel (2001) speaks of an actual "benevolent power" attributed to

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

urban planning (ibid.: 2001: 9). The creation of communication routes, the improvement of residential architecture, and the (smart) use of environmental resources are examples of the various applications of urban planning and development that are perceived as positive and progressive. Such a view however, is but a partial account of what urban planning entails and represents, particularly in terms of the type of changes it can cause on the social level. Often, urban planning exerts ambivalent effects, i.e. positive ones for certain social groups and negative ones for others. With regard to the latter ones, in accordance with Foucault, different lines of research within planning theory itself, as for instance “communicative planning” (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002) have studied the “dark side” of the field, and pointed out how this can rely on discursive apparatus to contribute to the establishment of relations that produce social dominance and inequalities (Brenner et al. 2009; Marcuse 1994).

The dark or regressive character of urban planning has multiple manifestations. In this study the focus is on phenomena of social change such as gentrification, also related to class discrimination and urban homogenisation. Another illustrative example from the planning tradition of the United States is that of the necessity of the car as a consequence of the widespread adoption of the suburban planning model, which functions as the condition that enables the inclusion and exclusion from the city, its spaces, and opportunities. The same example also shows the pervasiveness of the effects of urban planning, as well as of the extent to which

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

this can influence the way of life of entire societies. ²

Within the New Urban Policy what stands out as regressive, e.g. for favouring the completion of projects that do not promote a sustainable relation between urban space and its residents, is the general idea of cities as arenas where to run economic interests and enterprises on a global level (Mayer 2009; Sassen 2001). More accurately, cities not only are meant to host such global enterprises, but they are conceptually assimilated with the goods and merchandise being traded. Hence the new conceptualisation of the city as “commodity” (Boyle and Rogerson 2001; Brenner et al. 2009; Harvey 1996). Thus, the idea of cities (as commodities) in competition with each other, applying and adapting to the rules of the market prevails on the idea of administration and organisation of the urban space aimed at producing public good through various forms of economic growth and general improvement of the living conditions. For instance, cities are administered and replanned (and redeveloped) in order to compete with other cities to host large scale events (e.g. large sporting or art events). Such projects reflect the needs and the ambitions of interest groups. Indeed they are conceived within the schemes and standards of large scale economic production, which trade off concurrent objectives such as new opportunities for economic growth of the city’s established communities, their cultural development and the reinforcement of their sociability.

²Another example of the regressive character of urban planning that has strong political consequences concerns the Middle East, where the power of planning stands for an actual device for military occupation and discriminatory practises (Yiftachel 1996; 2001).

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

Thus, the administration of the urban space more and more resembles corporate models (Boyle and Rogerson 2001). Urban governments have increasingly concentrated on policies that have caused a decline in importance of the public provision of social services, housing and public goods, contrasted with the simultaneous growth of entrepreneurial forms of urban administration (Cox 1995; Harvey 1989; 2008; Marcuse 1995; Mayer 2003; Brenner et al. 2009). The position of the public administration is indeed delicate. On the one hand, city governments look for opportunities for the economic growth of the city, and for this reason they tend to favour planning and (re-)development projects. On the other hand, they have to provide the city residents with affordable housing, schools, and grant support to established communities. In the attempt to address the former objective, many analysts agree, it is more often the public administration that adapts to the interests of the development firms (Mele 2000; Reichl 2007). Thus, tensions and contradictions arise because the same initiatives that should contribute to the welfare of the cities, e.g. by creating opportunities for businesses and employment, also lead to unsustainable social conditions, e.g. displacement and drastic neighbourhood reconfigurations. Object of our analysis is the discursive construction of the dynamics of the processes that trigger these tensions and contradictions. Relevant questions include whether, and how, discursive practises occur that contribute to downplaying the tensions to eventually mitigate the controversies among the different groups of stakeholders.

4.3 Social and Cultural Significance of Urban Planning and Development: Focus on Gentrification

Urban planning and development are processes of material and social change affecting the urban space in its physical features and socio-cultural make-up. As in other contexts, change is controversial, it can be resisted or welcome. While the physical change of the urban space is radical in that it consists of the complete reconstruction of the site or of a rigorous renovation of the existing architecture, the change that affects the communities often consists of their actual displacement, and consecutive arrival of new residents. In the past sixty years, the displacement of communities induced by urban planning and (re-)development projects has occurred in a rather systematic way in numerous cities across the continents. In the early 1960s the British sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term “gentrification” to denominate such social phenomenon that had started to take place in the post-World War II period in several cities in the U.S., Europe and Australia (Glass 1964). A concise definition by Hackworth (2002) describes gentrification as the “production of space for progressively more affluent users” (ibid.: 815). The general pattern of the process is that citizens from affluent social classes *move into* inner-city working class neighbourhoods which are desirable for certain prerogatives

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

ives, e.g. proximity to nice areas, the presence of period architecture³. Their arrival marks an increase of the property value, and consequently the departure of the established communities of less affluent social classes due to their inability to pay the increasing rent and service costs. The term itself, gentrification, emphasises the class character of the process, although at present times it may not technically be a “gentry” that moves in, but rather a group of middle-class professionals. Scholars from fields as diverse as architecture, geography and sociology who have studied the city, have recognised that class struggle is intrinsic to the city. In his memoirs published under the title “The Architecture of the City”, Aldo Rossi examines different theories of the city and maintains that:

the shape of the plots of land in a city, their formation and evolution, represents a long history of urban property and of the classes intimately associated with the city. . . Modification of the real estate structure, which we can follow with absolute precision through historical registry maps, indicate the emergence of an urban bourgeoisie and the phenomenon of the progressive concentration of capital (Rossi 1997: 50).

Here Rossi clearly recognises the influential role that real estate structure and socio-economic affairs play in the configuration of cities. Recently, echoing Rossi, Kenneth Jackson declared that urban geography racism “is all about class, not race”⁴. For these reasons, gentrification repres-

³This is the general pattern of the phenomenon since its early episodes in the 1960s in the USA and other countries, however over the past decades the phenomenon has evolved and shown new features, e.g. in the type of urban areas it occurs, the type of social groups it affects, and the politico-economic factors that trigger it (see e.g. Smith and Hackworth 2000 and Lees 2000).

⁴Lecture: “Gentleman’s Agreement: Race, Political Balkanization, and the Decline of American Cities” JFK Institute, Freie Universität Berlin, 4 February 2008.

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

ents a suitable term choice (Hackworth 2002; Slater 2006; Smith 1996). However, there is no full agreement on the use of the term.

There had been precursors of the same phenomenon in the previous centuries. Yet, only in the post-war era did gentrification achieve the dimensions of the social phenomenon as it is described and studied today by scholars, and sometimes discussed by communication media. In nineteenth century Paris, for instance, “Haussmann” and “embourgeoisement” were the terms used for gentrification. Baron Haussmann was a prefect in Paris who promoted the building of boulevards and luxurious residential buildings in areas attached to working class neighbourhoods (Smith 1996: 35). Friedrich Engels described “Haussmann as” a:

practise of making breaches in the working class quarters of our big cities, particularly those which are centrally situated, irrespective of whether this practise is occasioned by considerations of public health and beautification or by demand for big, centrally located business premises or by traffic requirements...No matter how different the reasons may be, the result is everywhere the same: the most scandalous alleys and lanes disappear to the accompaniment of lavish self-glorification by the bourgeoisie on account of this tremendous success (Engels 1872, in Smith 1996: 35).

The precursors of gentrification had always maintained the characteristic of a sporadic urban event that involved relatively small urban areas at the time. After gentrification changed the identity of several working class neighbourhoods in London, New York and Washington, the same phenomenon occurred in many other cities in Canada, Australia and Asia. The unbounded geography of the phenomenon and its dynamic nature

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

strictly dependent on aspects of the local (urban) economy and demographic trends, which are by definition not static, determine its complexity in terms of the triggering factors as well as consequences.

Both the definition and the explanation of gentrification are still disputed among scholars that research the phenomenon. At the centre of the debate are questions related to how the phenomenon takes place, namely what are the socio-economic conditions that favour its occurrence (Smith 2008; Wacquant 2008), what is the role of urban policies in influencing/determining gentrification, whether the phenomenon is to be considered as a cultural (Ley 1980) or as an economic one (Smith 1996), who gentrifiers are, e.g. are they suburban residents “going back” to the city, or inner city residents moving from other inner city areas? (Smith 1982, 1996; Ley 1980; Slater 2006), and finally, to what extent the effects of the phenomenon are negative or positive for the various social groups of urban residents. The following section extends this discussion by reviewing the current state of the academic research on the phenomenon and by illustrating the main theories of gentrification.

4.3.1 Theories of Gentrification

Recent trends in gentrification research referred to the phenomenon by alternative terms such as “regeneration”, “revitalisation”, “rehabilitation”, “renaissance” and “renewal” (Slater 2006). Such trends exemplify a radical change from the research tradition developed during the 60s and

4 *Urban Planning and Development: Background Research*

70s, which adopted a critical stance and studied gentrification as a social phenomenon strictly interrelated with the displacement of lower- and working-class urban communities. The alternative terms listed above signal a change in this critical stance in favour of a more positive and welcoming stance, for which gentrification is accounted for as a phenomenon producing “not so bad” or even positive effects (Slater 2006). This new line of research on gentrification may still acknowledge some sort of relation between gentrification and the displacement of the established communities, but it excludes a direct causality linking the two, and emphasises the modest dimensions of the potential displacement.

Slater (2006) explains this shift in some gentrification research by strongly defining it an actual “eviction” of its critical stance. He lists three main problematic aspects of (traditional) gentrification research that have favoured such “eviction”: the academic squabbles arisen in support of the two main theories of gentrification, the methodological inadequacy to measure displacement, primarily due to the difficulty in getting in contact with the *displaced* communities, and the recent greater influence of neoliberal urban policies that portray gentrification as a positive process that enables “social mix” and economic growth for the involved urban area. Wacquant (2008) and Smith (2008) support Slater’s argument and contribute with a close analysis of the political import of the phenomenon. Wacquant points out the necessity of studying the phenomenon as one strictly correlated with the current understanding of social classes; he remarks that the working class has become invisible, i.e. it has disap-

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

peared from research in sociology. Smith (2008) concentrates on the role of the municipal government as promoters of gentrification and of their urban policies in general. Finally, another interesting contribution to the explanation of the “eviction” of the critical stance from gentrification research draws attention to the social proximity of academics to gentrifiers, being such proximity the inherent cause of their inability to fully embrace a critical stance (Allen 2008). We will concentrate on the two former arguments since they yield relevant insights for the critical analysis of the news discourse associated with the urban processes. Allen’s argument in this sense seems to be more directly informative of the reason why gentrification research was and still is characterised by strong academic squabbles, and its further verification within a CDA study would be better suited by a different corpus sampling academic texts dealing with the phenomenon.

As anticipated above, the academic squabbles discussed in Slater’s paper refer to the rigid internal division of the scholarly community that followed the establishment of two main explanatory theories of gentrification. The first theory considers gentrification as a consumption-driven type of phenomenon (Ley 1980, 1986), the second as a production-driven one (Smith 1986, 1996). The former focuses on those aspects of the phenomenon that make it culturally relevant, and adopts a perspective that overlaps with that of the new in-movers. The latter studies the economic and political factors that trigger gentrification, most of which comply with the main features of NUP earlier discussed. Also, the production driven

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

theory of gentrification, unlike the consumption driven theory, concentrates on the effects of the phenomenon on the established communities of the involved urban areas (rather than on the new in-movers). As Slater (2006) points out, the rigid division of the academic communities in support of either theory is construed rather than actually theoretically grounded, since both theories mutually acknowledge their validity and, although with different emphasis, they refer to the same factors among the causes of gentrification. The consumption-driven theory identifies the cause of the phenomenon in the realisation of the preference of the consumers, namely the new in-movers, or gentrifiers. While studying early cases of gentrification, Ley (1980, 1986) gives an account of the social and historical settings that permitted the formation and realisation of such preference. He argues that gentrification is the social response to the rise of the “post-industrial city” in the 1970s, a result of the changes undergone by the national economic models in most western countries, but not only. Precisely the transformation of the economy into an economy primarily concerned with knowledge, technologies and service as opposed to the production of goods determined the formation “post-industrial cities”. This radical change in the economy rendered office space and commute time two important concerns for both employers and employees. In addition, according to Ley the post-industrial city is shaped around the idea of urban amenities to satisfy the new larger and highly educated middle class employed in the new economy. Members of this social class in the early period of gentrification were also close to those new

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

lifestyles that the student and cultural movements of the 1960s produced. These were more inclined to metropolitan life for its cultural inputs, and did not value the greater living space available in suburban residences because less inclined to marriage and family life. Thus, the main aspects of the post-industrial city are the new (higher) desirability of urban period architecture as opposed to the modern housing architecture in the suburbs, the closer proximity to work places, and access to cultural entertainment. The cultural component of the phenomenon is emphasised in the consumption-driven theory, which, is related to the thesis of the “emancipatory city”. According to the thesis of the emancipatory city, gentrification is the desired outcome of the emancipation of social groups by means of the city, seen as an emancipating space. Thus, gentrification is that process that enables the emancipation and integration of minority groups, it is seen as a vehicle of social tolerance, since it enables the coexistence of new mixed communities black/gay high-profile professionals, feminists etc. (Lees 2000). Critics of the consumption-driven theory point to its inadequate account of the economic factors that determine gentrification, and its greater attention to what are considered the minor agents of the phenomenon, i.e. the new in-movers or new consumers with their preferences and private initiatives (Smith 1996).

Promoters of the production-driven theory point to the role of group-interests and the greater complexity of the various factors that cause gentrification. The production-driven theory explains gentrification as a phenomenon produced through the implementation of specific economic

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

measures, and as largely determined by the flow of capital investments. This theory of gentrification is further articulated and includes the more specific “rent-gap theory” (Smith 1996). The rent-gap theory explains the transformation of lower- working-class neighbourhoods into upper-middle class neighbourhoods as the attempt to recuperate the gap between the actual rent being charged within the urban area serving as a working-class neighbourhood and the higher rent that can be charged in the same area after redevelopment of the property and consequential increase of its value. Thus, based upon the consumption theory the return to the city of the white middle class after the famous “white flight” to the suburbs of the 1940s and 1950s was a reflection of the changed needs of the (new) middle class (e.g. in terms of space and lifestyle). According to Smith (1996) instead, the white flight represented the “flight and return” of capital. Such return of capital takes place through particular actions and strategies which influence the value of urban space and properties, and consequently the kind of citizens that have access to them. For example, cycles of use, landlordism and home-ownership, blockbusting and blowout, redlining, abandonment, and arson cause the de-valorisation of the land and property, later followed by the re-valorisation, e.g. through gentrification (Smith 1982). Thus, based upon the production theory, gentrification is a result of economic strategies that aim at maximising the profitability of urban space, and not the outcome of the initiative of private groups of citizens interested in the various attractions and advantages of urban living. More precisely, while until the late 1990s both altern-

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

atives were more or less equally relevant and explicative of different episodes of gentrification, now only the systematised initiative of public (and private sectors) seem to be playing more and more the role of the “gentrifier” (Lees 2000). Both the public and the private sectors have interests in filling the rent-gap, or more in general, activate the flow of capital investments. The public sector interest lies in the increasing tax revenues that the higher value property produces. Tax revenues, following the decline of Keynesian policies, which introduced large devolution reforms, represent a major source of income for municipal governments, and hence a main resource for the performance of functions earlier completed by national governments (Hackworth and Smith 2001). Also several contradictory aspects emerge that further curb the validity of the consumption-driven theory and the emancipatory thesis. First and foremost, the discrimination and racism of groups of gentrifiers towards minority groups (e.g. white gays against black gays, or white middle class against minority groups (Lees 2000), which compromises the understanding of gentrification as a liberal and emancipatory process related to social values such as cultural openness. Gentrification is interrelated to phenomena such as social polarisation and cultural sameness, which go hand-in-hand with the urban condition associated with gated-communities.

An integrative look at both theories point to the dualism of gentrification. There can be instances of gentrification with less detrimental effects for the established communities for both socio-cultural and economic concerns. However these are more likely to occur in non global cities. Global

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

cities have different types of resources to both manage economic critical phases as well as activate processes of de- and re-valorisation of urban property. Thus, in global cities like New York gentrification proceeds apace and is more likely to occur and produce shattering cases of displacement of entire communities. (Smith 2008; Lees 2000). By contrast, cities with more limited influences and capacities on the global level (as for instance Pittsburgh) can actually produce somewhat “hybrid” cases of gentrification in which redevelopment projects (often culminating in gentrification) are wanted “from below”, i.e. from the urban residents interested in improving their quality of life by accessing better served urban facilities, and, possibly, benefiting from an increase in home equity. In this sense, the duality evidenced by the two theories above is more salient in these cities due to the more contained demographic flows (smaller economies will attract smaller numbers of in-movers both from other cities and from other areas in the same city). This grants greater availability of space which makes displacement a more remote possibility (though it can well occur), and the coexistence of different social groups is possible at least for longer periods of time.

Conclusive Remarks

The interdisciplinary background research presented in this chapter has introduced some of the main aspects of urban planning and development that call for the critical enquiry of their discursal constructions. Fou-

4 Urban Planning and Development: Background Research

cault's analysis of space and urban planning has shed light on the significance of the urban process as a device for the exercise of power; while the review of academic debates within planning theory, has clarified how they can be conducive to social inequality, as in the case of phenomena like gentrification. Production- and consumption-driven theories of gentrification have been reviewed to gain insight into the controversial nature of the social phenomenon. Salient features of current planning and development trends have been discussed, which cause tensions and contradictions in the administration and organisation of the urban space, conceptualised as a commodity, and disfavour a sustainable relationship with the various social groups within the urban demographic.

The following chapters proceed with the operationalisation of the analysis. Drawing on the knowledge gathered with the interdisciplinary background research it will be investigated to what extent the progressive view of urban planning and development is reflected in the newspaper texts collected in our corpus. The analysis will attempt to address questions related to the type of social values associated with the urban processes, whether these emphasise the desirability of planning/redevelopment projects, or their complexity and controversial aspects, and whether the perspectives adopted in the news account reflect the stance of the promoters of the processes or that of their recipients.

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

The previous chapters have presented the theoretical and methodological framework, and introduced the corpus sources and the interdisciplinary background research on urban planning and development. This chapter shifts in focus from the theory and methodology of the research to the operationalisation of the analysis. It provides an outline of the order of discourses in which the news discourse of urban planning and development can be situated, and presents a model for the salient inter-relations among the various groups of stakeholders. The analysis of the order of discourses and the model derived from it serve to re-elaborate the discourse topic into an actual *object* of research (Fairclough 2009). The selection of topics such as racism, immigration is more or less self-explanatory as

these are straightforwardly recognised as salient topics for CDA; however how they *become* research objects is to be explained (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999; Fairclough 2003; 2009; Wodak and Reisigl 2001; 2009). In other words, the analyst is required to indicate the semiotic point of entry through which he or she intends to carry out the discourse analysis (Fairclough 2009: 169). This phase of the research is meant to produce a hypothesis concerning the general discursive strategy in the discourse under investigation. Finally, in accordance with the DHA, a “pilot analysis” of the occurrences of “development” and “growth” test the hypothesis and provides the basis for the completion of the analysis of additional keywords.

5.1 Urban Planning and Development Order of Discourses

The order of discourses can be evinced by isolating the stances of the different groups of stakeholders. The purpose of its analysis is to identify salient aspects of the inter-relations among the various groups:

Discourse 1: the discourse of the public officials, including members of the departments of the municipal governments dedicated to urban planning and development,

Discourse 2: the discourse of developers, contractors and other related professional figures active in the field, broadly understood as “de-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

velopment professionals”, and

Discourse 3: the discourse associated with the urban residents of the city area targeted by a given planning/development project.

Discourse 3 can be further articulated to distinguish between the internal perspectives of the residents of an area considered for development, and the perspectives of the city residents at-large, among whom we can include the potential in-movers, i.e. the new residents of any development area upon project completion. Another distinction concerns the advocacy groups. Associations for community development often work with urban residents to support their communities and neighbourhoods, thus their discourse merges with that of the residents as well. Yet further, the discourse of the public officials is concerned with residents too, since one of its functions is to represent the constituency. In short, the discourse of the residents can include the discourses of current residents, potential residents, current resident advocacy groups, and public officials. Likewise, the discourse of potential residents can be assimilated to the discourse of the public officials and the development professionals. As the corpus data analysis will show, the potential residents are seldom directly mentioned in the newspaper texts. While this reflects the reality of urban planning and development projects which involve in-movers in a direct way only upon project completion, it also points to the type of support that in-movers find in the process as a whole, since their expectations overlap with those of the public officials and development professionals. More

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

about the functions of each discourse and social group will be said when specifying their various fields of action. The first inter-relation that can be singled out is that the actors of discourse 3, i.e. the residents, are the recipients of discourses 1 and 2. This inter-relation, we will shortly see, can be correlated to the occurrence of specific discursive practises.

All three discourses remit to the political discourse. The political discourse is to be intended as the discourse of politicians and public officials, but also as the discourse that captures political processes (van Dijk 1997). Ideally, the political discourse that captures political processes is a signifying domain that represents the interests and expectations of every group of stakeholders. Thus, exclusions and imbalances in the political discourse signify inequalities in the relevant social orders, in our case, inequalities related to the urban conditions. Due to the breadth and complexity of the political discourse, contextual elements such as actors, locations and functions help to define it (van Dijk 1997). Table 5.1 shows the actors and locations of the three principle discourses in the order of discourses of urban planning and development:

	Town Hall	Headquarters of Development Professionals	City
Public Officials	+	+	+
Development Professionals	+	+	+
Residents and General Public	-/?	-/?	+

Table 5.1: Actors and Locations

The table draws attention to how the public officials and the development professionals (viz. discourse 1 and 2) share access to the same

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

locations where they carry out their functions, e.g. they meet to discuss and bargain aspects of zoning laws. For the general public, access to these locations is not by default, but it is granted provided that they have been able to successfully bargain for it or otherwise obtain it. What the three groups have in common is the interest in the same city area. The modalities of access to the city area are inherently different from those associated with the other locations viz. the town hall and the headquarters of the development professionals. Thus, the city stands out as the *open arena* where the interests and activities of the various stakeholders are canalised. In the remaining discussion we examine the “fields of action” (Girnth 1996, in Wodak and Reisigl 2001) of each group and their related discourses with the purpose of specifying aspects of their inter-relations which can ultimately be connected to their discursive strategies.

Fields of action actively and institutionally engage the actors (Wodak and Reisigl 2001: 36). They correspond to “socially institutionalised aims of discursive practises” (Wodak and Reisigl 2003: 383). Figure 5.1 displays the relevant fields of action and highlights the interrelations between the groups’ sphere of influence in conjunction with their discourse.

All fields of action in the figure can be further decomposed into minor fields of action. To give an example, the field of action related to the production of laws, e.g a land usage law, comprehends activities such as the organisation of consultancy with experts regarding technical estimates, drafting and proposing the actual law, bargaining and changing the draft, and finally, approving the law in its final form. What is remark-

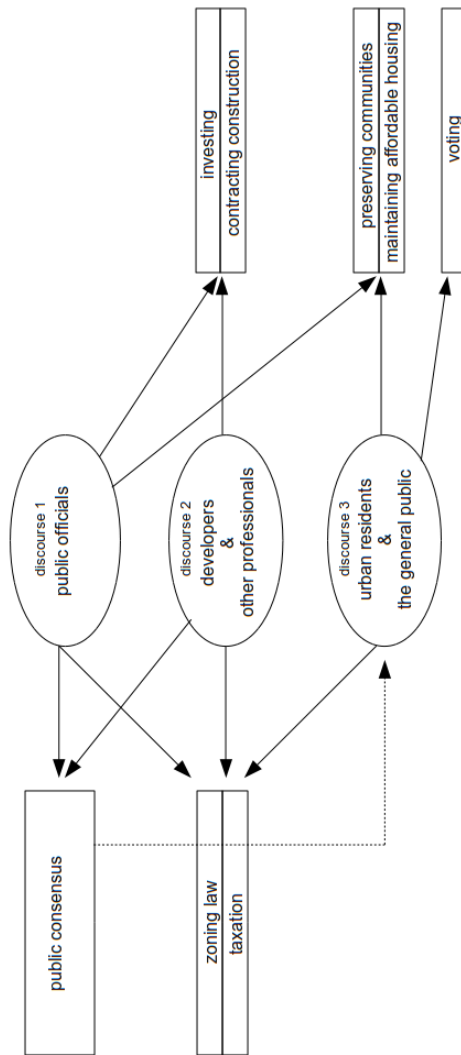


Figure 5.1: Urban Planning and Development Fields of Action

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

able from the point of view of discourse analysis is that, all these fields of action produce their own genres. In some cases they are exemplified by their own genres, e.g. amendments and press releases. As mentioned earlier, data collection within DHA usually sample different genres related to the topic under examination. However, since this study concentrates on the news discourse other genres are examined only insofar as they are integrated in the news texts.

One of the peculiarities that emerges is the official recognition that characterises the fields of action of the public officials and development professionals. For the urban residents and the general public, only the fields of action related to exercising their right to vote and fulfilling their fiscal duties show a partly comparable official recognition. By contrast, their other fields of action e.g. the maintenance of affordable housing and the preservation of their communities, are fields of action in which they might engage from within their private spheres and in the form of loosely organised activities. Also the distribution of the various fields of action and their intersections points to finer commonalities between the discourse of public officials and the discourse of development professionals. Investing capital and contracting construction involves both groups directly. Supporting and preserving established communities, maintaining affordable housing, and exercising the right to vote, involve more directly the urban residents and the general public and therefore can be more properly seen as their fields of action. Finally, even though with different roles and capacities, the fields of action related to lawmaking (especially

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

zoning law), taxation and the manufacture of public consensus involve all three groups by default. For this reason, we consider them key fields of action in the context of the processes of urban planning and development.

The manufacture of public consensus is a crucial field of action for the political discourse. This is of particular interest since news discourse is one of the main platforms where public consensus is built. Zoning laws and taxation (more specifically the administration of tax revenues) represent important concerns for which the municipal governments seek consensus. Zoning laws are often an impediment for new (re-)development projects, and their modification or abrogation is frequently part of the bargaining process between the public officials and development professionals. Municipal governments collect and administer tax revenues, and can grant development professionals tax credits for their development projects. At the same time, the urban residents, i.e. tax payers, demand an account of the laws that regulate the use of the urban territory and of tax revenues, e.g. what type of urban planning and development projects are supported. We can see then how the three groups share the common goal of achieving agreement with regard to zoning laws and taxation. In the bargaining process enacted to achieve this agreement, expectations and desires revolve around two questions, i.e. whether or not the project will be executed, and to what extent its execution with specific constitutive features will satisfy the various groups of stakeholders. Thus, the constitutive features of planning and (re-)development projects can become object of negotiations between the three parties. With this regard, the

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

percentage of affordable housing units to be included in the projects is particularly significant. The question of affordable housing is a permanent issue on political agendas, due to the frequent contrast between the demand of the residents and the supply capacity of municipalities. Affordable housing is a controversial issue, as the interests of development professionals are better served if the project includes high-value units that yield higher profit margins. Public officials are then concerned on the one hand with the demand for housing, and particularly affordable housing, and on the other with the financial administration and the economic growth of the cities. Those concerns can collide, creating the necessity to act as to prioritise either one. It is possible to see then how tensions and contradictions arise in the context of planning and (re-)developing urban areas and how the various groups involved can divide. With this regard, developers hold a notable portion of the bargaining power throughout the interactions and exchanges in the planning and development process. They are responsible for capital investment and its attendant increase in city tax revenues, and often find themselves in take-it-or-leave-it bargaining positions since they can choose to invest in other urban areas or in different cities. This also finds a confirmation in studies of planning theorists who agree that, more often than not, it is the public administration that adapts to the preferences of the developers (Mele 2000; Reichl 1999). Urban residents on the other hand, have indirect bargaining power primarily in the form of their ability to vote public officials out of office.

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

Moving from this analysis of the order of discourses of urban planning and development and of the inter-relations among the various groups of stakeholders we are able to put forward a hypothesis concerning a macro discursive strategy of the news discourse associated with our discourse topic through which we orient the pilot analysis. The macro discursive strategy can be assimilated to an encompassing “promotional intent” of the representations of urban planning and development projects. The following sections present a pilot analysis of the occurrences of “development” and “growth” and on the related “redevelopment” “mega-development” and “smart growth”. While testing the hypothesis, the analysis uncovers the social values, beliefs and the lines of argument that occur in the news texts and shape the discursual constructions of these aspects.

5.2 “Development” and “Growth” in the Corpus: a Pilot Analysis

The analysis considers first aspects related to the frequency of occurrence of the keywords and their various sub-meanings, to then discuss the main discursive practise associated with them, i.e. the exploitation of the meaning potential (Askehave 2004; Fairclough 1995). The main properties of the practise are extrapolated through the review of other examples previously examined in CDA studies. In the case of “development” and

“growth”, this practise allows the keywords to retain the positive connotation of their core meaning, which is less prominent if they are modified to denote more contextualised meanings, i.e. meanings explicitly related to the context of urban planning and development. The practise is realised through the underspecification of the occurrences, e.g. by omitting suitable modifiers that can contribute to disambiguate among the various sub-meanings of the keywords, and by using the lexical alternatives denoting with minor specificity the relevant contextual meaning, in place of (available) more specific alternatives.

5.2.1 The Discoursal Construction of Urban Development

“Development” is the most productive of the three keywords used for data retrieval. It occurs 164 times in 47 texts in the MQN sub-corpus, and 73 times in 19 texts in the AN sub-corpus, thus amounting to the 0.18% of the entire corpus. In the frequency list computed for the entire corpus “development” appears in the initial segment together with functional words which have the highest frequency of occurrence. In the group of functional words we include the items from the various closed word classes (articles, prepositions, conjunctions and auxiliary verbs) and the different forms of the verb “to say”, which are expected to have a high frequency in a corpus that samples the journalistic genre, being “to say” the most common verb used to introduce reported speech. Table 5.2.1 shows details

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

of the frequency of development:

Rank	Frequency	Word
78	184	development

Table 5.2: “Development” Frequency of Occurrence

By contrast, the frequency of occurrence of “planning” is significantly lower:

Rank	Frequency	Word
202	75	planning

Table 5.3: “Planning” Frequency of Occurrence

The contrast is noteworthy since in principle “planning” and “development” have a high chance of co-occurring in a specialised corpus. This is due to their complementarity and also to their conceptual similarity, as both denote procedural as well as (properly) creative types of activities. It is argued that the contrast between the frequency of occurrence of “planning” and “development” reveals the inclination in the discourse to more frequently use the (simpler) “development” to refer to the urban processes. This is also confirmed by the low frequency of occurrence of the other lexical alternatives denoting the various sub-meanings of “development”, below listed:

1. development as the urban *process* as a whole, which includes different typologies, such as

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

- a) mega-development which specifically refers to large scale projects, e.g. several thousands units involving a large amount of land
 - b) redevelopment which specifically refers to projects that involve formerly developed areas
2. development as the actual buildings and/or the construction work site
 3. development as in community development, which aims at supporting and improving established neighbourhoods and urban areas
 4. development as economic development

Although each sub-meaning is subsumed in the meaning of (urban) development, each denotes a distinct typology and aspect of the urban process, which engage with diverse issues, and intervene in different ways on the configuration of urban communities. Each also produces distinct effects that are more or less desirable for the different groups of stakeholders. For instance, mega-development projects are likely to generate concerns with regard to the necessary level of capital investment by the municipal government. This in turn creates concern regarding expected tax receipts and project sustainability. A mega-development project may also generate concern regarding its impact on traffic pattern and volume, and on the natural features of the territory at the city's periphery. Redevelopment projects tend to be problematic for how they might impact established communities, since redevelopment projects specifically address areas that are already developed. Also, different stages of the process create different forms of economic development, from which the involved social groups

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

derive benefits in different ways and moments. For instance, when a development project is in its initial stage, the form of economic development produced is for the developer who wins the tender. Also, in this case economic development can consist of public subsidies for the developer in the form of tax credits while other social groups may benefit from economic development in the form of new employment opportunities, which at this point are primarily construction jobs. In the same initial phases, the established communities of the area may be facing rent increase or eviction, the demolition of community buildings or the complete transformation of their use. Often these are flourishing working-class neighborhoods well served internally by local services and producing significant tax revenues. In the later phases of the project, after the completion of the construction work, new opportunities for economic development may occur in the form of trade and service industry jobs.

The corpus data shows that “development” systematically occurs in place of lexical alternatives such as “redevelopment” and “mega-development” to refer to projects that are instances of redevelopment and mega-development; it is also frequently preferred over phrasal formations such as “development project/plan”, and is interchangeably used with “economic development”. While this can be seen as the common practise of implying meanings that are inferable within the textual dimension, some of the related communicative effects can be examined as discursively significant. We posit that the higher frequency of occurrence of “development” exemplifies a strategic lexical choice. Our point of de-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

parture for the elaboration of our claim is the review of some dictionary entries of “development” through which we single out the semantic traits of the core meaning of the word.

The definition of “development” in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2003) says that: “development is a process of gradually becoming bigger, better, stronger, or more advanced”. The *American Heritage Dictionary* (2000) lists as first and second definitions “the act of developing” and “the state of being developed”, as third “a significant event, occurrence or change”, as fourth “a group of dwellings built by the same contractor”, and as fifth “determination of the best techniques for applying a new device or process to production of goods or service”. These definitions evidence two key traits of the core meaning of “development”: it denotes processual types of events (viz. the processual nature of development), it has a positive connotation elicited by concepts such as “gradual growth”, “advance”, and “determination of best techniques”. It is further argued that the preference for the simpler “development” in the place of more complex lexical and phrasal alternatives exemplifies the attempt to exploit the semantic traits of its core meaning, i.e. to exploit the meaning potential of the word (Fairclough 1995; Wodak and Reisigl 2009). The meaning potential of “development” is concentrated in the semantic traits given above, which also delineate the main difference from the other lexical and phrasal alternatives. Namely, “development” retains the abstract meaning connotation that refers to a processual event and the positive connotation of the core meaning elicited by the con-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

cepts of gradual growth and advance; both these traits instead are lost in the lexical derivatives “redevelopment” and “mega-development” and in the phrasal formations like “development plan/project” since they have a (more) contextualised meaning, i.e. one that more directly links to the meaning “land development” and the related construction activities.

The exploitation of the meaning potential enables various communicative effects. For instance, one of the main features of nouns that denote processual events is that they can be characterised as ineluctable rather than as purposefully produced within institutional and professional frameworks through the application of specific bodies of expertise. Ineluctability has been reckoned a central theme and a defining feature of the discursual constructions of several issues relevant in societies of “late modernity” (Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). Several CDA studies, drawing on the theoretical work on the “planetary vulgate” by Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant (1992; 2001), have accounted for the proliferation of discursive practises that shape the representation of socially significant events as ineluctable. These studies have pointed out the correlations between these discursive practises and the marginalisation of agency, i.e. the actors’ influences and responsibilities, from the representations (Askehave 2004; Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). As far as the news discourse of urban planning and development is concerned, what seems to be at play is not only the marginalisation of agency or its strategic account, but also the attempt to attribute and emphasise features such as the unquestionable character and the desirability of the urban

processes. The following section describes in detail the mechanisms of the discursive practise.

5.2.2 Exploitation of Meaning Potential

The underlying mechanism in practises that exemplify the exploitation of meaning potential is “recontextualisation”. Recontextualisation consists in assimilating meanings from different domains into individual occurrences; the practise leads to the merging of different discourses (Askehave 2004; Fairclough 1995; Fairclough et al. 2007; Askehave 2004). An example from Fairclough’s (1995) analysis of political speeches and other materials such as campaign brochures gives an account of the recontextualisation of the word “enterprise”. The focus of the analysis is on the interplay of its two meanings: 1) the personality trait related to risk taking and initiative, and 2) the business type, usually modified by “free” and “private”. Fairclough shows how the omission of the modifiers “free” and “private” (before “enterprise”) enables the speaker/writer to refer to “enterprise” as a combination of both its meanings, i.e. the personal quality and the business type as in the following example: “the task of government is to produce a climate in which prosperity is created by enterprise” (Fairclough 1995: 116). As remarked by Fairclough, the non modified “enterprise” refers to both the business and personal quality senses at the same time. As a result, the (free/private) enterprise discourses expand and affect other discourses, such as that associated with education (Fair-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

clough 1995: 122). Fairclough gives the following definition of the process of meaning attribution:

[...] the 'dictionary meaning' of a word as a relatively stable entity may be better conceived of as a particular hierarchical configuration of senses rather than a set of complementary senses; that context may not 'disambiguate' words in specific texts in the sense of eliminating all but one of their senses, but may, rather, impose hierarchical salience relations between senses; and that in these textual processes the relatively stable equilibria of dictionary meanings may be open to contestation, destructuring and restructuring (Fairclough 1995: 114).

To paraphrase Fairclough's definition, the hierarchy of meanings is created by, and enclosed within the context, which carries out the disambiguating function to embank the various meaning interpretations. The underlying central idea is akin to the phonemic principle, i.e. the fundamental structural concept elaborated in de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*. According to de Saussure, the relationship between the signifier and the signified is not fixed, but is determined by the context in which it occurs. The approach of CDA contributes toward uncovering the strategic manipulation of such semiotic processes for the achievement of specific communicative effects.

Fairclough's study focuses on interdiscursive relations to study social change, as for instance in the case of the education sector evolving in the direction of corporations and enterprises. Our analysis of the news discourse of urban planning and development yields results showing the recontextualisation of meanings through interdiscursive relations, but also

the strategic exploitation of the meaning potential through a reverse mechanism of “deconteztualization”. Thus the scarce use of modifiers and of more accurate lexical choices is correlated to a higher chance of interpreting the keywords by drawing on its connotation and semantic prosody within other discourses as well as by referring to their core positive meanings. The practise is primarily studied in relation to its capacity of shaping a promotional tone for the representations of urban planning and development projects, while they remain unfocused as far as the representation of their social impact is concerned.

5.2.3 Development as Re- or Mega-development

Redevelopment is a typology of urban development which involves formerly developed urban areas. As mentioned above, the distinction between re-development and development is not consistently represented in the corpus, a significant number of occurrences of “development” refer to cases of urban redevelopment. The frequency of occurrence of “redevelopment” is in fact significantly lower than that of “development”:

Rank	Frequency	Word
404	40	Redevelopment

Table 5.4: “Redevelopment” Frequency of Occurrence

A partial explanation of the contrast between the frequency of occurrence of the two terms (compare with “development” ranked 78th in the wordlist, with a frequency score of 184) is the hyponymy relation of “re-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

development” to “development” for which the latter may be used more frequently due to its more encompassing meaning. However, such explanation does not account for the unpredictability of the selection of “redevelopment” when the majority of the projects discussed in the corpus texts are instances of redevelopment projects. As anticipated in the introductory remarks on the discorsal construction of “development”, it is argued that the scarce use of “redevelopment” is related to its different connotation. Precisely, the meaning of “redevelopment” is more contextualised, and lacks the meaning referring to the (more or less abstract) processual event typically conveyed by “development”. With this regard, the comparison of the clusters of “redevelopment” and “development” provides additional insights. The picture below reproduces the first 10 clusters computed from the entire corpus:

Rank	Freq	Cluster	Rank	Freq	Cluster
1	20	the development	1	5	for redevelopment
2	12	development in	2	4	Redevelopment Authority
3	12	development is	3	3	brownfield redevelopment
4	10	development of	4	3	Community Redevelopment
5	9	residential development	5	3	of redevelopment
6	8	community development	6	3	redevelopment is
7	7	Community Development	7	3	redevelopment of
8	7	development that	8	3	redevelopment plan
9	7	of development	9	3	redevelopment plans
10	6	economic development	10	3	the redevelopment

Figure 5.2: Development and Redevelopment Clusters

The words that tend to cluster with “development” (viz. “the”, “in”, “is”, and “of”) enable a direct mention of the term. Thus, “development” tends to be a direct subject and/or object in the texts. By contrast, “redevelopment” tends to cluster with context related substantives (“au-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

thority”, “brownfield”, “community”) to denote concrete aspects of the process which enable a more contextualised representation.

The analysis of the meaning connotation of the prefix “re” provides further insights with regard to the different pattern of occurrence of both words. As a rule, prefixes change the base to which they are attached creating new words. We can see how the prefix “re-” modifies the base “development” both on the formal and conceptual levels. The list below shows the meanings of “re-” before nouns:

- another, or a second instance of the action denoted by the noun, as in “reanalysis”
- a new instance of the action denoted by the noun, as in “rebirth”
- an act, or action, which denotes a return as in “re-entry”;

and before verbs:

- the repetition of the action denoted by the verb
- the performance of the action denoted by the verb for the second time in order to restore the state or result achieved when the action was performed the first time
- the performance of the action to do better than before (Stein 2007: 146).

Thus, redevelopment stands for the second and new instance of development (viz. of an existing development), or for the (second) new instance of development aimed at restoring the results achieved with the first development or at doing better than before. The conceptual representation

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

of the prefixed word selects a new time frame, which includes reference to both the future and the past, unlike the time frame of development, which selects the present and the future. The new time frame underscores the fact that redevelopment is the second (or third, etc.) instance of a former development project. This arguably affects the connotation of the word in that it reduces the relevance of the meaning of “gradual growth and advance” evoked by development, and it conveys a negative meaning by (indirectly) alluding to a former (presumably unsuccessful) development project. Thus, redevelopment is likely to be associated with concepts such as underachievement, which can produce malcontent in the general public particularly with regard to how tax revenues are invested. Furthermore, since by definition redevelopment addresses areas that have already been developed, established communities are more likely to participate in the representation of redevelopment and thus bring into the foreground its controversial aspects.

The data from both sub-corpora provide evidence of the use of “redevelopment” to primarily refer to less abstract aspects of the project, e.g. the actual built site (MQN sub-corpus), and of its more direct association with the controversial impact the projects have on the social level (AN sub-corpus).

Data from the MQN Sub-corpus

The data from the MQN sub-corpus show that “redevelopment” is more often used to denote the concrete sub-meaning “built/construction site”. Only one occurrence refers to the “process as a whole”:

- (5.1) [...] recently completed an inventory of nearly every *branch library* in New York City, to identify those whose *age, condition* and *neighborhood zoning* might *make* them candidates for redevelopment to *create housing*. (NYT)
- (5.2) [...] the region needed to reduce its reliance on suburban single-family homes and begin promoting two-family houses, garage apartments and the redevelopment of cities like Newark, Bridgeport and Yonkers as future sources of *housing*, among other steps. (NYT)
- (5.3) The *hammering* tells of the coming of *condos* and perhaps the whole familiar *package* of redevelopment that has *transformed* so much of Southern California. (LAT)

The co-texts in each example display several elements (see items with emphasis) which refer to “redevelopment” either in a descriptive way (5.1 and 5.2), or in a partly figurative way (5.3), to indicate the activities for the rebuilding or renovation of an urban area. The occurrence of “redevelopment” below is the only one in the corpus which refers to the process as a whole, as it is the case for most occurrences of “development”:

- (5.4) Then came redevelopment, which priced out artists. (LAT)

This occurrence is noteworthy also because it is a case of personification of the process in a context in which this is directly associated with an

aspect of its social impact, namely the (involuntary) departure of the artists from the urban area in question. The verb “to price out” avoids an overt reference to the loss that the artists undergo, and attributes a matter-of-fact type of perspective to the fact; while it partly conveys the involuntariness of the artists’ departure, it reduces its controversial nature. The idea of price tends to be associated with a rational outlook, which reflects the state of things.

Data from the AN Sub-corpus

While the occurrences from the MQN emphasise the meaning that refers to the actual rebuilding activities, those in the AN draw attention to the social impact of redevelopment. Thus, they support our claim concerning the closer association of “redevelopment” with controversial issues due to its (more) explicit allusion to the established communities, as the cause of its significantly lower frequency compared with “development”. The excerpts below are different instances of the metaphor “redevelopment is an enemy” (see items with emphasis):

- (5.5) Amid Willets Point “blight”, pride and vow to *fight* redevelopment. [...] Driven to distraction: Willets Point businesses have been *targets* of failed redevelopment plans for decades. [...] The current redevelopment plan isn’t the first Willets Point has *faced*. [...] This time the Willets Point site itself may be the area’s best *defence against* outside, private redevelopment. (VV)
- (5.6) While the lack of light may make residents feel left out of redevelopment plans, there’s another *danger* too: The Hill may be

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

asking for too much too late. [...] "We need to think up a mechanism that's going to hold them accountable. We have to pick a *fighting* point." The point at which a *fight* might be effective may have passed. (PCP)

Though in a more indirect way, the conflictual nature of redevelopment is also acknowledged in the reported speeches of the project promoters shown in the occurrences below:

- (5.7) The first thing is to get more housing Downtown, get more people Downtown and get a buzz about living Downtown, says Don Carter, a principal of Urban Design Associates under contract with the city to devise redevelopment *strategies* for the Fifth-Forbes *corridor* and Market Square. (PCP)
- (5.8) With a \$1.8 million grant from the state, and more than \$1.5 million from the city's Urban Redevelopment Authority, which helped acquire the land, the council will *embark* on the development's first phase: 22 units, to be completed by next summer. The council plans to take out as much as \$8 million in loans to finance construction. This will be the council's first *foray* into market-rate and upscale family-dwelling development. (PCP)

The conflictual nature of the redevelopment is conveyed here by the use of "strategies" in "redevelopment strategies" and by "corridor", to define the urban area in question. Both terms are associated with the military register; corridor perhaps less straightforwardly so, though it is often used in the literature on the Second World War. In (5.8), the expression "first foray into" is unequivocally from the military register, and together with the previous "embark" underlines the novelty and difficulty of the enterprise. It is of interest that the same theme evoking the controversial nature of redevelopment is used to account for the process from the

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

perspective of the public officials, thus implying that the existing development and the established communities are considered antagonistic and problematic. Finally, the sample in 5.9 explicitly reports on the common problem engendered by redevelopment projects with regard to the tenants residing in the area. The excerpt shows elements of continuity with the previous examples for attributing a conflictual nature to redevelopment (see items with emphasis):

- (5.9) It is unclear why the agency is so *aggressively* pursuing the evictions and other anti-tenant *tactics*. [...] Jennifer Levy, a South Brooklyn Legal Services lawyer who argued the tenants' case in the federal suit, says the evictions appeared too "seemingly arbitrary" to be connected with an attempt to empty the buildings for redevelopment. (VV)

The data samples so far analysed have shown how “redevelopment” is used to refer to the concrete aspects of the urban process (in the MQN sub-corpus), and how it elicits more directly an association of the project to social issues (in the AN). We consider these findings supportive of the claim made with regard to the higher frequency of “development” reflecting the attempt of exploiting the meaning potential of the word, which (unlike “redevelopment”) elicits more desirable meanings. The data concerning the representation of “mega-development” produces similar results and allows us to further examine the discorsal construction of urban development.

Mega-development

The total number of occurrences of “mega-development” is four, all grouped in one article from the *Los Angeles Times* titled “Mega-projects could reshape LA Growth”. As with “redevelopment”, its low frequency of occurrence does not reflect the low number of mega-development projects discussed within the corpus texts. On the contrary, most projects are instances of what is commonly understood as mega-development, i.e. large scale projects which produce several thousand units and involve large urban areas. A few examples from the corpus include the redevelopment plan of Stuyvesant Town and Cooper Village in Manhattan which consists of eleven city blocks and affects nearly twelve thousand residents, and the Grand Avenue and Universal redevelopment in Los Angeles consisting of six skyscrapers, 2,900 homes, and a shopping and entertainment centre. The size of a redevelopment plan is indicative to what extent the project affects the established communities, and mega-development plans usually affect entire communities since their scope is so large. The occurrences of “mega-development” do not suggest a clear-cut distinction between a positive or negative connotation of “mega-development”; however the first excerpts do refer to their negative aspects experienced through previous projects:

(5.10) Los Angeles has learned from the drawbacks of past mega-developments.

(5.11) Los Angeles has long favoured mega-developments, from the

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

Century City and Warner Center office. But as some of those developments age, their shortcomings have become apparent. In Century City, there is now a push to build residential towers alongside the office space, in the hopes of improving the balance.

- (5.12) Los Angeles may never have another opportunity to shape its urban fabric as it has now with the three mega-developments.

The three sentences share the same grammatical subject, i.e. “Los Angeles” which denotes alternatively and/or jointly both the city council and the citizens. Such mentions of the city’s name arguably serve the two rhetorical functions of increasing the weightiness of the subject matter, and of characterising the process as collectively significant. Particularly, in the third excerpt the mention of Los Angeles has the effect of making a general appeal, and at the same time a warning with a sort of prophetic tone conveyed through modality “may never have...”. Furthermore the use of the city’s name can be seen as strategic as far as the representation of the agents is concerned. In the first two excerpts, we can see how Los Angeles (vaguely) indicates the agents responsible for the drawbacks and shortcomings of past mega-developments.¹

The analysis of the data above has shed light on some features of the representation of “redevelopment” and “mega-development” and has provided some insights to account for the higher frequency of occurrence of “development”. The following section extends the discussion by examining the occurrences of “development”.

¹The same discursive practise is examined in greater details in the following chapter (section 6.2), where the analysis of the occurrences of “city” is presented.

5.2.4 Development as Urban Process

This section further examines to what extent the selection of the simpler “development”, denoting the urban process as a whole, represents a strategic lexical choice that exemplifies the exploitation of the meaning potential of the word.

One of the first aspects to be examined is the use of modifiers, namely attitudinal epithets and classifiers. Attitudinal epithets express a quality of the referent that is subjective, i.e. that reflects the personal attitude of the speaker toward the referent in question. Examples of attitudinal epithets are “interesting” or “wonderful”. Classifiers indicate a particular subset of the referent, e.g. “electric train” (Halliday and Hasan 1985). Attitudinal epithets rarely modify “development”, while several classifiers occur to denote a development typology. The attitudinal epithets are six in total. In the MQN sub-corpus they are:

DEVELOPMENT <UNFOCUSED; METICULOUSLY PLANNED; KEY; HELTER-SKELTER>

while in the AN sub-corpus:

DEVELOPMENT <FAIR; OUT-OF-SCALE>

The scarce use of attitudinal epithets supports the possibility first suggested by the cluster computation (in 5.2.3), namely that there is a tendency for “development” to occur without being qualified. The scarce use of attitudinal epithets can be considered as indirect evidence of the practise of representing urban development as a process that tends to be unques-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

tionable, or acceptable by default. The qualitative analysis of larger text excerpts will provide a more thorough evaluation of this initial consideration.

The classifiers attributed to “development” can be divided into two groups. The first group defines “development” based upon the types of buildings included in the project, and the second based upon the type of residents:

DEVELOPMENT <RESIDENTIAL (x10); HOUSING (x2); HIGH-RISE; BROWN-FIELD; SUBURBAN; SUSTAINABLE (x2); GREEN (x2); COMMERCIAL (x2); RETAIL; MIXED-USE (x2)>

DEVELOPMENT <LOW-INCOME; MARKET-RATE; MIXED-INCOME; NEIGHBORHOOD>

We can see the contrast in the frequency of co-occurrence of “development” with the conceptually similar classifiers “residential” and “housing”, respectively co-occurring 10 and 2 times. Both classifiers denote development projects with buildings meant for private use. However, they differ with regard to their semantic prosody: “housing” often modifies “projects” in expressions like “housing projects”, which is how public housing for less affluent social groups is normally denominated (also common is the abbreviated expression “the projects”). Housing projects are often mentioned in relation to episodes of crime and violence, and to live in the projects or in a nearby area is considered as indicative of coming from dubious milieus. Thus, the expression “residential development” has a more neutral or positive connotation, lacking the association with groups from

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

lower social classes, which can be the explanation for the low frequency of occurrence in the corpus of the expression “housing development”. Also supportive of our argument is the fact that “development” never occurs with “affordable” which instead is a collocate of “housing”(confirmed by the result of the same enquiry in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*). In addition, in our corpus “housing” is frequently modified by classifiers such as “low-income”, whereas in the same category “development” is more often modified by “market-rate”.

We now turn to the analysis of the concordances to discuss how the lexical choice of the simpler “development” can be influential for the shaping of an angle of the representation of the urban process.

Data from the MQN

The example below shows an instance of the exploitation of the meaning potential of “development”:

(5.13) But stopping all development is not an option, Thomas said.
With more than 100,000 people coming to Los Angeles every year
[...] (LAT) [Full text in 8.1]

This excerpt is from an article covering the *Grand Avenue* redevelopment project in Los Angeles, which consist of six skyscrapers, 2,900 homes and a shopping and entertainment centre. The analysis of the co-text provides elements that point to the strategic use of “development” referring to the process as a whole. The sentence is the response of developer Jim Thomas

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

to the only criticism of the plan reported in the text. The criticism addresses the project's consequences for vehicle traffic. The response of the developer integrated in the text through indirect and direct reported speech, shows three argumentation fallacies which have the effects of diminishing, invalidating, and not addressing the criticism. The larger excerpt below reports the criticism to the plan followed by the response of the developer. The asterisks (*) mark the argumentation fallacies:

(5.14) “But many neighbours are *aghast* at the *scope* of the Universal proposal, *alarmed* about the potential effect on traffic of such a *large* project.” Thomas, 70, shares their sense of fear about *what *is happening* on local roadways [= current problematic situation concerning traffic congestion, not those, presumably worse after the completion of the project]. Traffic congestion, he says, is going to jump out in the years ahead as the No. 1 issue people want their ***politicians* [= not developers] to address as the region's roads grow ever more unbearable. *He even predicts that on a not-too-distant day, an accident or incident on the Westside is going to cause true gridlock, in which cars won't be able to move. Frustrated drivers will give up and abandon their vehicles. "I wanted to be the first one to call it," he joked. ****But stopping *all* development is not an option, Thomas said.”

The fallacies are “non sequitur” fallacies (Wodak and Reisigl 2001: 74). The first (*) fallacy is realised by a subtle change of the time frame, from future to present which allows the developer to address in his response the *current* traffic congestion problems, rather than those that his project may create. Thus, only the topic of the criticism is acknowledged rather than the actual criticism. It is also noteworthy that the developer makes a sardonic prediction concerning the same issue addressed by the

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

criticism (see section of the excerpt in italics). The second fallacy consists in attributing the competence and responsibilities to thirds, in this case the “politicians”, whereas the criticism addresses constitutive features of the project over which developers hold equal or greater authority and decisional power. The third is a “straw man” fallacy (***) . This consists in giving a response that distorts the other party’s standpoint. In this case “but stopping all development is not an option” misleadingly attributes to the critics of the project the suggestion of “stopping all development”. This also invalidates the criticism, since the idea of stopping all development is untenable. Also noteworthy, is that given the scope of the project, “mega-development” seems to be more suitable than the simpler “development” and could also be effective in acknowledging the criticism. A reference to the size of the project is made by using “massive” as a modifier of another occurrence of “development”. However the selection of “massive” can be seen as a strategic one, since it is a collocate of “knowledge” and “interest”, things which are good to have in abundance, e.g. “massive knowledge” or “massive interest”:

- (5.15) Thomas is expected to play a crucial role in building support for the *massive* development that proponents hope will serve as an example of effective growth to serve the city’s expanding housing and business *needs*.

The project is described as the response to the housing and business “needs”, which is also a strategic lexical choice if compared with alternatives such as “demand”, which arouses less sympathy and involvement.

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

Such values are arguably elicited to favourably promote the image of the developer and the relevance of the project. The excerpts below show further several elements that contribute to the favourable representation of the developer and the project:

- (5.16) Jim Thomas is one of Southern California's most influential developers and civic leaders, *helping* to build some of the region's *most recognizable* skyscrapers and co-leading the *launch* of the ambitious Grand Avenue project in downtown Los Angeles. Yet he has remained largely *unknown*.
- (5.17) Such *bold* and *decisive* approaches have become a *trademark* for Thomas, who has emerged in recent years as a business and *civic leader* with a reputation for taking on *tough*, big-scale projects that change Los Angeles.

These two excerpts offer two complementary descriptions of the developer, which draw primarily on two types of social values: the civic sense of responsibility and commitment and the courage required for bold and important actions. In both examples, the appellative of "civic leader" occur resembling the attempt to emphasise features of his personality and conduct that normally pertain to, or are expected from public representatives. Thus, the social values that are commonly expected from representatives of the political establishment occur in the description of the developer contributing to his favourable representation. In the first, the use of the verb "helping" reiterates the attempt to de-emphasise the professional involvement and the financial interests. Along the same line, the reference to his reserved personality ("yet he has remained largely

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

unknown”) can be seen as an additional element that contributes to the characterisation of the developer as particularly humane and acting in the public interests. In 5.17 the positive characterisation of the developer merges with that of the project. Again he is defined as a civic and business leader whose specialties are “bold” and “decisive” approaches. Both attitudinal epithets, with the successive “tough”, contribute to the cohesiveness of the excerpt. Each of these attitudinal epithets can be attributed to animate and inanimate entities, viz. to the developer as well as to the projects. Such ambivalence seems to explain their selection. They do not disclose any objective information about the project, but instead promote its desirability. The partiality of the representation is also reflected in the selection of the verb “change” at the end of the sentence, which is scarcely informative of what exactly can be expected to happen to Los Angeles. The verb does not convey any descriptive information, however its neutral meaning takes on a positive connotation through the percolation of the positive meanings conveyed through the other elements of the co-text. Finally, note in both excerpts the interdiscursive relation with the discourse of advertisement, evoked by lexical choices such as “launched” and “trademark”, which betray an understanding of the city as a commodity.

Data from AN Sub-corpus

Several occurrences of “development” in the AN have a more contextualised meaning, referring to the “(development) project” or the “built site”

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

as in the sample below:

(5.18) A slightly larger development gets the school, but not a day care center. (VV)

However, occurrences like 5.19 below, show that analogous practise of meaning exploitation can occur also in this sub-corpus:

(5.19) “You have all this new development happening in our community, and what that means is jobs for our young people,” Johnson said. (LAW)

Here, the developer, once basketball player, Earving Magic Johnson, refers to development as a sufficient condition to create jobs. The use of the simple “development” sets the representation on the generic and abstract level, which in turn allows not to specify the kind of jobs being created. The development in question is the opening of a Starbucks outlet in a former bowling alley and old coffee shop. A more descriptive representation would arguably produce a less promising image of the redevelopment project. The reformulations of the sentence shown below give an indication of the contrasting ways to portray the change taking place in the redeveloping area:

- (5.20) (a) You have all this new [development =] *construction sites* (happening) in our community, and what that means is [jobs =] *construction jobs* for our young people.
- (b) You have all this new [development =] *office and/or commercial buildings* (happening) in our community, and what

that means is [jobs =] *service industry jobs* for our young people.

The purpose of these reformulations is to evidence the contrast of the communicative effects between descriptive terms versus more generic (and abstract) ones. By providing more details about the desired effects of “development”, e.g. the types of jobs produced (or as we have seen earlier by using the more contextualised “re-” and/or “mega-development”) the overall communicative effect of the excerpt takes on a less ambitious and promotional tone, and creates a realistic account of a less desirable scenario.

5.2.5 Community Development

The organisation *Community Development Exchange* defines community development as:

Community Development is the process of developing active and sustainable communities based on social justice and mutual respect. It is about influencing power structures to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues that affect their lives. [...] Community workers facilitate the participation of people in this process. They enable connections to be made between communities and with the development of wider policies and programmes (Community Development Exchange 2007).²

The definition clarifies that the actors, the objectives, and the means of community development are different from those of urban development.

²<http://www.cdx.org/what-is-community-development>, accessed 22.11.07.

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

Community development organisations are locally-based. Their goals are to improve the urban condition in their communities by organising activities that address social, cultural, and economic concerns. Often the residents of a community organise volunteers and professionals of pertinent fields to promote initiatives aimed at supporting or preserving (and improving) economic and cultural aspects of the community. The work carried out by community development groups is often in opposition to the objectives pursued by development enterprises, as for instance in the case of mega-development projects, where the identity and existence of the whole community is at stake. In this case, a great effort is devoted toward preservation activities.

The frequency of occurrence of “community development” is rather low in the entire corpus (15 in the MQN sub-corpus; 3 in the AN). Yet, the computation of the clusters of “community” show that the expression “community developer(s)” does not occur in the corpus. The result is also confirmed by the query in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* where “community developer” occurs only four times. The terms that tend to cluster with “community” are instead the following:

COMMUNITY <(DEVELOPMENT); LOCAL; ACTIVIST(S); GROUPS; LEADERS; MEMBERS>

The clusters above refer to the first 21 out of 180 clusters of “community” computed for the entire corpus. Starting from the 22nd, the clusters are hapax legomena. Among these we find classifiers such as “urban”, “coastal”, etc., and names of locations, but no proper name of community

developers or other representatives. By contrast, most of the clusters of “developer” in our corpus refer to the name of the location (of the project), or to the proper name of the developer, in addition to a few functional words and two classifiers, “center” and “estate”. The integration of the direct (or indirect) reported speech of the newsmakers and how they are introduced (e.g. with honorifics, titles, etc.) are an indication of the status and values associated with them (Bell 1991). Thus, the absence of proper names to introduce the actors involved in community development can be indicative of the minor relevance they are attributed in the discourse.

5.2.6 Urban/Economic Development

The occurrences of “economic development” indicate that economic development and urban development are used interchangeably; economic development is then considered as another sub-meaning of urban development, and the two are able to be blurred into one concept. This is also confirmed by those occurrences of “economic development” that overlap with the meaning of “urban development” when denoting the “built site” as in the examples below:

- (5.21) [...] the road system around the proposed casino requires significant alteration and the island-like nature of the location makes *adjacent* economic development more difficult," the draft letter stated. (PPG)

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

This example is comparable with the occurrences of “development” denoting the “built site”:

(5.22) Existing steel beams, from floor to ceiling, had to remain in the new development. Enclosed with dry wall and paint, they form [...] (LAW)

(5.23) [...] the development is near the airport, near Interstate 79. (PPG)

The blurring and overlap of the two concepts enables the removal of the relation of causality that connects urban development to economic development. Economic development is one of the goals of urban planning and development projects; it is an outcome when projects are successfully completed, and not a constitutive component. We consider the interchangeable use of economic development and urban development another instance of exploitation of the meaning potential in this case of “economic” as modifier of “development”. The blurring of the two concepts is enabled by both a “meaning transfer” and a “reference transfer” (Nunberg 1995). In other words, in order for economic development to refer to urban development its referent must change to denote the project instead of its outcome. Such a semantic relation is more complex and for this reason less frequent, and as far as the discursual construction of urban development is concerned, it arguably stands for the attempt to exploit the meaning potential of “economic (development)” to increase the desirability of urban development projects. Economic development is desirable because it channels wealth. Furthermore, the positive connota-

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

tion of the expression “economic development projects” arguably derives from the fact “economic development” is frequently used to refer to the economic development of a nation, i.e. development that is beneficial for large numbers of people. The results of the query carried out in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* supports this claim, as most occurrences of “economic development”, nearly 80 out of the first 100 hits, were associated with a state, city/county agency, or government office.

Data from the MQN Sub-Corpus

In the data samples below it is possible to see how the expression “economic development projects” resembles the attempt to attribute a positive connotation (through the modifier “economic”) to the expression “(urban) development projects”.

(5.24) Touted by the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency as one of the most important *economic development projects* in the Crenshaw district, the effort has received \$38 million in government loans and subsidies and includes a shopping center, apartments for the elderly and single-family homes. (LAT)

(5.25) [...] the road system around the proposed casino requires significant alteration and the island-like nature of the location makes adjacent *economic development more difficult*," the draft letter stated. (PPG)

In both excerpts the modifier “urban” would have been a suitable and arguably less marked lexical choice. The syntactic analysis of the phrases reveals their ambiguity in that it produces two well-formed alternatives

as shown below:

- a. [economic (development projects)]
- b. [(economic development) projects]

In the first alternative, the modifier “economic” is attached to the compound “development projects”, while in the second “economic” is attached to “development” to modify “projects”.

Data from the AN Sub-corpus

The occurrences of “economic development” in the AN sub-corpus reproduce the same blurring and overlap. However, they specifically occur in phrases that describe the professional area of competence of the news-maker rather than to the actual urban process.

(5.26) [...] then stepped into his old job as deputy mayor for *economic development* when Levine left to be Steinbrenner’s stadium point man. (VV)

(5.27) [...] says Patty Burk, director of housing and *economic development* with the Pittsburgh Downtown Partnership. (PCP)

In the first sample, the causal relation that connects economic development to urban (or housing) development is omitted. In the second, instead “economic development” is coordinated with “housing development” through the logic connective “and” which indicates coordination between elements of comparable nature.

We now turn to the analysis of the occurrences of “growth”. The following section highlights the elements of continuity between the discursal

construction of urban and economic development and growth, both in terms of the linguistic practises and the themes that define the occurrences.

5.3 The Discoursal Construction of Growth

In the context of urban planning and development “growth” can refer to different growth types that operate on the economic and socio-cultural levels, as well as on the geographic and demographic levels. Economic growth, recalling economic development, includes references to employment, property value, tax revenue, and capital investment both from the public and private sectors. Even though these types of growth are related, they pertain to diverse systems of organisation and professional competences, and reflect different stakeholder aspirations. Thus, their relevance tends to differ within various contexts.

The multiple sub-meanings of the word tend not to be overtly specified in the texts, where the majority of the occurrences of “growth” shows no (direct) specification and their immediate co-texts often do not contribute to disambiguate among the various sub-meanings. A partial exception is represented by the occurrences of “smart growth”, which is a fixed expression that denominates a specific movement within urban planning and development. As with “development”, the occurrences of “growth” represent additional instances of the practise of exploitation of the meaning potential. The practise is primarily realised through interdiscursive

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

relations with the economic discourse. Again in parallel with “development”, several occurrences emphasise the processual nature of growth and the positive values it elicits. This seems to be correlated with its discursual construction as an ineluctable and/or desirable process, and as the central and legitimate objective of urban planning and development. Further evidence of the similarity of their discursual construction is given by the low frequency of co-occurrence of “growth” with “redevelopment”. This is confirmed by our corpus data as well as by the results of the query launched in the COCA (see table 5.3 below). We have seen how “redevelopment” takes on a different connotation which differentiates its representations from those of “development”, as a result of its greater controversial nature (which is more likely to bring in the foreground the potential displacement of the established communities), and of its more contextualised meaning (which unlike “development” does not retain the positive semantic traits of the core meaning denoting a gradual process of improvement):

Word	W1	W2	W1/W2	Score
Growth	117	4	29.3	1.4

Table 5.5: Co-occurrence of “Growth” with “Development” and “Redevelopment”

W1 = development, W2 = redevelopment.

The table reads as follows: “growth” occurs 117 times within five words to the left and/or to the right of “development” (W1), and 4 times within five words to the left and/or to the right of “redevelopment”. This result

confirms the divergent semantic prosodies of “development” and “redevelopment”, at the same time, points to the continuity between the discursive constructions of “growth” and “development”. The analysis of the occurrences of “growth” below provides further details concerning the exploitation of its meaning potential and additional aspects of its discursive construction.

Data from the MQN Sub-corpus

The occurrence below is an illustrative example of the exploitation of the meaning potential of “growth”:

(5.28) This city of 73,000 has long used the ballot box *to slow* growth, but now worries that *the relentless building boom* in San Bernardino and Riverside counties threatens to change the city’s character. (LAT)

The co-textual elements that precede the occurrence of “growth” direct its interpretation towards the sub-meaning of “territory growth”, while the elements that follow the keyword point to the sub-meaning “economic growth” as the correct interpretation. This ambiguity between the two possible interpretations is crucial for the characterisation of the stance of the community, viz. “this city of 73,000”, with regard to the project in question is concerned. The sub-meanings of “territory growth” and “economic growth” significantly differ for the values with which they are associated. “Territory growth” can be related to problems of urban sprawl and is undesirable, while “economic growth” is unproblematic and mostly

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

desirable. The close occurrence of “to slow growth” and “relentless building boom” creates a contrast, being the former a scarcely desirable and the latter, instead, a desirable activity. The expression “relentless building boom” has a strong positive semantic prosody, conveyed by the co-occurrence of “relentless” and “boom”. “Boom” is a collocate of “economic” in the expression “economic boom” normally associated with prosperity and progress, and for this reason favourably perceived. The modifier “relentless” conveys positive meanings such as that of “disciplined and enlightened effort”; the *Online Merriam Webster Dictionary* defines it as “showing or promising no abatement of severity, intensity, strength or pace”. We can see then how the sentence contributes to create a positive outlook with regard to the development projects, while it evokes less positive values in relation to the critical stance of the residents (see also analysis of 5.29). With the data samples below we focus on the discursual construction of “growth” as an ineluctable and unquestionable event:

- (5.29) The quaint community in San Bernardino County seeks to balance its agricultural heritage with the inescapable pressures of growth.
- (5.30) Southern California was emblematic of the future, with its inevitable growth and sprawl.
- (5.31) [...] Others say growth is already taking its toll and that the best the city can hope for is to wring enough taxes and fees.
- (5.32) Developer thinks big to keep pace with growth.

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

The theme of ineluctability is explicitly mentioned in 5.29 and 5.30 through the use of the modifiers “inescapable” and “inevitable”. In the same occurrences the theme of ineluctability is corroborated by the theme of the “future”. Future can also be framed as inevitable, and generally links to positive themes such as “innovation” and “progress”. This is overtly mentioned in 5.30, and subtly evoked in 5.29 where the characterisation of the community as “quaint” and “agricultural” emphasise its being not up to date. The themes evoked by “quaint” and “agricultural” are not associated with futuristic values, but rather tend to symbolise its opposition or negation. In other words, resisting the future stands out as an unreasonable position to adopt. This is also supported by the choice of the verb “to seek”, which compared with the more neutral “to try”, hints at a higher probability of failure. The following schematic representation of the excerpt in 5.29 shows the distribution of the types of values conveyed by the sentence:

1. the quaint community in San Bernardino County = OLD FASHIONED
2. seeks to balance = LIKELY TO FAIL
3. its agricultural heritage = OLD FASHIONED
4. with the inescapable pressures of growth = INELUCTABLE AND POTENTIALLY PROMISING FUTURE

In 5.31 and 5.32 “growth” functions as the agent completing the central action of the sentence. In both cases the action is presented in *medias*

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

res, which is a stylistic device to convey factuality. In 5.31 factuality is also conveyed through the use of the present continuous in “is taking its toll”. The sentence attributes a position of superiority to “growth” over the city, which ambiguously refers to both the citizens and the municipal government. Both actions attributed to the “city”, viz. “to hope” and “wring enough tax and fees”, are comparatively more passive and do not convey the same sense of authority and unquestionability of “taking the toll”.

Finally, in 5.32 the expression of “to think big” refers to the action of the developer. The expression has a positive semantic prosody, since one who thinks big is usually the repository of respect and admiration. As a result the motivation for thinking big, in this case “to keep pace with growth”, is perceived as respectable and admirable. The analysis of the implicatures embedded in the meaning of the verb shows how “growth” carries out the principal action, which again emphasises factuality and subtly introduces an element of necessity:

a) growth has a pace (= implied action) = > b) this pace is to be kept with (= message of the sentence).

Data from the AN Sub-corpus

“Growth” occurs 8 times in the AN sub-corpus (in the MQN 43 times). The analysis of the occurrences has yielded results that partly align and partly contradict the considerations emerged from the data samples of

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

the MQN sub-corpus. Again “growth” occurs without direct specification but the immediate co-text shows elements that are more decisive toward disambiguating the various sub-meanings:

- (5.33) There’s this theory of university and institutions being growth machines of the city," says Nellie Bailey, a member of the Coalition to Preserve Community. "We don’t believe that. We believe the real growth of the city lies in bringing back its manufacturing base." [...] “In the past, Columbia has acquired properties one by one and battled with neighbors over what to build there. (VV)
- (5.34) There is no growth to sustain this housing. We’re just shuffling people from one part of town to another. (PCP)

In the first excerpt the two occurrences of “growth” refer to “economic growth”. The sub-meaning is specified by the co-occurrence of “machine” and “manufacturing base”, which refer (in the latter more explicitly) to production activities. Likewise in 5.34, the specification of the growth type, even though it is not directly realised, can be retrieved from the co-text. The growth type in question is “demographic growth”, as the occurrence of “people” in the following sentence clarifies. Here the conjunction “just” functions as a cohesive device linking “no growth” to “shuffling people”. Noteworthy of both occurrences is how they critically elaborate the common and widespread views of growth, which are instead detected in the samples from the MQN.

The following section provides an account of the themes and discursive strategies associated with “smart growth”, which further reflect the divergence of the two sub-corpora.

5.3.1 Smart Growth

Smart growth is a movement within urban planning and development arisen primarily as a response to unconfined territory growth, i.e. sprawl. Sprawl produces undesirable effects, such as long distance commutes, unfriendly walking environments, and negative impacts on the natural features of the territory and the residents' way of life. Thus, smart growth policies invest in plans that address these issues, and favour planning and development projects that celebrate local history, climate and ecology (Charter of the New Urbanism³). Later, "smart growth" has also been referred to, more generally, as a response to urban planning and development trends exerting negative impacts on the social configuration of urban neighborhoods.

The contrast between the representation of "smart growth" in the two sub-corpora concerns the use of promotional and persuasive motives. While in the AN "smart growth" is mentioned in descriptive accounts, in the MQN sub-corpus it is mentioned to provide positive credentials about the plan discussed in the article, and thus contribute to its promotion.

Data from the MQN Sub-Corpus

The representations of "smart growth" in the MQN sub-corpus draw on the rhetoric and register of advertisement. The mention of "smart growth"

³<http://www.cnu.org/charter>, accessed 12.06.07

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

is to illustrate an attractive feature of the redevelopment project covered in the articles. In other words, “smart growth” is used as a persuasive theme for the promotion of the project. This is indirectly confirmed by the distribution of the occurrences of “smart growth” in the corpus, they are all concentrated in the *Los Angeles Times* sub-corpus. Los Angeles epitomises the idea of the sprawling city, and the shortcomings of sprawl are well known to its citizens. It is not surprising then that the promotion of new urban (re-)development plans emphasises the adoption of alternative models such as smart growth.

The following data samples are illustrative of how “smart growth” is construed as a motive for the promotion of a project:

- (5.35) Bruce Ackerman, president of the Economic Alliance of the San Fernando Valley, said, "The big story is the creation of a new community in the middle of a metropolitan area, with the ultimate in smart growth and intelligent design concepts". (LAT)
- (5.36) Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa called the Universal proposal "a transformative project, a city-making project" that should be "the epicenter of smart growth in the 21st century". (LAT)
- (5.37) The idea is to foster "smart growth" in which residents leave their cars behind, walk to shops, and take buses and rail to work. (LAT)

In 5.35, the rhetoric and the style of advertisement are recalled through the phrases “with the ultimate in smart growth”, “intelligent design concepts” and the initial “the big story is”, which recall the exciting verve usually reproduced in advertisement to serve a persuasive function. Their

5 *Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis*

function is to attribute relevance and significance to the project by emphasising its innovative qualities. In 5.36, the mention of “smart growth” is introduced by “epicenter” which is often associated with “exceptionality” and “impressiveness” for both desirable and undesirable events. The co-text confirms its positive meaning through the phrases “transformative project” and “city making project” which again introduce the themes of future and innovation (also associated with “growth”), and depict the redevelopment project as a crucial event for the city. Finally, in 5.37 the mention of “smart growth” is to provide evidence of the differences of the current project from those previously completed, which followed the older urban (re-)development trends that, as we have anticipated above, largely favoured sprawl:

- (5.38) (a) The projects, at a combined cost of about \$7.5 billion, follow *what has become the big planning trend in Los Angeles and elsewhere: mixing dense housing, retail and office space in village configurations near mass transit. The idea is to foster "smart growth" in which residents leave their cars behind, walk to shops, and take buses and rail to work. For Los Angeles, "this is the beginning. This will be the place where a model gets created,"* said Gail Goldberg, the city’s planning director. "This is very different from past development in L.A. [...] But critics are more sceptical, saying that "smart growth" is only a euphemism for more sprawl. (LAT)

The desirability of the development plan in question lies in its adhering to new urban development models promoting “smart growth”, which do not have anything to do with the former projects. The difference between former and current models is repeatedly emphasised (see parts with em-

phasis). The rhetoric exploits themes such as future and innovation, as in the statements of the city's planning director "this is the beginning ... this is where a model gets created".

Data from the AN Sub-corpus

The AN sub-corpus does not contain any occurrence of "smart growth". Thus, for the sake of completeness we examine a few occurrences retrieved from issues published after the six month time frame established for the data collection. The occurrences of "smart growth" in the AN are within descriptive contexts:

- (5.39) The Los Angeles City Council and Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa have embraced the concept of "smart growth," a plan to concentrate multistory, "mixed use" housing — stores and restaurants on the ground, apartments or condos above — near transit corridors. [...] Even as an informal guide, this transit map shows just how extensive the transformation to multistory housing might be under the new *smart-growth planning mantra*. Even if only a fraction of the development occurs, that sweeping change will affect all of Los Angeles. (LAW)
- (5.40) One issue, of course, is how you define "sustainability" (and its cousin, "smart growth"). (PCP)
- (5.41) In development he proposed "smart growth" – that is, "*development that doesn't destroy communities*" – and "fair growth," to ensure that "projects that receive government subsidies create good-paying jobs." Also, "*it's not just the jobs we create during construction. What kind of jobs do they create after?*" (VV). [Full text in 8.2]

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

All three excerpts have in common the critical stance with which they refer to the concept of smart growth. The sample in 5.39, where “smart growth” is associated with “mantra”, alludes to the tendency in the discourse to represent smart growth as a persuasive theme for the promotion of urban projects (see items with emphasis). In 5.40 the mention of the term is explicitly made to discuss its definition. Finally, the last sample exhaustively summarises the controversial aspects of urban development. Particularly, the question of the established communities is called forth in relation to their displacement and the type of economic development, in the form of employment opportunities, possibly produced with the undertaking of the project in question. This contrast with the representations of urban development (earlier examined in sections 5.2.4 and 5.2.6), which only vaguely render crucial aspects of the project, e.g. what is to be gained in terms of economic development, what kind jobs is the project going to create. With this regard, it has been argued that the preference for the simpler “development” over more descriptive lexical and phrasal alternatives favours an angle in the representations that supports the promotion of the project to the detriment of their informativity, and of the awareness of the text recipients.

Summary

The first part of the chapter has outlined the order of discourses in which the news discourse of urban planning and development is situated, and has presented the fields of action of the various groups of stakeholders therein

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

discerned to assist the building of a model of the main inter-relations among the groups of stakeholders. Among the fields of action, the manufacture of the public consensus, zoning laws and taxation have been considered crucial for the definition of two semiotic points of entry for the discourse analysis. The manufacture of public consensus has provided the first, being newspaper texts a discursive domain and one of the main platforms for the manufacture of public consensus. Zoning laws and taxation have provided the second, being the central issues for which the three main groups of actors seek agreement. Moving from here, a hypothesis of a general promotional intent as the macro discursive strategy shaping the news discourse of urban planning and development has been formulated.

The pilot analysis on the discursual constructions of urban “development” and “growth” in the second part of the chapter has confirmed the hypothesis, although, the data from the two sub-corpora have yielded partly contrasting and partly aligning results. In both the greater frequency of occurrence of “development” and “growth” compared with the alternatives “redevelopment”, “mega-development” and “territory and demographic growth” has evidenced the exploitation of the meaning potential of the keywords, and more precisely of the positive connotation of their core meaning. By the same token the interchange of the expressions “urban development” with “economic development” and “economic growth” has been analysed as a realisation of the same discursive practise aimed at associating urban development projects with desirable events such as the production of “economic development”. The data from the

5 Urban Planning and Development: Discourse-Historical Analysis

AN have shown a less systematic strategic use of the keywords, which often occur in more informative co-texts that allow to disambiguate among the various sub-meanings. In addition the AN often exhibit a critical stance with regard to the issues discussed as opposed to a promotional attitude. Particularly the representation of “smart growth” has evidenced the differences between the two sub-corpora.

It has been argued that the underlying assumption supporting the interchange and blend of the various sub-meanings of “development” and “growth” is that they are considered equal and equally beneficial for the different groups of stakeholders (hence their specification is unnecessary). The specification of the actual forms of development and growth shifts the level of representation from the general and abstract to the concrete. This shift enables a more direct association with concepts such as “investment”, “profit”, “employment opportunities”, etc., which, unlike the more encompassing and abstract “economic development”, are more easily associated with agents, recipients and beneficiaries. More relevantly, descriptive accounts tend to elicit more directly the controversial aspects of the urban processes, particularly on the social level, and in this sense, run counter the promotional stance used for the coverage of the projects. In the following chapter the data analysis further explores these themes by examining the discursal constructions of urban “planning”, “city”, “gentrification” and “change”.

6 Corpus Analysis

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the following keywords: “planning”, “city”, “gentrification” and “change”. The analysis of “planning” and “city” extends the discussion started with the pilot analysis of “development” and “growth” in chapter 5, and verifies to what extent their discursive constructions align or diverge. In light of the background research (specifically section 4.2), the analysis of the occurrences of “planning” examines whether or not the conventional view of urban planning as an essentially progressive field of theory and practise is reflected in the portion of the news discourse here examined, and to what extent this reflection might be related to the promotional intent that characterises the discursive construction of urban development and growth. The analysis of the occurrences of “city” complements the analysis of “planning”. Urban planning departments are specific branches of municipal governments, and planning professionals serve as public officials when employed within those departments.

6 Corpus Analysis

The analyses of “gentrification” and “change” address more directly the representation of the social impact of the urban processes. A few earlier episodes of gentrification which are still considered emblematic of its establishment as a recursive urban phenomenon, are reviewed with the aim of deepening the understanding of the phenomenon’s news coverage. The purpose of this review is to gather insights concerning the explanation the news discourse initially adopted to account for gentrification, e.g. what social values it associated with the social groups involved. Finally, the analysis of the occurrences of “change(s)” provides the opportunity to further the analysis of the various aspects taken in consideration with each group of data. At their core, urban planning and development are processes of urban change, gentrification being one of the most controversial phenomena triggered by such change.

6.1 Urban Planning

“Planning” occurs 44 times in 24 texts in the MQN sub-corpus, and 45 times in 12 texts in the AN sub-corpus. The various occurrences denote two sub-meanings:

- “planning” as the professional field per se, and
- “planning” as the professional field of the actors.

The occurrences of “planning” denoting the field per se are less numerous than those denoting the professional field of the actors. The following

sections deal separately with the two groups of data.

6.1.1 “Planning” as the Field of Theory and Practise

“Planning” is rarely modified by attitudinal epithets when referring to the professional field of theory and practise and the process as a whole. In the daily MQN sub-corpus only one attitudinal epithet occurs, namely “ballyhooed” which modifies the compound “planning strategy”. In the AN attitudinal epithets are more numerous, however they are concentrated in the same article from the *LA Weekly* “Planning for disaster”:

PLANNING <POOR (X 2); INTELLIGENT; SHORTSIGHTED>

The analysis of the representation of urban development has suggested how the scarce use of attitudinal epithets can be seen as an indication of the practise of representing the urban process without critical evaluations, and, possibly, as unquestionable. The analysis of “planning” instead does not yield results that uniformly explain the scarce use of attitudinal epithets as related to its discursal construction as positive and/or unquestionable. In fact, two contrasting representations of “planning” (denoting the professional field per se) emerge: one characterises urban planning as one of the attractive features of the project, the other as an obstruction to the development of the relevant urban area.

Data from the MQN Sub-corpus

- (6.1) In its Oct. 19 letter to the Pennsylvania Gaming Control Board, which will award the license by year's end, the task force was clear about the Isle of Capri: "This proposal demonstrates excellent use of its site, exceptional design and *urban planning*, a comprehensive traffic plan, a commitment to a new arena and a solid casino operator who will work with the local community". (PPG)
- (6.2) The project at the nation's *largest* movie studio lot will be a *crucial* test of *increasingly* popular *urban planning theories* that Thomas *champions*. (LAT)
- (6.3) Mr. Moltoni has spent *\$4 million of his own money* to match a \$3.5 million state grant to prepare the site for a mixed-use industrial, commercial and residential development that will cost up to \$80 million. "Unfortunately it's taken 21/2 years to go through the *planning* and *engineering*," said William Sutton, executive vice president for Moltoni's development operation in Ambridge. "I think you'll see a big change in the next 21/2 years. Be patient." (PPG)

In 6.1 and 6.2 urban planning is listed as an attractive feature of the project to arguably increase its desirability. The excerpt in 6.1 gives an enthusiastic description of the project by specifying its outstanding features, ranging from technical aspects such as the use of the site, of design and of urban planning, to aspects which at the moment of writing cannot be directly appreciated, as for instance the cooperation of the "solid casino operator" with the community. Likewise in 6.2, the various superlative lexical choices and the interdiscursive relation of the academic discourse with the discourse of urban planning and development (the project will be "a crucial test" of "planning theories") attribute a certain

6 Corpus Analysis

prestige to the project and the developer.

By contrast in 6.3 urban planning is listed as one of the causes, together with “engineering”, for the delay of the development project. More specifically, the figurative meaning of “to go through” is mostly used in relation to difficult or negative events (see e.g. expression “to go through a bad period”); thus, “planning” and “engineering” stand out as the adversities that the developer has to overcome to complete his project. The rhetoric used to introduce the developer shows affinities with the description of the developer Jim Thomas in the *Los Angeles Times* (see in chapter 5: 5.13, 5.14 and 5.16). His role is presented as particularly constructive and, as with Thomas, his professional involvement is de-emphasised, while positive traits of his personality are underlined. For instance, the developer’s investment is described as an *expense* he did with “his own money”. Thus, his initiative rather than being described as his professional activity, i.e. one that is motivated by the expected financial return, is presented as a personal and generous undertaking.

Data from the AN Sub-corpus

Unlike the MQN, the AN display a more openly critical stance with regard to the professional field of urban planning. A few articles spell out the shortcomings of specific planning projects and discuss the low achievements of some field-related agencies. The first three excerpts shown below are from the article “Planning for disaster” published in the *LA Weekly*:

6 Corpus Analysis

- (6.4) With widely publicized reports on smog, congestion, gangs and housing making Southern California sound more haphazardly unplanned than ever, a recent ceremony in which the regions *über-planning group* awarded lumps of coal to cities and counties for their own *poor planning* fell particularly flat. (LAW)
- (6.5) People in glass houses ... SCAG gives out coal lumps for *poor planning*.
- (6.6) Vasishth slams L.A. City Halls *shortsighted planning*, saying, You just cant have the rich living downtown in expensive lofts and the poor people living further and further out.
- (6.7) But city taxpayers have already been paying for them for years, thanks to lease clauses that have allowed the two teams to deduct \$46 million from their city rent payments for "stadium planning" expenses. The true cost of the Yankee lease clause and how far the team has been allowed to stretch the *definition of "planning"* is only now becoming apparent. (VV)
- (6.8) The progressive groups joining SEIU for the Justice Block Party, meanwhile, hope future Downtown development includes their constituents in the *planning process* and in the apartments. (PCP)
- (6.9) Quadriad's prospectus describes Williamsburgh Square as "the 21st century reconstruction of an historic 19th century now outmoded Brooklyn neighborhood" and "a new standard of comprehensive *urban planning* and urban design." (VV)

In 6.4 the initiative of the planning group (i.e. the SCAG: Southern California Associations of Governments) is straightforwardly criticised. The main points of the criticism concern the lack of direct and empirical knowledge of the planning needs of the different towns in the area, and the lofty and unrealistic projects promoted by the group. The appellative "über group" alludes to its lofty planning ideals, and to the large public funds the group is sponsored with, and contrasts with the expression "fell

6 Corpus Analysis

particularly flat” which describes the outcome of the group’s initiative. The same critical tone is found in 6.5 and 6.6. In 6.6, the opinion of the newsmaker (Ashwani Vasishth, a former SCAG employee) is introduced by the informal verb “slam” which conveys a sense of authority and at the same hints at the scarce value attributed to the group’s initiative. Likewise in 6.5, the parallel occurrence of the two noun-noun compounds with similar structure, i.e. “glass houses” and “coal lumps” emphasises the incongruence between the problematic issue under consideration and the initiative organised by the group to address it.

Excerpts 6.7 and 6.8 respectively discuss a case of misuse of urban planning and the participation of the constituents in the planning process. Finally, the occurrence in 6.9 refers to urban planning as an attractive feature of the project, thus resembling some of the data samples from the MQN sub-corpus. The excerpt in question quotes from the prospectus prepared by a development firm interested in redeveloping an area of Brooklyn in New York.

6.1.2 “Planning” as the Professional Field of the

Actors

Most of the newspaper texts collected in the corpus contain reported speeches of urban planning professionals. They can be more or less directly involved with the project covered in the article; however they are interviewed, in order to express their experts’ opinion about the plan-

6 *Corpus Analysis*

ning and (re-)development project in question. Reported speeches have an important communicative function in the economy of news texts. Bell (1991) explains, that the relevance of reported speeches is a corollary of the mere discursive nature of most news facts:

News is what people say more than what people do. Much - maybe most - of what journalists report is talk not action: announcements, opinions, reactions, appeals, promises, criticisms (Bell 1991: 53).

By reporting the speech of a newsmaker, the author of the text aims at gaining credibility and thoroughness for the account he or she is producing. Several studies have shown how reported speech, especially direct reported speech, tends to be used if the newsmaker in question belongs to elite social groups (Glasgow University Media Group 1980; van Dijk 1991, 1993a). Also relevant is the fact that the reported speeches included in a text are likely to be perceived as its least mediated (because less edited) components, and consequently as those components that inform more directly and faithfully about the (news) event. In fact, reported speeches can be subjected to style and content analysis. They undergo a selective editing process completed by the journalist and the editorial staff who decide whether to directly quote or paraphrase in the form of indirect speech, how extensively, and finally where to place the particular statement within the text. Operations of this kind belong to the process of text composition, and as such can reflect the point of view and the biases of the author.

6 Corpus Analysis

The analysis of the reported speeches of planning professionals is worthwhile then as it allows to extrapolate the type of social values associated with them and how these are textured in the texts. The discussion focuses on the structural properties of the appositional phrases used to introduce the (indirect/direct) reported speech of planning professionals and how these can be correlated with the attribution of social values such as trustworthiness, respectability and credibility.

Data from the MQN Sub-corpus

- (6.10) For Los Angeles, "this is the *beginning*. This will be the place where *a model gets created*," said Gail Goldberg, the city's *planning* director. (LAT) [repeated example from former discussion on "smart growth"]
- (6.11) Con Howe, the city's former longtime *planning* director, believes that Los Angeles may never have another opportunity to shape its urban fabric as it has now with the three mega-developments. (LAT) [repeated example from former discussion on "mega-development"]
- (6.12) Public health and urban *planning experts* asked about the study acknowledge the scientific value of comparing data from different points in time. But most express little praise for the study and numerous criticisms. "The study fails to account for density that's vertically arranged," adds Lawrence Frank, an urban *planning* professor at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. He notes that the study's manner of calculating sprawl *might* rate a residential tower that's adjacent to an empty lot as more sprawling than a cluster of single-family homes. (LAT)
- (6.13) UCLA *planning* professor Richard Weinstein said single projects alone would not fundamentally alter Angelenos' shopping and

6 Corpus Analysis

commuting habits. But he said worsening traffic has begun to affect where people decide to live. (LAT)

- (6.14) Frank Braconi, chief economist for the New York City comptroller's office, who worked on the report in his previous job as executive director of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council, said: "We're all in this boat together. The main competition is not New York City versus suburban areas. We're competing against other world centers, other super-regions. The super-regions that get their acts together in a coordinated way are going to be the winners." (NYT)

The direct and indirect reported speeches of the various urban planning professionals express favourable opinions of the projects discussed in the articles. By favourable opinion it is meant that the project is described in positive terms, and that critical remarks are rare and generally introduced as irrelevant. In the first two samples (6.10 and 6.11) the project in question is depicted as a life opportunity for Los Angeles, emphatically personified in both excerpts to jointly denote the citizenry and the urban territory. Noteworthy in both excerpts is how the personification of Los Angeles contributes towards creating a tone of urgency and necessity.¹

The excerpt in 6.12 is from an article covering a scientific study on the possible correlation between sprawling cities and citizens' obesity (the idea is that in sprawling cities people are dependent on cars and have therefore less opportunities to walk). In the article, the direct and indirect reported speeches of the urban planning experts attribute "little praise" and "numerous criticisms" to the study in question and discount

¹With this regard, see also the analysis of the occurrences of "city" in the following section and in particular the strategic exploitation of the overlap of the two sub-meanings of "city", i.e. the "citizenry" and the "municipal government".

6 Corpus Analysis

its research methodology. The latter remark is realised through modality, namely in “might rate a residential tower...” “might” conveys meanings such as “implausibility” which links to the potential lack of thoroughness of the research and of the criteria used to rate density.

In 6.14, the reported speech of the executive director of the Citizens Planning and Housing Council contains a favourable opinion of the project, whose completion, as in 6.10, is depicted as a pressing issue that regards the collectivity. The excerpt is repeated below with a number marking the different topoi used by the executive director of the Citizens Planning and Housing Council in his speech:

1 We’re all in this boat together. 2 The main competition is not New York City versus suburban areas. 3 We’re competing against other world centers, other super-regions. 4 The super-regions that get their acts together in a coordinated way are going to be the winners.

The tone of the speech is threatening and promising at the same time, as it suits the intervention of an authoritative and competent figure. To make predictions that are cognisant of both the negative and positive aspects of the issue under consideration, grants credibility and power to the speaker, who in this way signals his full understanding of the subject matter. Precisely, the idiomatic expression in the first sentence, containing the topos “pro bono nobis” (at the limit with the related “pro bono publico”) elicits meanings such as solidarity and widespread danger. Topoi 2 and 3 are topoi of threat and numbers both used to describe the stake. In 2 the speaker takes again leadership by revealing the actual dimensions

6 *Corpus Analysis*

of the problem; namely he clarifies that the competition is harder than what is likely to be perceived (by the recipients of his speech), and by so doing hints at the necessity to intervene. This is further remarked in 3, where the use of the present continuous and the superlative lexical choices “world centers” and “super-regions” introduce an element of urgency, which again compel to act against the threat. Finally, in 4 the topos is that of advantage or usefulness, for which if an action is considered useful, it should be performed (Wodak and Reisigl 2001: 75). In this case the useful action is to win the competition against other cities and in order to do that, form consensus around the redevelopment plan. The central ideas of the speech are that cities compete with each other (this is presented in the second sentence as a *de facto* condition and then further elaborated), and that superiority is the objective that the city (i.e. citizenry and the municipal government jointly referred to by the initial “we”) should intend to pursue.

Semantic Social Variation in Appositional Phrases and Reported Speech

An appositional phrase introduces the newsmaker to the readers in conjunction with his or her reported speech. It consists of the person’s name, and a descriptive phrase that can be either pre-posed or post-posed to it (Jucker 1992). The descriptive phrase usually contains honorifics, titles and appellatives that inform about the status of the person. Studies like Bell (1991), Jucker (1992) and several publications by van Dijk (1991) on

6 Corpus Analysis

racism and elite discourses, have shown that the use of honorifics, professional titles and ranks are established stylistic features of the journalistic register, and that their use undergo systematic semantic and social variations. For instance, Jucker (1992) discovered a significant pattern of variation in British quality newspapers, where honorifics, titles, etc. are used when dealing with member of elite groups. With this regard, van Dijk's (1991) findings confirm the systematic use in the news register of honorifics and professional titles for members of the elite, and never for representatives of ethnic minorities, who are instead most frequently introduced by referring to their political status (e.g. asylum seeker) in the host country or in the country of provenience. Bell (1988) showed that the deletion of the selection of the determiners in titles and honorifics in the appositional phrases can be correlated with specific communicative effects. According to Bell (1991), the indeterminate article before a title conveys a mild connotation of prestige, which is stronger with the determinate article, and strongest with \emptyset article. Appositional phrases with \emptyset determiner represent a particular linguistic device that journalists use to convey "titleness" (Bell 1991: 196). Titleness is what makes a regular individual a newsmaker, and his or her opinion newsworthy.

The concordances of "planning" show numerous examples of appositional phrases including honorifics and titles with determinate and \emptyset article. We examine a longer excerpt of the sample reported in 6.13 with two instances of appositional phrases with \emptyset determiner:

6 Corpus Analysis

(6.15) *UCLA planning professor Richard Weinstein said* single projects alone would not fundamentally alter Angelenos' shopping and commuting habits. But he said worsening traffic has begun to affect where people decide to live. [...] *Urban planner Doug Suisman said* that in Los Angeles, the challenge for mega-projects and other mixed-use projects near transit corridors is how to create density in a way that works for L.A.

The article deals with three mega-development projects in Los Angeles. The newsmakers who are attributed titleness through the pre-posed appositional phrase with \emptyset determiner are both in favour of the projects. Likewise, the choice of the speech verb “say” also conveys trustworthiness to their opinion. Bell (1991) shows that “say” is the most neutral speech verb and the most frequently used to introduce reported speeches that are accounted as trustworthy, unlike “claim” which is usually used to introduce an opinion portrayed as questionable. By contrast, the representation of the critics of the mega-plan (mentioned earlier in the text), unlike the professor and the urban planner in the excerpt above, are left anonymous and their opinion is presented without including their arguments and motives. These are listed later in a separate paragraph, and they are not associated with the (nameless) critics nor with any professional figure or someone in particular.

Data from the AN Sub-corpus

In the AN sub-corpus appositional phrases with honorifics and determinate or \emptyset article are not frequent. Only one instance resembles the type found in the MQN sub-corpus (6.16), while the others significantly differ:

6 Corpus Analysis

- (6.16) "We want to close all the loopholes," says Pat Ford, *the city's planning director*, at the Oct. 24 commission meeting, when the change was introduced. (PCP)
- (6.17) Part of the problem is Pisano, *executive director* of the planning think tank since 1976, *a jargon-addicted bureaucrat* who actually says things such as "We designed our structure so we have capacity through our subregions to listen to our members, and we have the capacity to pull our subregions and regions together through our council and decision-making process". (LAW)
- (6.18) On the other side is a group of *planning nerds* trying and failing to devise answers that work. (LAW)
- (6.19) The current redevelopment plan isn't the first Willets Point has faced. In the '60s, *planning czar* Robert Moses eyed the site for a stadium, but the community resisted. (VV)

In 6.17, the description of the executive director of the planning think tank as a "jargon-addicted bureaucrat" is an explicit criticism of his way of practising urban planning and subtracts the titleness conveyed by the appositional phrase "executive director". Likewise, in 6.18 the planning professionals are referred to as "nerds". The term conveys a critical evaluation that allude at their being disconnected from common people, i.e. the urban communities their work is concerned with. The appositional phrase "planning czar" (6.19) also elicits a similar attitude of distrust and excludes values such as trustworthiness. Robert Moses was one of the most influential developers of the past decades, and played a major role in the development of several cities in the United States. The choice of the appellative "czar" can be explained by the grandiosity and large number of the projects he accomplished, but it also has a negative

6 *Corpus Analysis*

connotation as it alludes to a deeply unbalanced relation between the communities (and the public in general) and the planning professionals. The same meaning is evoked through the verbs “eyed” and “resisted”. The former has a negative connotation for being often used in conjunction with adverbs such as “suspiciously, warily” (COCA), the latter alludes to the difficulties of the urban residents to impede the redevelopment plan and its consequences on the social makeup of the community.

To recapitulate, the representations of “planning” show points of divergence between the two sub-corpora. Even though the concentrated distribution of the relevant occurrences in the AN does not allow to generalise, the MQN sub-corpus shows representations of urban planning that emphasises its desirableness, while those in the AN tend to be more critical. With regard to the representation of the actors, the study of the semantic social variation in the appositional phrases and the reported speeches of planning professionals has shown how these are favourably portrayed in the MQN, being attributed positive social values such as trustworthiness, credibility and titleness. Furthermore, the representation of planning professionals yields supportive results for the considerations drawn with the analysis of “development” particularly with regard to the promotional intent characterising the representation of the projects, and the conceptualisation of cities as competitors, akin to their understanding as commodities. The AN instead reflect a certain skepticism for the field and its professional figures.

6.2 City

The analysis of the discorsal construction of the city takes in consideration the occurrences of the common noun as well as those of the proper names of the cities on which the study focuses. In both cases the possible sub-meanings refer to:

- the urban residents and/or the general public,
- the municipal government, and
- the physical urban territory.

Expectedly the occurrences of “city” are very numerous in both sub-corpora. The word occurs 401 times in the MQN sub-corpus, and 314 times in the AN sub-corpus. In both sub-corpora the majority of the occurrences refer to the municipal government, however the discorsal constructions are different. In the MQN sub-corpus most occurrences exemplify instances of the exploitation of the word’s meaning potential. Precisely, the practise exploits the common overlap of the two sub-meanings denoting the “municipal government” and the “urban residents”. It is argued that even though this overlap is conventionalised and frequent in various genres and linguistic registers, several occurrences of “city” (and some of the cities’ proper names) represent its strategic exploitation. By contrast, none of the occurrence of “city” in the AN sub-corpus seems to strategically exploit this overlap. Peculiar of this portion of the corpus,

is instead the discursual construction of the city, understood as the city government, as an antagonist of the citizenry.

Data from the MQN sub-corpus

The following occurrences of “city” strategically denote two (out of the three) sub-meanings of the word at the same time. Each occurrence realises a different communicative effect, however the common underlying patterns consist in producing unfocused accounts as far as agents and recipients are concerned, and in exploiting the rhetorical emphasis of the references to the city, understood as the collectivity and the public interest:

- (6.20) At stake for the future *operator* is millions of dollars in profit. At stake for the *city* is a risky new venture, sanctioned by law, that will draw thousands of visitors, cars and buses and create *who knows what problems and opportunities*. (PPG)
- (6.21) Good citizens are bound to disagree, *even* on major public issues like who should run a gambling casino. But the Pittsburgh Gaming Task Force members remained *solid*, for the most part, in identifying the *best* plan for the *city*. (PPG)
- (6.22) Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa said the project would be good for the *city* because it would create housing and jobs for the *region's growing population*.
- (6.23) *Los Angeles* is having a *city-building* moment. (LAT)
- (6.24) "*Growth is going to happen*, but we want to make sure *Redlands doesn't get bowled over*," said Mayor Jon Harrison. "We are at the

6 Corpus Analysis

point where we need *to define Redlands for the 21st century.*"
(LAT)

(6.25) *Meet* the worlds next great metropolis, a *once-gracious city bursting* from the confines of its history, *wide-eyed* with the wonders of traffic jams and tall buildings, and *thinking very, very big.* (NYT)

The first two samples are from the same article of the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* "Casino fervor: the task force was right to identify the best deal", covering the tender of a development project for the building of a casino. In both excerpts the use of the term "city" allows to only vaguely refer to the potential recipients/beneficiaries of the negative and/or positive changes that the casino will produce. This arguably contributes to diffuse both the responsibilities of the planning agencies involved, and the expectations of the urban residents with regard to the benefits the casino might generate. In 6.20, the interpretation of "city" as the "city council" supports the most cohesive reading of the text, while interpreting it as "citizenry" would only produce a meaningful sentence. The parallelism between the two sentences, started with the emphatic duplication of the initial expression "at stake" and kept throughout their structures, betrays the markedness of the selection of the simpler "city" in place e.g. of "city council". Note how the referents for "future operator" denotes someone (or a firm) precisely identifiable, while the referent of "city" denotes a large and heterogeneous group. Both the "millions of dollars in profit" of the first sentence and the "who knows what problems and opportunities" of the second convey a positive meaning; "problems" is introduced by the

6 Corpus Analysis

expression “who knows what” from the family register which reduces the negative connotation of the word, and is coordinated with “opportunities” which has a particularly positive semantic prosody (the collocates of “opportunity” computed in the COCA include: “great, perfect, tremendous, ample”).

The occurrence in 6.21 is illustrative of how the term “city” can be strategically used to exploit its nuanced meanings denoting the collectivity and the public interest. Here, the only suitable interpretation of “city” is “citizenry”, whose needs’ satisfaction is portrayed as a priority. However a specific group of citizens mentioned at the beginning of the excerpt in relation to their disagreement on the casino project favoured by the task force. Noteworthy is that their disagreement is portrayed as an annoyance, rather than as a legitimate moment within the whole process of selection of the best bidder. The mood adjunct “even” attached to “major public issues” betrays such an attitude, whereas a different adjunct as for instance “especially” would have been more neutral. The next sentence, describing the job of the task force, provides further elements that support this reading. First, the selection of the modifier “solid” to refer to the work conditions of the task force contributes to its positive representation; second, the bid on which the “good citizens” disagree is defined as the “best”. Thus, the two references to the citizens are antithetical, in that the first portrays them (i.e. their disagreeing) as an annoyance, and the second refers to them as the priority around which the decision should be formed.

6 *Corpus Analysis*

In 6.22, both the mention of “city” and of the “region’s growing population” have a function that is comparable to that of (large) numbers in journalese; namely they contribute to attach relevance to the news event (Bell 1991). Here the purpose is that of promoting the development project by presenting it as a positive event that serves the interests of the public (viz. the city and region). Likewise in 6.23, the reference to “Los Angeles” as the subject of the sentence enables to address the citizenry as both beneficiaries and as the active participants (in a figurative way). The expression “city-building moment” rhetorically remarks the prominence and beneficial nature of the projects in question, while contemporarily reproducing the same promotional tone found in other data samples.

Excerpt 6.24 provides the opportunity to study how the theme of the ineluctability of urban (re-)development and growth (see also discussion in the previous chapter), and the correlated soft-peddalling of their negative impact on the established communities, intersect with the discoursal construction of the city. In his reported speech, the mayor premises “growth is going to happen”, thus making the assumption of the ineluctability of growth the starting point of his speech. The occurrence of “Redlands” (a city in the Greater Los Angeles Area) and its personification favour the selection of a verb with a figurative meaning i.e. “to bowl over”, which, in turn, enables the use of the passive form and the consequent omission of the agent. The sentence has an informal tone and communicates a protective attitude of the mayor towards the citizenry, note the expression

6 Corpus Analysis

“we want to make sure”. The verb “to bowl over” has two meanings: “to knock someone down” and “to be amazed”. Both meanings are suitable in this context though the second conveys a minor sense of gravity. More relevantly, the selection of a figurative verb in this case allows to set the representation on a less realistically descriptive level. As a result, the potential negative consequences of ill-managed redevelopment plans are not accounted for in a professional way. The second sentence shows a different rhetoric and a new function for the occurrence of the city’s name. The first part of the sentence partially reproduces the protective attitude of the first, though the tone is more authoritative. The expression “we are at the point” attributes authority and leadership to the mayor (viz. he specifies the state of the things). Here the use of the plural pronoun “we” produces an admonition to the public to support the initiative. This is confirmed by the use of the modal “need” to introduce the main point of the sentence, that is to say “define Redlands for the 21st century”. At this point the rhetoric changes to draw on the academic discourse. The mayor abandons the informal tone of the previous sentence (viz. “we want to make sure”, “bowled over”) to present the question in a more sophisticated way, i.e. the goal is “to *define* Redlands”. The interdiscursive relation with the academic discourse elicits positive values such as prestige and a sense of competence which positively affect the representation of the project and increase its relevance. Likewise, the time span “for the 21st century” stresses the prominence and urgency of the task, since facts contextualised or associated with the time span of a century

6 Corpus Analysis

are usually historically-relevant facts.

With the excerpt in 6.25 the analysis concentrates on the discursiveness of the personification of the city. The article is about the transformation of Ho Chi Minh, former Saigon, from a “once-gracious city” into a modern world-city². A larger excerpt with several instances of personification is reported below:

(6.26) *Meet the world’s next great metropolis, a once-gracious city bursting from the confines of its history, wide-eyed with the wonders of traffic jams and tall buildings, and thinking very, very big. Held back by a half-century of war and privation, it is charging forward with gigantic plans for urban expansion and development, determined to seize what it is certain is its rightful place as a world leader.* [Full text in 8.4]

The excerpt is the lead paragraph of the article. As such, it introduces the subject matter of the article and some of the themes that frame the story. The exhortative imperative of the opening sentence, echoing the register of advertisement, recalls the promotional attitude of some of the representations of development and redevelopment plans earlier discussed. Likewise, lexical choices such as “the world’s next great metropolis” secure an enthusiastic and promotional tone for the discussion on Ho Chi Minh that follows.

²World cities are cities with a prominent role in the global economies. They host the headquarters of global enterprises and the management of global financial operations; they offer high living standards and provide high quality services, and are popular destinations for international cultural tourism (Sassen 2001). The emergence of world cities is particularly emblematic of the semiotic shift undergone by the national economic models (see chapter 4). The process that leads to the formation of a world city, is in a significant part, a discursive process itself (see e.g. Flowerdew (2004) on the discursive construction of Hong Kong as a world city).

6 Corpus Analysis

The various personifications picture Ho Chi Minh as a young and inexperienced individual (out of the metaphor: less developed city) striving for self-improvement and emancipation. The rhetoric adopts the perspective of the developed country/city, i.e. New York (the article is from the *New York Times*). The perspective reflects an asymmetrical relationship between the two cities, however the asymmetry is akin to naturally unbalanced relations, such as those between teachers and students, parents and children. As a result, the stance of the developed city results as fundamentally constructive, and characterised by certain benevolence. The representation of the less developed Ho Chi Minh primarily consists of encouragements towards embracing modernity, viz. the model represented by New York. The list below shows the various human predicates used for the personification of the city:

1. Bursting
2. Wide-eyed
3. Thinking very very big
4. Held-back
5. Charging forward
6. Determined

The first three predicates draw from the cliché associated with rural and provincial people when they deal with the urban landscape for the first time. The first, “bursting from the confines of its history”, indicates how

6 Corpus Analysis

the intention to abandon the former condition, i.e. “its history”, is approved by the speaker; “bursting” hints at the intolerability of the former condition as a limited and limiting one. The same idea is conveyed by the expression “held-back” which also contributes to characterise the former identity of Ho Chi Minh as unsustainable, thus attaching an element of necessity to its reaction. The second human predicate “wide-eyed” adds spontaneity and innocence to the image; also stressed by the definition of “traffic jam” and “tall buildings” as “wonders” for the inexperienced Ho Chi Minh, now verbatim “thinking very, very big”. Note the repetition of “very” resembling the attempt to faithfully reproduce the impression of the personified Ho Chi Minh. The same tone is further corroborated by the fifth human predicate “charging forward”, which describes the effort of doing something with great strength and commitment notwithstanding the adversities and challenges posed by the enterprise, which in this case corresponds to the completion of “gigantic plans of urban expansion and development”. Finally, with the last human predicate “determined” in “determined to seize what is certain its rightful place as a world leader”, the more developed city stands out as the more experienced interlocutor that trusts and confides in the commitment of the less developed city to embrace its model. The underlying assumptions are that modernity is desirable, and Ho Chi Minh *deserves* (according to New York) to be modern. The definition of the objective of Ho Chi Minh to become a “world leader” can be seen as a further manifestation of the benevolence of the more developed city, as this contemplates the possibility for the

6 Corpus Analysis

other to achieve its own level.

The data sample below shows the direct reported speech of an architect, who also portrays Ho Chi Minh as an insecure individual that cannot independently judge the level of modernity it should aim for in its redevelopment:

(6.27) The *city is not yet sure* of its own identity, said Nguyen Van Tat, an architect who is deputy editor of the magazine Beautiful Home. (NYT)

The reported speech is followed by additional comments of the same architect integrated in the text as indirect reported speech. These also elaborate on the issue raised above, namely on how modern Ho Chi Minh should become and, consequently, how much of its historical background should be preserved from the redevelopment process. The contribution of the architect balances the discussion as it introduces a moderate alternative to the stance expressed in the lead paragraph, i.e. that the city should aim for its place as a world leader, a plan for which the balanced redevelopment of Ho Chi Minh to keep elements of its historical identity is not a priority. More precisely, while the two opinions are not in direct contradiction, they seemingly stand for a more or less moderate vision of the redevelopment agenda of the city. The excerpt below, placed after the architect's reported speech summarises one aspect of the question:

(6.28) The emerging plan calls for most tall buildings to be concentrated in the new downtown across the river. But that is

6 Corpus Analysis

still years away, and the demands of developers, along with the *city's hunger* for modernity, may overwhelm aesthetics.

Here, the personification has two functions. The first is to give a vague representation of the agency, by leaving unspecified who between the city government and the citizenry has “hunger for modernity”. The second function is to grant, through the hunger metaphor, both spontaneity and legitimacy to the stance in question, that is to say that aesthetics may become secondary. The same reference to the aesthetics of the city can be seen as a strategic metonymy as it partially defines the nature of the value of the historical architecture and background of Ho Chi Minh (only the aesthetic component of historical architecture is taken in consideration). The conclusive paragraph of the article provides further elements supporting the reading just suggested:

(6.29) *Neat, clean and orderly, it is a futuristic Saigon, leached of its history. The fresh face of Saigon South is probably historically inevitable, uncannily similar to the version of a modern Vietnam created by refugees as Little Saigon in Southern California. In its newer districts, it might be said, big Saigon is being transformed into a big Little Saigon.*

The first sentence summons the frame used in the lead paragraph, namely that the transformation of Ho Chi Minh into a modern city is a necessity. The adjectives listed at the beginning of the sentence shape an image of the city that exhibits basic (i.e. that cannot be renounced) traits, i.e. cleanliness and order. Only “futuristic” denotes a non basic feature; the declarative sentence in which it occurs reflects the assertiveness

6 Corpus Analysis

of the more developed city. The predicate “leached” reveals the strong evaluative function of the sentence, and points to the lack of continuity between the former and the future Saigon, a result which the next sentence depicts as desirable. “Fresh face” elicits meanings such as honesty, trustworthiness, and the oxymoronic expression “probably historically inevitable” underlines its ineluctability. Finally, the comment about the resemblance of Ho Chi Minh with Little Saigon in California, can be seen as a further expression of approval and dominance of the more developed city. Little Saigon is strategically referred to as “modern Vietnam”; both the synecdoche and the modifier “modern” confer a greater value to the Vietnamese communities in Southern California, considered the inspiring term of comparison for redeveloping Ho Chi Minh.

Data from the AN Sub-Corpus

The strategic overlap of the two sub-meanings of “city” (i.e. the citizenry and the municipal government) occurs only twice in the AN. Numerous occurrences denote the urban territory and landscape, while the majority straightforwardly refer to the municipal government. As in the MQN sub-corpus, the exploitation of the potential of the lexical meaning contributes to the diffusion of agency and responsibilities and enables the emphatic reference to the city as the public interest. However, the analysis of larger textual excerpts points to their different function in the economy of the texts:

6 Corpus Analysis

(6.30) Appearing to *tiptoe* around illegal immigration, he [i.e. the executive director of Southern California Association of Governments] says *Los Angeles* has a lot of people that have moved in without a lot of income, and that this, coupled with the disappearance of many higher-paying jobs, means the number-one priority for *L.A.* is creating more, higher-paying jobs. That's the biggest problem the *city* faces.

(6.31) "This is a city of dreams. This is a city where these kinds of projects can take place" Villaraigoisa said. (LAW)

In 6.30 the occurrences of "Los Angeles" and "city" introduce issues such as illegal immigration, and the need of creating higher paying jobs. In both cases, the reference to the city allows to vaguely present the actors professionally involved in the issues afore mentioned. However, the verb "tiptoe" signals a critical evaluation of the newsmaker's tergiversating with regard to illegal immigration. The rhetorical sentence of Los Angeles' mayor in 6.31 is ironically commented with the sentence reported below:

(6.32) The mayor, who famously told Angelenos to dream big on his first day in office, *said critics of the project are not following his instructions.* (LAW)

The irony is conveyed through the contrasting/oxymoronic image of "following instructions to dream". Thus, even though the occurrences technically resemble those of the MQN sub-corpus, the analysis of their contexts does not confirm their manipulative nature.

The following occurrences denote the city government. They can be divided into two groups. The first includes representations that have a neutral tone, e.g. the actions attributed to "city" denote common tasks

6 Corpus Analysis

or initiatives for members of municipal governments (see items with emphasis):

- (6.33) The *city cited* her, inspector Alan Asbury told District Justice Eugene Zielmanski, not because it had found her contact information directly on the sign but because her name was on the special-events permit the *city requires* for such rallies. (PCP)
- (6.34) The trash compactor was destroyed in a fire three years ago and was never repaired, despite *city orders* to do so. (VV)
- (6.35) Peace activists and other long-time event promoters say the *city's* recent *fines* and *warnings* are unprecedented. (PCP)
- (6.36) "I fault the *city* as much as, if not more so than, the Yankees," says Dick Dadey, director of the good-government group Citizens Union. [...] "The Yankees tried to cut the very best deal for themselves, as is understandable. But the *city* should have pushed back and been more explicit about what would have been an allowable expense. (VV)

The second group (from 6.37 to 6.42) includes representations that characterise with antagonism or distrust the perception of the city government from the side of the citizenry. Two are the discursive practises that emerge as peculiar of this discoursal construction of the municipal government. The first elaborates the metaphor "the city is an enemy"; the second, correlated to the first, but more subtly realised, is based on the distinction between "us" and "them", respectively referring to the citizenry and the city government³. More precisely, the citizens, whose voice is represented either through the (direct/indirect) reported speeches of community

³Several CDA studies have examined the discoursal construction of two distinct and, more or less tacitly antagonistic "us" and "them" groups, in relation to the representation of minorities in the political discourse. The central finding of this line research is that the discourses of the political elites (the "us group") relate to,

6 Corpus Analysis

members and representatives of advocacy groups or through the writer's commentary, relate to the city government as to a more powerful interlocutor that may act against their interests, or in a way that could not satisfy their needs and expectations. The data samples presented below show some occurrences of the metaphor "the city (government) is an enemy":

- (6.37) *New York City* is taking the MMSC organizations to court to officially evict them. Although all the organizations are following the case, only BOLD and the 163rd Street Improvement Council have come up with the funds necessary to continue *fighting the city*. (VV)
- (6.38) As preparation for the July 11 Major League Baseball All-Star game heats up, McMahan and other advocates are concerned that the homeless, especially those who camp out on the North Shore within sight of PNC Park, could become easy *targets* for *city sweeps*. (PCP)
- (6.39) But on that day, a small band of critics also emerged, stepping forward to issue *dire* warnings about a *city* hellbent on creating new upscale housing. One speaker *warned* that loft and condo dwellers too often move in with a sense of entitlement, then try to push out anyone who is loud, messy or beneath their aesthetic standards. A second *accused* the *city* of engaging in *spot zoning*, putting high-density condo projects in places where they would not normally be permitted.

and portray minorities as a separate group (the "them group"), a practise which emphasises the heterogeneity of the two groups and elicits values such as diffidence and mistrust of one towards the other (see e.g. Cramer 2010; van Dijk 2001; Wodak 2007a). As far as this study is concerned, the analogous discursive practise reflects the asymmetry and consequent diffidence felt by the "us group" toward the "them group", respectively referring to some of the social groups within the urban demographic and the city officials.

6 Corpus Analysis

The metaphor “the city (government) is an enemy” reflects the controversial nature of the processes of urban planning and development as well as the divide felt by the citizenry towards the city government. In this sense, the occurrence of the metaphor seems to prove an orientation of the alternative newsweeklies that endorses the perspective of the citizenry.

In the data samples below the representation of the relation between the city government and the citizens does not stand out as inherently conflictual; however it is still construed as based on distrust and on a clear-cut separation of the objectives and expectations of the two parties, the citizens and the public officials, as far as the welfare of the communities is concerned. Such attitude is realised through the discursive construction of a “us-” and “them-group”:

- (6.40) But *locals* are irked that rather than fixing them with the estimated \$1.1 million in tax revenue the area generates each year, the *city* is *using* the bad roads and wet conditions as a *pretext* for *throwing* the businesses *out*. (VV)
- (6.41) [...] as the *city* *decides* whether to turn *manufacturing zones* in Hollywood, West L.A. and downtown Los Angeles into the *latest loft hub*. (LAW)
- (6.42) Brose and others involved in Penn Avenue development say the *city* is also *claiming* that construction will disturb corridor businesses so much that business owners won’t want the project to go forth. (PCP)

The lexical choices in 6.40 signal the negative perception of the city government’s initiatives (see items with emphasis); both the verbs denoting the actions of the city, i.e. “is using” and “throwing out” describe drastic

6 *Corpus Analysis*

actions that entail the arbitrariness and lack of agreement. Likewise, in 6.41 the verb “decides” underlines the lack of dialogue between the two parties and the non-cooperative nature of the process of decision making with which the changes in the community might be implemented. This is also remarked by the terms used for the prediction of the transformation of the area, i.e the contrasting current “manufacturing zones” and their future transformation into the “latest loft hub”. In the expression “the latest loft hub” the modifier “latest” alludes to the recursivity of the process of redevelopment and of its effects; “loft hub” signals both the diversity of new residents that the redevelopment plan is expected to cater to, and how these are perceived (by the established communities) as a closed community whom they cannot join or trust. “Hub” has a negative connotation, being often used to refer to suspect, to an extent closed, groups e.g. “hub of terrorists”.⁴ Finally, in 6.42 the position of the city government on the redevelopment project is introduced by the speech verb “claim” which unlike the neutral “say” conveys a negative evaluation of the opinion as questionable or not trustworthy (Bell 1991). In this case, the redevelopment of the area is highly desired by the local communities due to the poor conditions of the area’s infrastructures. This is emblematic of how the controversial nature of urban redevelopment manifests itself even when the local communities actively promote it. The controversy in such cases often arises since the desire of the local communities to improve

⁴The transformation of former industrial sites and buildings into art galleries and museums or high-profile residential units has been a major urban redevelopment trend in the last decades (Zukin 1989, 2010).

their surroundings is not matched by the interests of the investors (public officials and/or development professionals). This is likely to happen in blighted communities, where high rates of crime and particularly poor conditions of buildings and infrastructures make investments for urban renewal and redevelopment more risky and for this reason more scarce.

6.3 Gentrification

Gentrification is both good news and bad news, it depends on who is speaking or reading. For some, gentrification is economic growth, rescue of cultural heritage, and the safety and cultural richness of an urban community; for others gentrification is displacement, loss of “regulated rent” and the destruction of long established community. The main objective of this analysis of the representation of gentrification is to investigate whether and how the news discourse reflects the duality and the consequent controversial nature of the phenomenon.

The review of earlier episodes of gentrification in New York City and London, from the 1960s and 1970s to the early 1990s, which to date are considered emblematic of the history of the phenomenon, precedes the analysis of the occurrences of the keyword in our corpus. The purpose is to verify how the news discourse framed the phenomenon in its earlier phases, in other words, what kind of attitudes were elicited in the accounts and what were the social values associated with the various social groups involved. To that end the analysis aims also to answer which one of

the two theories, i.e the consumption- or production-based theory (both discussed in section 4.3.1 of chapter 4) was endorsed by the early news accounts. The analysis of the corpus data will then ascertain whether aspects of the current representations of gentrification can be related to its former representations, and more generally whether they maintain the same features or show new elements.

6.3.1 Earlier Episodes of Gentrification: Two Case studies from the 1960s

The reviews of earlier episodes of gentrification draw on studies conducted within the fields of geography and urban history by Smith (1996; 2002) and Moran (2007). Smith deals with several redevelopment projects in different neighbourhoods of New York, including the transformation of Loisaida into the present day Lower East Side, and the famous closing of Tompkins Square Park, “a national symbol of the struggle against gentrification” (Smith 1996: 96). Moran (2007) deals with the redevelopment of London areas such as Camden, Notting Hill and West Greenwich (Moran 2007). Both scholars extensively discuss how newspapers dealt with the events, considered epochal episodes of gentrification in the history of both cities, and occurred at the time when gentrification became an established urban phenomenon. Smith in particular refers to the same newspapers used in this study i.e., the *New York Times* and the *Village Voice*.

Reading Moran (2007) and Smith (1996) we understand that the ac-

6 Corpus Analysis

counts of gentrification in the *New York Times* and the *London Times* framed the phenomenon as the outcome of collective social action much in the spirit of the consumption-driven theory of gentrification (Ley 1980, 1986). Thus, gentrification was explained as an initiative of a rather homogeneous social group composed of artists and highly-educated young professionals connected to the arts and the communication industry (see discussion in 4.3.1). Moran also says that the *London Times* emphasised the cultural aspect of gentrification and used a tone of amazement and esteem for the achievements of gentrifiers who, with their cultural and educational capital, were bringing back the charm of old Georgian and Victorian neighbourhoods. Besides, “the cultural politics of gentrification took various forms: techniques of house refurbishment and urban conservation; new types of urban lifestyle involving interior design, gastronomy, and home entertaining; an interest in rising house prices and the shifting status of residential areas” (Moran 2007: 102). In general the overall tone was celebratory of their accomplishments in recuperating entire parts of the city and its period architecture.

The displacement of the original residents and the question of affordable housing rarely found space in the news discourse. In general, newspapers de-emphasised the economic character of gentrification, as well as its social impact by strategically terming the opposition of different social classes and races (Moran 2007; Smith 1996). By contrast, the anti-gentrification struggle insisted on the opposition of the social groups involved. In New York, the largest banner at one of the demonstrations

6 *Corpus Analysis*

held in Tompkins Square Park in 1988 read: “Gentrification is class war” (Smith 1996: 3). This is because also the social group that is mostly affected by gentrification tend to be homogeneous, including workers, retired people and fixed-income people in general. These of course can also include communities of ethnic minorities, however as remarked by Jackson (2000) urban geography racism “is all about class, not race”.

Smith (1996) explains gentrification as a form of revanchism (Smith 1996: 45). The revanchist city exemplifies the reassertion of power over the urban territory by the white ruling class. Particularly in US. cities, the success of populist and anti-immigrants campaigns in the 1980s and 1990s represented an expression of revanchism. For Smith, gentrification is also a political strategy (Smith 1996: 46), one similar to redistricting and gerrymandering, both techniques used by political parties to redraw the demographic of a district in order for its votes to match a particular political orientation.

The discursual construction of the revanchist city is characterised by metaphors based on the image of the frontier, for which the city itself symbolises a frontier. Such an image reverberates in America as it recalls the old frontier of the western US. Thus, a neighbourhood (before gentrification) is “a wild place, its residents uncivil, savages or communists” (Smith 1996: 17); while gentrifiers are brave “urban pioneers”, “cultivators” and members of the “frontier middle classes” (Moran 2007: 111). This set of metaphors indicates the ideological perspective from which these events entered the public discourse. The appellative of “urban pioneer” presup-

6 Corpus Analysis

poses that a gentrifier ventures in wild or uninhabited areas of the city, conditions which not only license his initiatives but also enhance them as heroic and prestigious, while the reality is that gentrifying areas are homes to established and often flourishing working-class communities. As Smith affirms:

The frontier image is neither merely decorative nor innocent, therefore, but carries considerable ideological weight. Insofar as gentrification infects working class communities, displaces poor households, and converts whole neighbourhoods into bourgeois enclaves, the frontier ideology rationalizes social differentiations and exclusion as natural, inevitable (Smith 1996: 17).

Gentrification is bad news also for homeless people. In his study Smith (1996) documents the famous case of Tompkins Square Park in New York. Until June 1991 the park was home to more than two hundred homeless people. Attempts to evict them had started a few years before, but the park was finally closed on the third of June 1991 to reopen only in 1992 after renewal works. The public authority did not relocate the residents of the park in housing projects or in any other type of accommodation. This caused them to wander in the same area and occupy other spaces and buildings until the next eviction. The closure of the park, commented *The Village Voice* reporter Sarah Ferguson, marked the “death knell of an occupation that had come to symbolise the failure of the city to cope with its homeless population” (Ferguson 1991a, 1991b in Smith 1996: 6). The support for homeless people from communities known for their tolerance, such as the community around Tompkins Square Park, had gradually

6 *Corpus Analysis*

decreased, confirming a national trend common to several American liberal and conservative cities. The eviction of the residents of Tompkins Square Park in fact coincided with the gentrification of the surrounding area where only a few months after the reopening of the Park, twenty five new shops opened to serve the young professionals that had recently moved in, some of them relocating from prime areas as Soho. According to Smith the new citizenry endorsed the values of the revanchist city. A confirmation being that in the same year, Pagano, a community organiser, won the local seat at the City Council by campaigning against squatting (Smith 1995: 102).

Significantly, these events were taking place when communication media proclaimed the end of gentrification (Smith 1995). Following the financial collapse of 1987, developers and realtors coined the term “degentrification” to describe the much less favourable situation of the real estate market; their argument was that, the boom of gentrification between the 1950s and 1970s coincided with two un-repeatable facts: an increase of the national level of education and of birth rates (Smith 1995). Still events as those that involved Tompkins Square Park made the language of the degentrification at least very “premature”, as put by Smith:

The language of degentrification, of course, not only justifies the political momentum behind the revanchist city, but feeds the self-interests of real estate developers and contractors. “Gentrification” has become a “dirty word” that expressed well the class dimensions of recent inner urban change, and it is hardly surprising that real estate professionals have taken advantage of a very real slow down in gentrification to attempt

6 Corpus Analysis

to expunge the word and the memory of the word's politics from the popular discourse (Smith 1995: 105).

Already in 1985, an “apology” for gentrification was published in the *New York Times* by the Real Estate Board of New York (Figure 6.1) which purchased a quarter of the paper's prestigious opinion page (Smith 1996: 29). In spite of its brevity, the editorial touches on all the crucial aspects of gentrification. From a CDA point of view, the text is worthwhile analysing as it reproduces relevant discursive practises. Above all, its strategic perspectivation of the phenomenon to de-emphasise its controversial effects and the use of the frontier metaphor in relation to the gentrifiers are of interest.

The title of the editorial is a rhetorical question reciting: “Is gentrification a dirty word?”. A question is rhetorically asked when its purpose is not to receive an answer, at least not a straightforward answer by someone other than who has posed it, as with regular questions. The text in fact does not give an explicit answer to this question. Although the sub-headline of the second paragraph suggests a negative answer where the metaphor of the “blossoming of neighbourhoods and lives” enthusiastically introduces the changes brought by gentrification. One of the main effects of rhetorical questions is that of leaving the control of the discussion to whom asks the question. In this case, the aim of the article is to define gentrification. Already the rhetorical question realises both a mitigation strategy and a perspectivation strategy. The mitigation strategy is realised by concentrating on the *word* “gentrification” thus enabling a

IS GENTRIFICATION A DIRTY WORD?

There are few words in a New Yorker's vocabulary that are as emotionally loaded as "gentrification."

To one person, it means improved housing. To another, it means unaffordable housing. It means safer streets and new retail businesses, to some. To others, it means the homogenization of a formerly diverse neighborhood. It's the result of one family's drive for home ownership. It's the perceived threat of higher rental costs for another family.

In simple terms, gentrification is the upgrading of housing and retail businesses in a neighborhood with an influx of private investment. This process and its consequences, however, are rarely simple.

Neighborhoods and their blossoms.

Examples of gentrification are as varied and distinctive as New York itself and reflect the city's enduring vitality. That vitality is expressed in terms of change...for neighborhoods and people. We see immigrants from Asia transforming the Flushing community in Queens with their industriousness, while recent arrivals from Russia are bringing new flavor to the Brighton Beach area of Brooklyn. Over a decade ago, painters, sculptors and fledgling dance companies looking for loft space turned SoHo, then a manufacturing "goes to town" on Lower Manhattan's northern border into a world-renowned artistic center. Today a new generation of artists is creating a similar colony in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. Elsewhere, middle class pioneers have bought brownstones in dilapidated areas and enlivened their districts—such as the portion of Columbus Avenue north of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts—with energy and style.

Different neighborhoods throughout the city have undergone similar changes at different times. Park Slope, Chelsea and the Upper West Side, for example. In each case, neighborhoods that were under-populated and had become shabby and/or dangerous were turned into desirable addresses by families and merchants willing to risk their savings and futures there.

What has to make room for gentrification?

The greatest fears inspired by gentrification, of course, are that low-income residents and low-margin retailers will be displaced by more affluent residents and more profitable businesses.

The Department of City Planning's study of gentrified neighborhoods in Park Slope and on the Upper West Side concluded that some displacement occurs following a community's decline as well as after its rehabilitation. The study also found, however, that residential rent regulations gave apartment dwellers substantial protection against displacement. In addition, the study pointed out that the mix of retail stores and service establishments has remained the same in both areas since 1970.

In this regard, it should also be noted that tenants of residential rental buildings that are converted to cooperative ownership remain protected by non-eviction plans if they decide they don't want to buy their units. A survey conducted by the Real Estate Board of New York found that 85 percent of such tenants thought the conversion process had been a fair one.

A role for public policy.

We believe that whatever displacement gentrification causes, though, must be dealt with with public policies that promote low- and moderate-income housing construction and rehabilitation, and freezing revisions that permit retail uses in less expensive, side street locations.

We also believe that New York's best hopes lies with families, businesses and lending institutions willing to commit themselves for the long haul to neighborhoods that need them.

That's gentrification.



The Real Estate Board
of New York, Inc.

Plate 2.1 "Is Gentrification a Dirty Word?" (Real Estate Board of New York, Inc.)

Figure 6.1: Is Gentrification a Dirty Word? (Gentrification and the Revanchist City, Smith 1996: 29)

6 *Corpus Analysis*

certain detachment from the actual phenomenon. The perspectivation strategy consists in emphasising a non-technical angle of representation. Namely, the modifier “dirty” elicits negative values such as dishonesty, or immorality which obfuscate the real nature of gentrification, as an unbalanced social phenomenon of an economic nature (gentrifiers are members from affluent social groups, not immoral or dishonest people). A similar perspective is kept in the lead paragraph, where gentrification is defined as a particularly emotional word for New Yorkers.

Throughout the text greater relevance is attributed to the positive aspects of gentrification, which are mentioned and discussed before the negative effects. Only in the last paragraph the order is inverted, fact which allows to conclude the text with a positive remark about gentrification. In the lead paragraph pros and cons of gentrification are alternatively listed; the first four sentences have the same syntactic structure, while the last two differ. The sentence for the last pro of gentrification has the main verb in the active form and uses two nouns with concrete referents in the real world: “result” and “ownership”. This allows to set the representation on a factual level. The same sentence also exploits the strong rhetoric associated with the family with the expression “family’s drive for home”. Note the selection of the terms “drive” and “home”, which respectively elicit meanings such as spontaneity and legitimacy, sympathy and solidarity (viz. it is natural for most families to need a home). By contrast, the sentence that describes the last negative effect of gentrification shows a verb in the passive form, which allows to omit an overt

6 Corpus Analysis

specification of the recipients. Furthermore, the verb “perceived” and the noun “threat” shift the question on the level of perception and possibility: “It’s the perceived threat of higher rental costs...”. The same type of representation for the negative consequences of gentrification is used in the third paragraph which reports on “the greatest fears inspired by gentrification”. Fears can also refer to “doubts” or “suspicions”, both possible, but not substantial; “inspired” is seemingly preferred to more direct verbs such as “to cause/trigger etc.”. The selection of this verb arguably represents the attempt to avoid establishing a direct causality between gentrification and the displacement of low-income residents. This belief is later overtly expressed in the text, which remarks that, according to a survey carried out by the same Real Estate Board (signing the editorial) “85% of the tenants thought the conversion process (of the areas taken in consideration) was fair.”

The text ends with the declarative sentence “that’s gentrification” which emphasises the authoritative position of the author in establishing what the phenomenon is about. The anaphoric reference of the sentence can refer to the sentence that precedes it and/or to the entire text. In the preceding sentence the two groups of citizens associated with the pros and cons of gentrification are blurred into one, while they are separately mentioned up to this point in the text. Since displacement (and consequently the group of citizens affected by it) is the topic of the first part of the section, the following blurred reference to both groups may be more directly associated with the other group of citizens since the text deals with

them alternatively. Thus, gentrifiers and the promoters of gentrification are more likely to be perceived as the “best hope for New York”.

6.3.2 Is Gentrification still a “Dirty Word”?

The low frequency of occurrence of “gentrification” in our corpus suggests a positive answer to the question posed in the title. In total, “gentrification” occurs 50 times in 18 texts out of the total 100 contained in the corpus. The frequency does not increase with the other lexemes of the lemma, as the table below shows:

Rank	Frequency	Word
324	50	gentrification
2733	5	gentrified
5405	2	gentrifier
1670	9	gentrifying

Table 6.1: “Gentrification” Frequency of Occurrence

Moreover, the occurrences are unevenly distributed. The MQN sub-corpus contains 15 occurrences, distributed in the three publications as it is shown below:

- 9 x *Los Angeles Times*
- 4 x *The New York Times*
- 2 x *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*

While the AN sub-corpus contains the remaining 35 occurrences distributed as indicated below:

6 Corpus Analysis

- 30 x *LA Weekly* (23 in a particularly lengthy cover story of 8694 words)
- 3 x *The Village Voice*
- 2 x *Pittsburgh City Paper*

Even though the quantitative findings are not emphasised due to the small size of the corpus, these findings seem to point to a tendentially sporadic frequency of occurrence of the word. Moreover, the majority of the projects covered in the corpus texts are cases of redevelopment projects, which affect urban communities in a more significant way since they involve formerly developed areas (see analysis of the discursal construction of “development” and “redevelopment” in 5.2.3). It is argued that the low frequency of “gentrification” in a specialised corpus as ours exemplifies a strategy of mitigation, and that this aligns with the discursal constructions of urban planning and development, in that it de-emphasises the negative social impact that the urban processes tend to produce and contributes to their favourable representation. The analysis of the corpus data takes in consideration the occurrences of the term, as well as text excerpts that resemble instances of its (strategic) avoidance.

Data from the MQN Sub-corpus

The analysis of the representation of gentrification within the MQN sub-corpus concentrates on the coverage of two large redevelopment plans: the sale and consequential redevelopment of the large complexes Stuyvesant

6 Corpus Analysis

Town and Cooper Village in New York, and the redevelopment of some areas in downtown Los Angeles.

(I) Sale of Stuyvesant Town and Cooper Village The coverage of the sale and redevelopment plan of Stuyvesant Town and Cooper Village in Manhattan is an example of the avoidance of the term “gentrification”. The sale and the expected redevelopment plan are discussed in eight articles, seven from *The New York Times* within which there is no mention of gentrification, and one article from the *Los Angeles Times* where the word occurs twice. It is noteworthy that the only case in the corpus in which a redevelopment project is covered by a publication based in a city different from that of the plan in question (in addition to the article about the redevelopment of Ho Chi Minh discussed in section 6.2). This reflects the importance of the plan, both a large economic venture and an event of social and historical significance. The complexes of Stuyvesant Town and Cooper Village include 11,232 housing units, located in 110 buildings; they were built for World War II veterans and since their opening in 1947 have been home to war veterans and members of the lower and middle class in general. A comparison of the headlines provides some insights concerning the perspectives from which the redevelopment plan is discussed. The headline and sub-headline of the article in the *Los Angeles Times* recite:

(6.43) “Middle class may lose a home in NYC. A Manhattan complex has long been shielded from gentrification, but new ownership

6 Corpus Analysis

could change that.”

While the headlines of *The New York Times*:

(6.44) “More Than 12 Expected to Bid For Complexes”

(6.45) “\$5.4 Billion bid wins complexes in New York deal”

(6.46) “Housing Complex of 110 Buildings for sale in city”

(6.47) “Sale of Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village Goes Through Despite Some Tenants Efforts”

(6.48) “25,000 Constituents, Their Destiny on the Line”

(6.49) “Complexes’ Seller Pushes Profits, as Critics Fear Higher Rents”

(6.50) “For Sale: Big Middle-Class Enclave With Lots of Potential”

While the headline of the *Los Angeles Times* puts into the foreground the residents, those of the *The New York Times* concentrate on the sale of the complexes. A coarse overview of the topics dealt within the articles confirms that the article in the *Los Angeles Times* focuses nearly exclusively on the impact of the sale on the residents, while the articles in *New York Times* attribute greater relevance to the bidders and eventually to the buyer (6.45), and to the type of investment the purchase costs represent.

A few comments to explain the potential transformation of the area draw attention to its cultural significance:

(6.51) The sale would only add to the seismic *cultural shifts* already under way in New York City and especially in Manhattan, where soaring housing costs have made the borough increasingly inhospitable to working-class and middle-class residents. (NYT)

6 *Corpus Analysis*

(6.52) This was a special place, said Alvin Doyle, president of the Stuyvesant Town-Peter Cooper Village Tenants Association. It's the passing of an era, or the beginning of a new era."

In 6.51 the sale is explained as an event within a broader cultural shift taking place in Manhattan. However, the increase of the property value and of the rent per unit seem better accounted for as political and economic matters, rather than as signs of cultural change. Such description is not accurate and, to a certain extent, it is also discriminatory towards the less affluent communities (since they do not figure among its promoters or contributors). Note also the use of the adjective "seismic" which hints at both the capacity of the event, and at its ineluctable or unpredictable nature.

The sample in 6.52 is the only reported speech of a member of the tenants association included in the text. The comment underlines the duality of the effects of the plan, but more relevantly, by asserting the equality of both ways to look at it (viz. the passing or the beginning of an era), it partly diminishes the negative consequences of the passing of the old Stuyvesant Town-Peter Cooper Village era. Likewise, in the excerpt in 6.53, from another article, both the introductory comment of the journalist and the reported speech of a tenant contradict the negative predictions concerning the displacement of the rent-stabilised tenants:

(6.53) In interviews yesterday, some older tenants living in rent-stabilized apartments said they were not worried about being priced out of their homes right away. "I'm not really that concerned about it," said Elliott Landen, 77, who said he pays

6 Corpus Analysis

slightly over \$1,000 a month for a one-bedroom apartment. "I don't think they'll throw me out."

The articles report in detail on the various suggestions, provided in the sale documents and marketing material, on how to de-regulate the units with stabilised rents, and thus charge market-rate rents:

- (6.54) It suggests turning the complexes into gated-communities, adding "health club amenities," selling units, importing doormen and installing "an elite private school." (NYT)
- (6.55) With "aggressive investigation of potential stabilization violations," the memo suggests, a new owner could deregulate 1,000 units in both complexes in 2008 alone, "approximately double the current rate." By investing in major capital improvements, a new owner could speed up rent deregulation and win additional rent increases, even in the rent-stabilized apartments.

While dealing with these aspects of the sale plan can be informative for the potential new-comers and the current residents, the reactions of the latter are not explicitly discussed in the articles, and when mentioned they are not attributed much relevance, e.g. they are not dealt at the beginning of the texts (Bell 1991).

The current owner of the complexes, MetLife (Insurance Company, for decades a prominent development firm and realtor in New York) is mentioned 67 times in the eight articles in the *New York Times*. Its mentions show a neutrally descriptive tone (6.56), but can also include details that contribute to its positive characterisation (6.57):

6 Corpus Analysis

- (6.56) This summer, MetLife put the entire community on the block, with a suggested selling price of \$5 billion, a sum that presumably presages a conversion to luxury co-ops or condos which means that over time, the middle class will be priced out and a unique neighborhood designed for and amenable to working families will cease to be.
- (6.57) The company played a major *civic role in the last century*, building and running vast housing complexes like Parkchester in the Bronx and Riverton in Harlem, as well as Peter Cooper and Stuyvesant Town. Parkchester and Riverton were sold long ago.

As with the representation of the developers Jim Thomas and Moltoni (samples 5.16 and 6.3), the company is attributed a civic role. Thus, even though it is involved by definition in a private role of profit maximisation, it is attributed traits that pertain to public and political representatives. The time specification “in the last century”, also emphasises the positive influence and prestige of the development firm operating through a long period time, namely the time bracket within which historical processes are typically framed.

The samples below show the representation of the successful bidder (6.58, 6.59) and of a city council member (6.60 to 6.62) actively engaged in the preparation of a bid of the tenants:

- (6.58) Tishman Speyer Properties completed the record-setting \$5.4 billion purchase yesterday of Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village.
- (6.59) Although Tishman Speyer is best known in New York for its commercial buildings, rather than residential development, the company has built housing in France, Germany, Brazil and soon, India.

6 Corpus Analysis

- (6.60) Mr. Garodnick, 34, single, and an avowed front-liner in the *generation-in-a-hurry-to-make-its-mark*, *must be forgiven* for behaving as if he owns a piece of this place (and for hoping there is no conflict of interest, City Council-wisely, in his trying to).
- (6.61) His *antidote to MetLife*? Organize the tenants with the help of investors who are likely to include the New York City Central Labor Council and with political clout supplied by a Who is Who of elected officials that includes Senators Hillary Rodham Clinton and Charles E. Schumer to bid on the properties and take control of their housing destiny.
- (6.62) Worst case? Well, he [Mr. Garodnick] *won't hold his breath* on lease-renewal day.

The tone in the representations of the buyer is a neutrally descriptive tone, while that used for city council member is patronising. A few elements convey a derisory attitude towards the council member, resident in one of the two complexes, and (more or less directly) towards the tenants' initiative he is supporting (see items with emphasis in 6.60, 6.61, 6.62). A partial explanation can be his conflict of interests as a city council member and a resident in one of the two complexes. The metaphorical expression “won't hold his breath” in 6.62, the last sentence of the article, reiterates the stance, by hinting at the council man's debatable commitment. Finally, the initiative of the tenants is described in a negative way:

- (6.63) A group of tenants, who have deplored the loss of middle-class housing, tried this week to *disrupt* the sale by Metropolitan Life by asking the city comptroller to investigate whether the insurer had complied with state housing law.

6 Corpus Analysis

The verb choice “disrupt” to refer to their appeal to the city comptroller betrays a perception of their attempt as negative and to an extent irrational, rather than legitimate and civically adequate.

(II) Los Angeles Downtown Redevelopment The second case study concerns the gentrification of some areas in downtown Los Angeles. The news accounts of their transformation are very enthusiastic. Central themes are the new residential and entertainment opportunities after decades in which downtown has functioned as business and financial district and as residence for less affluent social groups⁵. A cover story of the *Los Angeles Times* titled “It’s not just work”, reviews several cafes, bars and restaurants newly opened or renovated. Unlike the articles about the sale and redevelopment of the two Manhattan complexes, here gentrification is overtly mentioned at the beginning of the article. However, the themes that characterise the representation of the phenomenon contribute to a biased discursal construction:

(6.64) Despite its loft-inspired leaps toward gentrification, downtown remains an area of glorious contrast. (LAT) [Full text in 8.5]

The lapidary statement above recapitulates the scene which opens the article, featuring a homeless person being “normally” served a drink (which he can pay for) at The Edison, a former power plant built in 1910, and now a well-attended bar in downtown Los Angeles. The main attitude

⁵This is typical of most cities in the United States, after the “white flight” to the suburbs of the 1940s and 1950 (see section 4.3.1)

6 *Corpus Analysis*

defining the statement is complacency for the state of the things, i.e. for the (social) contrast the scene stands for. The ideas conveyed are that gentrification is “acceptable” and can be inspired by lofty objectives (“loft-inspired leaps towards gentrification”) and that any aspect signalling a partial “achievement” e.g. the remnant of an aspect of the former condition of the area, such as the encounter with the homeless person at the bar, is possibly welcome. However, rather than reflecting the normal co-existence of different social groups in the same (redeveloped) community, the sentence supports a specific discursive construction of gentrification that endorses the perspective of the gentrifier and the promoters of the change in general. Precisely, the sentence can be seen as an example of the dominance of one discourse over another, i.e. of the discourse of the gentrifiers over that of the established communities. The visit of the homeless person in the new bar is “registered” in a way that communicates a positive disposition of the new residents towards the member of the previous community, but rather than being merely described (or ignored), it is fictionalised. The contrast between the former and current downtown is defined as “glorious”. Such lexical choice further indicates that the perspective from which the change is being recounted is that of the new residents, and more relevantly, it is a hyperbolic and misleading lexical choice, since the life (and presence) of homeless people may be precariously adventurous, but not glorious. Furthermore, it construes the encounter between the two groups as a somewhat extraordinary. Thus, the distorted view of the condition of homeless people is instrumental for

6 Corpus Analysis

their acceptance and assimilation in the dominant discourse of the newcomers. To put it differently, the use of the adjective “glorious” suggests that the distance between the gentrifiers and the homeless person is so vast that their encounter needs to be fictionalised.

This type of representation of homeless people however does not supplant the more common one, for which homeless people are depicted as a problem that impinges on issues such as, public safety and hygiene as the following excerpts from a different article show:

- (6.65) Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa and other top city and county leaders have vowed to improve skid row, which has the *largest concentration of homeless people* in the Western U.S. and is also home to a *large drug market*. (LAT)
- (6.66) The sidewalk sweepers came first Tuesday, decked out in red T-shirts that identified them as employees of the Central City East Assn., the business improvement district for the area of downtown Los Angeles that includes skid row. They pushed large brooms, sweeping up *debris, paper* and *metal* in their wake. Then came the hose man, clad from head to toe in bright yellow, who used *high-pressure streams of water* to clean the *dirty sidewalks*, which in some places were *littered* with *feces* and *urine*. Another worker used a vacuum to reclaim *that water*, and the *sludge* that went with it, rather than let it escape into storm drains. (LAT)

The first excerpt deals with homeless people as a problem of serious dimensions: their concentration in the relevant area is specified as the *largest* in Western U.S., and they are associated with a *large* drug market. Both the references to their large number and to the drug market recall the representation of other minorities typically stigmatised in the

6 Corpus Analysis

news discourse, i.e. immigrants and ethnic minorities in general both habitually introduced in reference to their number and in association with episodes of violence and crime (see e.g. van Dijk, 1991). In the second excerpt the question of homeless people is dealt with as a hygiene problem. The pedantic description of the cleaning of the area where they live not only emphasises how homeless people can cause health problems for the public, but it also dehumanises them depicting them as the “object” of society.

We turn again our attention to the representation of the changes in downtown Los Angeles by analysing in greater depth the representation of their promoters. With this regard, the review of the earlier episodes of gentrification in the previous section has shown how one the most famous metaphors associated with gentrification and gentrifiers was based on the image of the frontier and pioneers. Our corpus indicates that the metaphor is obsolete, as it occurs only once as a direct reference to the history of the phenomenon in the AN, namely in the lengthy cover story of the LA Weekly, “Welcome to Gentrification City” where “gentrification” occurs 23 times. In common with the earlier discursual construction remains the cultural explanation of the phenomenon. Thus, gentrifiers are positively represented for their merit of bringing back the beauty and value of buildings and for changing the character of entire urban areas:

(6.67) That *almost artistic attention to detail* sets this generation of entrepreneurs apart from the cavalier L.A. development pack. Many work *within the delicate framework of buildings* that are

6 Corpus Analysis

close to a century old.

- (6.68) Co-owner Michael Leko, the *mastermind* behind L.A.'s Eat Well restaurant chain (he sold the last one in his arsenal to open the *Library Bar*), says that tourists' reactions to downtown provide a *litmus test* for the *health* of the area.
- (6.69) Gilmore praises a number of his competitors, including Elizabeth Peterson, the *brains* behind Industrial Street's new watering hole the Royal Claytons pub.
- (6.70) "It shocked me that the second-largest city in America didn't have a *workable downtown*," Gilmore says. "I wanted to *reintroduce urbanism*." "Tom Gilmore did a really smart thing," Jason71 says. "He got three buildings in the same neighborhood. *Instant community*." (LAT)

In 6.67, the association of the development entrepreneurs with artistic and intellectual intents is explicit with the reference to their "almost artistic attention to detail" and the redundant expression "delicate framework of buildings". Likewise, in 6.68 and 6.69, the appellatives "mastermind" and "brains" emphasise positive traits such as intelligence and ingeniousness. In his reported speech (6.70) the entrepreneur, drawing from the academic register, affirms that he wanted to "reintroduce urbanism". The details of the project provided in the text seemingly aim at shaping a sophisticated image of the various projects (see items with emphasis):

- (6.71) The mostly outdoor venue will have "serious food and a *boutique beer list*," Peterson says.
- (6.72) The Edison is in the basement of the *historic Higgins Building*, with an entrance off the Harlem Place alley on 2nd Street between Main and Spring. "There was this incredible, almost surreal *Jules Verne-esque space* — it was under water and abandoned for

6 Corpus Analysis

20-some years and my imagination went wild," Meieran says. He *preserved a giant boiler — now home to a cozy wine bar — and four ancient generators, displayed behind low-slung chains.*

At the same time, the co-texts (in 6.68, 6.69 and 6.70) show elements that recall a certain type of business talk, e.g. “arsenal” “litmus test” and “health of the area” “workable downtown”. Such representations seem to respond to current urban trends in which culture (or, more precisely, cultural amenities and entertainment) stand out as an “attraction” of the urban space(s), one that nourishes the conceptualisation of cities as commodities, and that participates in making them more desirable and, hence, more competitive in relation to other cities.

The about-page of the website of the bar reviewed in the article uses an analogous discursive strategy. Below a few excerpts of the text therein published are analysed to complement the analysis of the corpus data samples:

“By creating living *history*, Andrew Meieran’s award winning design celebrates *an era* of invention and imagination – the blending of art science and industry. [...] A space that needs to be experienced more than just seen. [...] A blend of the past, present and future, The Edison inspires the romance of such legendary nightspots as the Cocconut Grove and Ciro’s while reminding us that we live in a City of dreams and a time of great invention.”⁶

The oxymoronic hyperbole opening the first sentence (i.e. “by creating living history”) is articulated with the specification of the various components of the project’s design. These are presented in a chiasitic list

⁶<http://www.edisondowntown.com/main.htm>, accessed 10.10.2010

6 Corpus Analysis

which emphasises their contrasting nature and at the same time lets infer the greatness of the project, viz. invention/imagination and art-science/industry. Thus, the description of the bar is based on this ostentatious mix of as significant and diverse fields. The idea is to depict the bar, as a space that will make possible a certain type of urban experience, namely one that is predominantly concerned with lifestyles supporting the consumption of cultural and technological products. The same promotional intent is further reiterated with the reference to former “legendary nightspots” and in particular to the (urban) “*romance*” associated with them, a remark that further signals the interest of *producing* an urban condition based on the values above introduced.

Data from the AN Sub-corpus

The analysis of the discursive construction of gentrification in the AN focuses on the lengthy cover story “Welcome to Gentrification City” of the *LA Weekly*. As it has been pointed out while discussing the frequency of the keyword, 23 of the total 35 occurrences of “gentrification” are concentrated in this text of 8694 words covering several features of the phenomenon by reporting on different gentrification episodes in Los Angeles. Precisely, aspects such as the role of public policy, the most affected social groups, the controversial role of artistic communities as harbingers of gentrification are taken in consideration.

The duality of gentrification, i.e. its being both positive and traumatic

6 Corpus Analysis

for the different groups within the urban demographic, provides the angle from which the text reviews the phenomenon, and unlike the data samples from the MQN sub-corpus, the explanation refers to economic factors (as opposed to cultural one) drawing on the production-based theories of gentrification (see section 4.3.1 in chapter 4).

Given the high concentration of the keyword's occurrences in this lengthy text, the concordance plot can be useful:

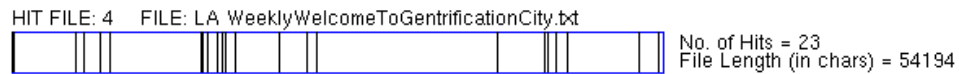


Figure 6.2: Gentrification Concordance Plot

The bigger group of 7 occurrences is located in the text excerpt that uses the weather pattern and flood metaphors to explain gentrification. The same metaphors occur again at the end of the text with the last two occurrences. The use of metaphors of this kind usually exemplify a simplification strategy and favours the discursive construction of events as ineluctable. For instance, economic factors and institutions are often represented as super-partes and hierarchically higher agents, whose dynamics respond to rules that are also depicted as beyond one's control (e.g. Fairclough 1995; Fairclough et al. 2007). However, here the weather and flood metaphors are critically elaborated (see sample 6.75 below), i.e. they reflect, to an extent, a critical stance of the communicator towards some practises of the public discourse associated with urban economic and planning trends. Yet, as the textual analysis will shortly show, the

6 Corpus Analysis

dominant tone used to portray the duality and the controversial nature of the phenomenon is critical to the extent that crucial aspects of how it takes place are explicitly discussed, but is also accepting as far as its understanding as ineluctable is concerned. The data samples below are illustrative of how these themes and attitudes are textured in the text:

- (6.73) Teardowns. Evictions. Investment. Rebirth. And the significance of that new gelato stand. The perils and pleasures of gentrification.
- (6.74) Perhaps the best way to understand gentrification is to view it as something akin to a weather pattern, like a tsunami, a hurricane or a driving rainstorm. [...] The region even has *gentrification microclimates* Hollywood, Pasadena, downtown Los Angeles.
- (6.75) The *economic weather pattern* pushed its way north and northeast, into middle-class neighborhoods like Atwater Village and Eagle Rock. It headed south [...] *Middle-class and even wealthy communities are not immune to gentrification, although residents rarely call it by that name.*
- (6.76) Some neighborhood groups refuse to see gentrification as a *storm system, viewing it instead as something that can be halted, like a bulldozer.* That, however, leaves them sounding somewhat clueless as they demand that the city put a stop to the phenomenon. *Stop it? That's like trying to stop the weather.*

The first sample is the sub-headline of the article, and introduces gentrification by illustrating its duality and controversies. The emphatic listing at the beginning, and the first fragment indicate some of the steps comprised within the process of gentrification, and draw attention to its contrasting effects. The second fragment synthetically restates both issues. Excerpts 6.74, 6.75 and 6.76 show some of the occurrences of the weather

6 *Corpus Analysis*

and natural catastrophe metaphors. In each passage an underlying irony seems to define the use of the metaphors. With this regard see the novel noun-noun compound “gentrification microclimates” in 6.74. In 6.75, the qualification of the gentrification weather pattern as “economic” directly points to the actual nature of the factors that trigger the change and, possibly, to the awareness of the communicator with regard to the strategic use of the weather metaphor. At the same time, the consistency of the co-text in exploiting various themes associated with the metaphors, arguably allows to interpret their occurrence as an auxiliary image used to explain how gentrification takes place. The resulting communicative effects are then to underline the difficulties of having to deal with gentrification, which (as natural catastrophes) produce traumatic changes for the affected communities, but also to validate, though indirectly, the assumption about its ineluctability. The ineluctability theme is evoked through the metaphors but through the reference to the widespread discursal construction of the market as hierarchically higher agent that dictates the state of the things. Particularly in the excerpt in 6.76 the colourful bulldozer metaphor overtly negates and taunts the possibility of stopping gentrification.

The representation of the public officials shows a similar ambivalent attitude supporting both a critical stance and a more accepting disposition towards gentrification. The followings are the reported speeches of public officials included in two contiguous sections of the text that focus on the role of public policy:

6 Corpus Analysis

- (6.77) *It was a blow*, Reyes later recalled. You push hard to create these pockets, these revitalized pockets with improved quality of life, and you pull in people that you *wouldn't expect* would want to live there. *They start coming in, in large numbers*, and they start pushing out the people who've been there for decades.
- (6.78) “Unless you own something, it is difficult to say that *life's circumstances* will always permit you to live in your neighborhood of choice”, said Mercedes Márquez, the housing departments general manager.
- (6.79) Rosendahl responded in early August with perhaps the most dramatic response to gentrification so far. Frustrated by his battle to save Lincoln Place, Rosendahl called for a temporary ban on all condominium conversions throughout his district [...] “We are losing the middle class in the 11th District, and we're not going to tolerate it anymore,” said the councilman, standing just a few feet from cheering Lincoln Place tenants.
- (6.80) I understand the *passions* of all this, said Councilman Jack Weiss, a former prosecutor who lives in Bel Air. But underlying all this are *iron laws* of economics.

The councilman's reported speech in 6.77 communicates a sense of surprise with regard to the effects created by the redevelopment projects (see items with emphasis), and conveys an idea of his involvement that is that of a professional. Noteworthy is the change of the subject in each sentence from “it” to “you” and “they”, which contributes to vaguely represent the agency. The arrival of the new-comers is described as a surprising fact that offsets the original plan; with this regard, the present continuous and the specification of their large number express the sense of powerlessness for the councilman. A similar attitude conveying powerlessness is also expressed in the commentary provided in the text:

6 Corpus Analysis

(6.81) The problem is, neighborhoods in large cities tend to go in only two directions: *up or down*. And no one wants to see a neighborhood decline. But once the *faucet of financial investment* is turned on, and a neighborhood manages to attract a *critical mass of buyers and businesses*, *it can be almost impossible* to turn that faucet off.

In 6.81, the first part points to the unsolvability of the problem, thus alluding to the inevitable character of gentrification. Gentrification is associated with the neighbourhoods that “go up”. The metaphorical expression based on the orientational metaphor UP IS GOOD contributes to positively characterise gentrification, which stands for the “up” moment of a neighborhood transformation (Lakoff and Johnson 2003). This is also confirmed by the conciliatory tone of the sentence: “And no one wants to see a neighborhood decline”. In the second part of the excerpt, the influx of capital that triggers gentrification is rendered through an oxymoronic image, i.e. the mechanic gesture of turning on and off a faucet is portrayed as something impossible to control, which arguably deflects the significance of the influx of capital in triggering gentrification. In the same sentence, drawing from the academic register, the arrival of the newcomers is described as the formation of a “critical mass” of buyers and business, a condition which is presented as enabled from within the same neighbourhood and which, unlike the former, is rendered with a serious attitude.

The sample in 6.78 illustrates another aspect that makes gentrification a phenomenon of social injustice, namely the more precarious position

6 *Corpus Analysis*

of renters compared to that of property owners. It is of interest to note how the manager of the housing department refers to unpredictable “life circumstances” as the possible causes that impede renters to live in the neighbourhood of choice. In this sense her speech recalls that of councilman Reyes (6.77), who also does not give a technically relevant opinion on the subject matter. The excerpt in 6.79 is about a councilman’s decision to ban the condominium conversions from his district. In his reported speech the councilman rhetorically states his commitment not to loose more middle-class members in his district; note the use of the plural pronoun in “we are loosing the middle class in the 11th District ” to identify himself with the community and the emphatic statement “we are not going to tolerate it anymore”. The text comments on the efficacy of the initiative, defined “the most dramatic response to gentrification so far”. In 6.80, another councilman commenting on the colleague’s initiative to ban condo conversions, remarks the necessity of complying with the “iron laws of economics” verbatim (such compliance presumably justifies the condominium conversions). Note his negative evaluation of the reaction of the housing advocates, referred to as “passions”, in contrast with the rationality, usually perceived as more adequate and acceptable, of the laws of economics.

Finally, with a critical yet resigned tone the conclusive paragraph of the cover story underlines how gentrification has a “sweet spot”, i.e. a initial/intermediate positive phase within which the established communities benefit from the changes, but whose brevity and transitoriness are

6 Corpus Analysis

ineluctable:

(6.82) The event reinforced a *truism* long understood by the city's political leaders: Residents across South Los Angeles are starving for *swankier* businesses, from coffeehouses to sit-down restaurants.

(6.83) Perhaps Anderson *is experiencing* the *sweet spot for gentrification* when things slowly start to get better, but *haven't gotten out of control*. To live in a neighborhood that is showing promise, making itself better planting trees, fixing up houses, maybe even building a rail line can be exciting. But in Los Angeles, at the turn of the 21st century, you can't freeze that moment in time. Whatever appears today could soon be gone, washed away by the *deluge*.

In 6.82, the changes taking place in the community are positively evaluated, namely they are characterised as a self-explanatory fact and as something desired by the same communities. It is noteworthy how the qualification of the changes in question, i.e. the opening of “swankier” new businesses and amenities, reflects a critical stance of the communicator towards the discourse associated with gentrification, which as in the samples earlier analysed (6.74, 6.75) has ambivalent communicative effects. On the one hand, gentrification as well as the signs that announce its coming are depicted as an internal necessity of the community (rather than as the result of the completion of a redevelopment project), on the other, their manifestation is critically evaluated as a non (fully) genuine improvement for the existing community, due to the to increase of property value that normally causes its displacement. The negative connotation of the adjective “swanky” points lets infer how the new amenities and services for more affluent social groups are not necessarily a sustainable

improvement for the established community.

6.4 Change

The analysis of the occurrences of “change(s)” provides the opportunity to complement the analysis of the representation of gentrification and of the impact of urban planning and development in general.

Data from the MQN Sub-corpus

The list below shows the modifiers attributed to “changes” in the MQN:

<DRAMATIC, PROFOUND, DRASTIC, BROADER, GREAT, SUBCONSCIOUS>

Except for “subconscious”, all modifiers are collocates of “change(s)” and have a positive connotation. Adjectives like “drastic”, “dramatic” and “profound” have undergone a process of delexicalisation, further accentuated by their frequent co-occurrence with “change” (Sinclair 2004). Thus, the context of occurrence is particularly influential to determine their connotation. In the two excerpts below, the delexicalised meaning of the expression “dramatic changes” recalls the register of advertisement:

(6.84) American Eagle Outfitters is now experimenting with a *dramatic wooden wall* entrance in its new Martin & Osa chain lifestyle.

(6.85) He’s [an Atlanta based Architect and chairman of Institute of store Planners] also glad to see the *growth* of the new *lifestyle*

6 Corpus Analysis

centers that emulate old town centers, such as The Waterfront in Homestead, or with a mix of retail, office and residential like The South Side Works. The creators of a signature lifestyle project near Columbus, Ohio, have built structures that can allow new users to *make dramatic changes*. (PPG)

Both occurrences of the expression “dramatic changes” denote positively impressive changes. In 6.84 the meaning of the expression also allude to the extravagance of the changes; while in 6.85 “dramatic” stands for “significant, revolutionary” and conveys those positive meanings that radical changes have when they produce a completely new state of things which is perceived as an improvement. In this case, the dramatic changes concern the transformation of urban areas through the radical renewal of their architecture and its original functions. The main idea is that the re-designing of the urban space to suit specific lifestyles is to be praised. The process of change is positively described as “the *growth* of new *lifestyle centers*”, and the professional figures involved are referred to as “the *creators* of a signature *lifestyle project*”. In both expressions “growth” and “creators” are arguably marked lexical choices respectively preferred to the more neutral “development/realisation” and “developers/producers”. Both excerpts convey an enthusiastic attitude towards the changes which rules out another (wider) perspective that may also include the sceptical and/or contrary views of those members of the communities who do not share the same enthusiasm for the changes and may fear their consequences.

6 Corpus Analysis

The excerpt below echoes elements that align with the representation of “gentrification” in the MQN discussed earlier:

(6.86) The new homes of Mar Vista represent *broader changes* aesthetic, demographic and cultural. (LAT)

The excerpt is from the article “Marvel or Monster” from the *Los Angeles Times* covering the redevelopment of Mar Vista, a district on the West Side of Los Angeles. Both culture and aesthetics are associated with the residential redevelopment in Mar Vista. The reference to the demographic is arguably to increase the sense of factuality in relation to the broad changes taking place, and to allude to their ineluctability, as demographic change can be construed as a fact that lies beyond one’s control. The juxtaposition of events and processes of a micro-scale (such as residential redevelopment) with others that are macro-scale (as cultural and aesthetic changes) can be seen as a way to justify the former, i.e. grant their occurrence an sense of necessity. The changes of the urban area result then as a necessary development of the manifestation of more complex and greater cultural processes, whose occurrence is unquestionable and is mostly perceived as spontaneous.

The title and the lead paragraph betray the same bias. The title “Marvel or Monster” summarises the two contrasting views of the changes. However, while “marvel” is a plausible lexical choice that descriptively reflect the stance of the promoters of the redevelopment, “monster” is a figurative and hyperbolic lexical choice, which, more importantly, does

6 Corpus Analysis

not convey the same sense of plausibility in relation to the stance of the critics of the changes. The lead paragraph of the article is reported below:

(6.87) The hyper-architectural redos in Mar Vista have some residents *scratching their heads* and *squawking their contempt*. The debate is about views, privacy, taste and the *right to build a dream home* neighbors be damned.

The descriptions of the two parties significantly diverge. The residents who are not renewing their houses and who are criticising the changes taking place in the area stand out as undiscerning (see the expressions “scratching their heads” and “squawking their contempt”). The stance of the residents that are carrying out the “hyper-architectural redos” (which include new and former residents) is presented as a fair and universally valid expectation i.e “right to build a dream home”. The excerpt below tells of the owner of one of the renewed houses of Mar Vista, which obtained an architectural prize:

(6.88) The story of the Coconut House [the award winning house, dubbed Coconut by its designers] begins with its owner, Brenda Bergman, 57. She arrived in L.A. from Ohio, fresh from high school and recently married. The union was brief, but her love for L.A. endured. She found work in the escrow business and saved to buy her first house. In 1976 she discovered Mar Vista, its balmy ocean breezes and its lack of pretentiousness. [...] She *saved money from each paycheck*. [...] "She was such a *hard-working person, nothing pretentious* about her," Lee recalls. "And her motives were so pure. She never once mentioned real estate values or future profits. She just wanted someplace wonderful to live her life."

6 Corpus Analysis

The “self-made” person rhetoric used to introduce the owner of the house conveys the idea that she “deserves” her renewed house. While this can be a fair account of the story, its placement in the article arguably produces a bias. Namely, the emphatic detailed account of the owner’s efforts to work hard and save money “from each paycheck” and carry out the project in spite of the difficulties arisen in the process, although indirectly, delegitimizes the critiques of the other residents, which are concerned with the changes in the entire neighborhood.

The samples below further the analysis of the theme of ineluctability associated with the changing urban areas:

- (6.89) It’s so quiet here that you cannot miss the distant sound of hammers. The rat-a-tat echoing along 6th and 7th streets is the *sound of change* for central San Pedro, a low-rise pedestrian-scale business district shot through with random approaches to architecture some interesting, some boarded up, *much of it beset with a tired feel of yesterday*. The *hammering* tells of the coming of condos and perhaps the whole familiar package of redevelopment that has *transformed* so much of Southern California. *For San Pedro, this is the sound of hope and of uncertainty.* (LAT)
- (6.90) For years, her expressionistic paintings of place and landscape portrayed this nearby world. But the catastrophe of Hurricane Katrina reshaped her thinking just as surely as 9/11 did Siegel’s. Her suspenseful paintings now evoke a city she has never been to, New Orleans.” When she brings her mind back home, *the changes are unavoidable*. Ten years ago, she would advise beginning artists to set up their first studios in San Pedro. But with redevelopment prospects driving up rents, she said, “they’re going to Wilmington.”

6 *Corpus Analysis*

In 6.89 the representation of the change exploits the positively perceived themes of progress and innovation, here correlated with social values such as industriousness and commitment. By contrast, the metaphorical description of the current state of the buildings in the relevant city area emphasises a sense of desolation (“beset”, “tired feel of yesterday”). The change in act is rendered through expressions such as “the sound of change” and “hammering”. The former is an evocative image (compare e.g. “noise of the construction works”) which can be seen as strategic. It contributes to exploit the figurative meaning of the following “hammering” which can refer to “repeated efforts”, and is often used to communicate commitment and thoroughness (e.g. of an undertaking). The impact of redevelopment and of the changes that it produces (e.g. the displacement of the established communities) are not mentioned. Note the omission of the forth argument of the verb “transformed”. The controversial nature of redevelopment is partly acknowledged with the reference to the “uncertainty” it entails. However “uncertainty” is coordinated with “hope” which, as the introductory expression “sound (of change)”, has a more positive meaning. Finally, later in the text (excerpt 6.90) the changes are explicitly defined as “unavoidable”. Noteworthy in this excerpt are the mentions of the tragic events of 9/11 and hurricane Katrina. Contentwise they are irrelevant details of the artists’ stories and seem to be sensationally tied to their opinions about the transformation of the urban area.

Data from the AN sub-corpus

As with the previous group of data, the analysis concentrates first on the modifiers attributed to the “change(s) in the AN:

CHANGES <DRAMATIC, POSITIVE, SWEEPING>

Unlike the occurrences in the MQN, the expression “dramatic changes” in the excerpt below conveys the literal meaning of “dramatic”, and the co-text provides several informative details circa the changes in question, including their causes and recipients:

(6.91) Welcome to Gentrification City, where an overheated real estate market is dramatically reshaping neighborhood after neighborhood, where no one from Salvadoran immigrants living in tenements to homeowners in affluent coastal neighborhoods is being spared by the *dramatic changes* wrought by a condo-fueled, property-mad economy. Tenants are appalled by rising rents, fearing the day their buildings could be demolished or cleaned out for a new class of buyer.

The following schematic summary of the excerpt helps to discern the cohesiveness of its makeup:

Causes: overheated real estate market; rising rents; condo-fueled property-mad economy;

Change: dramatic changes; dramatically reshaping; demolished; cleaned out;

Recipients: neighborhood after neighborhood; Salvadoran immigrants; homeowners in affluent coastal neighborhoods; tenants.

6 Corpus Analysis

The cohesiveness of the co-text contributes to the straightforward representation of the changes as impactful for the urban residents. With this regard, both the lexical various choices denoting change and its causes explicitly point to the controversial nature of gentrification without mitigating. Also in the two samples below change is discussed from the perspective of the established community:

(6.92) 1. Ornamental grasses. Nothing sends a message to a community that *change is brewing* like Xeriscape, the drought-tolerant landscaping that surrounds a newly renovated, newly occupied home.

(6.93) 2. And though he talked gamely about *adapting to change*, Matranga clearly misses the smaller houses.

“Brewing”, when used metaphorically as in 6.92, has a negative semantic prosody. It regularly co-occurs with negative processes or events such as “crisis”, “discontent”, “problem”, “trouble” and it has an implied meaning of “furtiveness” which participates in the representation of the change of the urban area as unfavourable for the local communities. With this regard, the introductory sentence “nothing sends a message to a community” hints at how the change is not mediated, i.e. it is not planned and discussed with the affected communities, which have to discern the signs of its occurrence. In 6.93 the verb “misses” introduces the theme of “loss” caused by the change. The excerpt below contains the indirect and direct reported speech of the founding partner of the development firm involved in the project under consideration:

6 Corpus Analysis

(6.94) Wollman [head of the real estate think tank at the Baruch College, former advisor of city officials on city's zoning and one of the founding partners of the development firm] says the Quadriad development will merely (1) *reflect those changes, not cause them.* 'The sense of disparity of scale between what we proposed and what is there now is something that will not be true in 10 years,' he says. "You are going to have on the waterfront thousands of units built that will include some affordable housing but will (2) *change* the nature of the neighborhood. That is going to reflect an (3) *inevitable change* of market position." (VV)

The first occurrence of "changes" in the indirect reported speech of the developer refers to how the changes in act in the relevant city area are not to be ascribed to urban development. The changes are responsible for the transformation of Williamsburg (a neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York) from an industrial/manufacture zone into a residential area. The difficulties for firms to stay in Williamsburg are new, since for a long time they were offered favourable financing through Industrial Development Revenue Bonds. The second occurrence introduces the effects of the changes, that is to say "the change of the nature of the neighborhood". With this regard, the developer points out that the phase in which the changing character of the area will be more evident is a transitory phase, thus construing the recursiveness of the process as an unquestionable fact. In other words, this redevelopment project will be followed by others, fact which will eliminate the "sense of disparity" between the pre- and post- redevelopment identity of the area. The third occurrence is in the conclusive passage of the reported speech and refers to the role of the "market" as a super-partes agent appealed to as an unquestionable source of power and

6 Corpus Analysis

truth, and whose functioning determines the state of the things. Note the pleonastic expression “change of market position” which conveys a sense of competence of the developer, who, as a result, stands out as particularly versed in finance, and therefore more trustworthy. Thus, this conclusive passage reiterates the initial observation that development reflects the changes taking place in the urban area, rather than cause them. Such stance is critically addressed in the article with a remark that refutes the inevitability of the new zoning laws:

(6.95) But not necessarily the zoning laws: Changing those isn't *inevitable*; it takes a deliberate step. (VV)

This remark counters the developer's stance but, in line with the samples previously analysed (6.74, 6.75), it also signals the communicator's awareness of the discursive practises that are associated with the promoters of urban planning and development and their fields of action.

Summary

The analysis of the occurrences of “planning”, “city”, “gentrification” and “change” has yielded results supportive of the findings gathered with the pilot analysis in chapter 5, both with regard to the promotional intent characterising the discursual construction of urban planning and development projects, and the divergence between the two sub-corpora in relation to this discursive practise and the account of the social impact of

6 Corpus Analysis

the urban processes.

The analysis of “planning” has shown how the field and its professionals tend to be positively represented in the MQN sub-corpus. Planning is often cited as an attractive feature of the project. Planning professionals, as the systematic use of titles and honorifics and other structural properties of the appositional phrases have shown, are associated with values such as trustworthiness and titleness (6.1, 6.2 and 6.13). By contrast, the AN tend to produce critical evaluations of the field, which can also reflect values such as diffidence towards the field and its professionals (6.4, 6.6 and 6.17, 6.18, 6.19).

The occurrences of “city” in the MQN sub-corpus exemplify the strategic exploitation of the overlap of the two sub-meanings, i.e. the “citizenry” and the “municipal government”. This overlap contributes to the vague representation of agency, and enables rhetorical appeals to the city, understood as the public interest and the collectivity. Recurrent themes in the representations of the city are modernity (6.25, 6.27) and innovation (6.23, 6.24), which often support interdiscursive relations with the academic and economic discourses. The representations of the municipal governments in the AN are characterised by themes such as antagonism and distrust. Several excerpts contain instances of the metaphor “the city is an enemy”; while in others, a more subtle discursive practise reflects the separation of the citizenry and the city government in two “us” and “them” groups. Such discursive construction proves the orientation of the AN to be more expressive of the perspective of those social groups which

6 Corpus Analysis

deal with urban planning and development with feelings of scepticism or fear, due to the drastic changes these produce which often lead to their displacement.

The review of earlier episodes of gentrification today still considered emblematic of the establishment of the phenomenon, and in particular their coverage in the news, have provided the basis for the analysis of the corpus data. Episodes such as those that led to the transformation of *Losaida* in the present-day Lower East Side, and the redevelopment of Tompkins Square Park in New York were accounted by the news as events that symbolised a sort of cultural movement. Their protagonists were favourably portrayed as cultural promoters, whose merits brought back the charm and beauty of period architecture and upgraded the tenor of life in several neighbourhoods. These early accounts of gentrification drew on consumption-based theories of gentrification, and omitted to deal with the economic nature of the phenomenon, and to document its impact on the established communities. Specific elements of these news accounts, such as the frontier and pioneer metaphors betrayed this bias. The metaphor entailed the inferiority and worthlessness of the urban areas, and *rationalised* their transformation in affluent neighbourhoods. The analysis of the advertorial of the *Real Estate Board of New York* published in *The New York Times* in 1985 has provided a synthetic account on how the highly controversial nature of the phenomenon was widely perceived and dealt with. The editorial emphasises the emotional component of the controversies triggered by gentrification, and by attempting an answer

6 Corpus Analysis

to the rhetorical question “is gentrification a dirty word?”, it construes the positive effects of gentrification as common and legitimate dreams and ambitions of urban residents, and sets the representation of its negative effects for less affluent communities on the level of perception and possibility, thus characterising them as not substantial.

The low frequency and uneven distribution of the occurrences of “gentrification” in the corpus have proved insightful of its current representation in the news discourse. It has been argued that the sporadic occurrence of the word exemplifies a mitigation strategy of the discourse, which aligns with the promotional intent singled out in the representations of urban planning and (re-)development projects. The analysis of the MQN concentrates on the coverage of two gentrification episodes in New York and Los Angeles, while the cover story “Welcome to gentrification city” is the focus of the analysis for the AN sub-corpus. The case of gentrification in New York concerns the sale and redevelopment of two Manhattan complexes, Stuyvesant and Peter Cooper Village built after World War II for the war veterans which since then has become a lower- and middle-class enclave. In the eight articles of the *The New York Times* that deal with the plan, “gentrification” does not occur once. By contrast, an article in the *Los Angeles Times* that covers the same plan mentions gentrification in the headline. Thus, the absence of any reference to gentrification in the eight *New York Times*’ articles can be seen as indicative of the strategic avoidance of the term. Also the representation of the actors, reflects the same bias in that the promoters of the sale and redevelopment are

6 *Corpus Analysis*

depicted with neutral and/or positive tones, while members of groups supporting the residents and their bid for the purchase of the complexes, are referred to with a patronising tone (6.3.2).

The second episode is about the gentrification of several areas in downtown Los Angeles. The analysis has evidenced how the accounts deal enthusiastically with the transformation of the area's entertainment and residential opportunities (samples 6.67, 6.68). As in the news coverage of the early episodes of gentrification, a frequent theme is that of the cultural significance of the changes. The entrepreneurs promoting the transformation of the area by redeveloping a former industrial plant and renewing older bars are characterised as artistically and intellectually committed to their activities. The gentrification of downtown Los Angeles touches on the question of homeless people, as well. The encounter of the newcomers with the homeless display two types of representations. One associates homelessness with crime and hygiene issues (samples 6.65, 6.66). The other suggests a complacent disposition of the affluent newcomers towards the member of the previous community, the homeless person. However a fictionalised interpretation of their encounter seems instrumental for the acceptance and assimilation of the homeless person in the dominant discourse of the newcomers (6.64).

The representations of gentrification in the AN emphasise its duality and controversial nature. AN are critical to the extent that crucial features of gentrification are explicitly discussed, but also accepting, as far as its understanding as ineluctable is concerned (6.73, 6.77, 6.81). In gen-

6 *Corpus Analysis*

eral, the perspective adopted reflects the experience of the communities who have to deal with the negative impact of the phenomenon. This is further confirmed by the analysis of the representations of “change(s)” (6.91, 6.92, 6.93). By contrast, the data from the MQN sub-corpus show an enthusiastic attitude towards the changing neighbourhoods and communities, and, as with the representation of gentrification, stress their cultural significance as well as their influence to favour specific urban lifestyles (6.86, 6.88, 6.89).

7 Conclusion

The MQN and AN sub-corpora have yielded partly comparable and partly divergent results with respect to the discursual construction of the processes of urban planning and development and the representation of their social impact. The data from the MQN sub-corpus have confirmed the hypothesis concerning the promotional intent embedded in the representations. AN have proved to be more critical of urban planning and development projects, yet their representations do not reject the discursive theme of ineluctability outright and as a result, the news discourse of urban planning and development can be said to reflect the mitigation of the controversies and the competing claims that separate the different groups of stakeholders.

The MQN tend to favourably represent planning and (re-)development projects, drawing on themes such as innovation and future, and the pressures deriving from the market and the economy. Both sets of themes are integrated in the texts through interdiscursive relations, which shape their understanding as super-partes influential agents responding to, and producing, unquestionable and ineluctable mechanisms and defining factors

7 Conclusion

of the processes. With this regard, the analysis has shown how the exploitation of the meaning potential of “development”, “growth” and “city” is instrumental to shape such discursual constructions. Precisely, the positive connotation of the core meanings of “development” and “growth”, both denoting abstract and gradual processes of improvement, is exploited for the characterisation of the projects as desirable (5.2.1, 5.2.4, 5.3). While, in the case of the occurrences of “city”, the overlap of the two sub-meanings denoting the “municipal government” and the “citizenry” is strategically exploited (6.2) to diffuse the actors’ responsibilities and emphatically appeal to the city, understood as the public interest.

The representations of the main groups of actors betray the asymmetry of their roles and fields of action. The analysis of the appositional phrases, introducing their direct and indirect reported speeches, has shown that while developers and planners are attributed positive social values such as esteem for their professional achievements (5.13, 5.16), titleness and trustworthiness (6.1.2), the members of community development advocacy groups and the residents in general, are attributed minor relevance. Their opinions are not covered in the initial parts of the texts, nor are their names systematically mentioned and associated with titles and honorifics (5.2.5). Developers tend to be characterised as particularly humane and acting in the public interest; they are depicted as civic leaders and their projects as altruistic undertakings (6.3, 6.57). Such themes directly contrast with the representations of the municipal governments drawing on corporate discourses (6.14 in 6.1.2).

7 Conclusion

The accounts of the AN tend to be more critical of planning and development projects. The themes associated with the representation of urban growth and redevelopment point to their different stances. The analysis of “redevelopment” has indicated how this tends to be discussed as a cause of hostile changes for the community, thus supporting our analysis of the different connotation of “development” compared with “redevelopment”, for which the latter, being more directly contextualised, prevents the exploitation of the meaning potential. This has been reckoned to explain the lower frequency of “redevelopment” in the MQN sub-corpus, where it exclusively occurs to denote the “construction site” (5.2.3). The results gathered with the analysis of the occurrences of “growth” and the related “smart growth”, also point to discordant representations in the two sub-corpora. In the MQN newspapers, the occurrences of “growth” share several traits in common with those of “development” (particularly with respect to the practise of exploitation of meaning potential), and their discursal constructions as unquestionable, complement each other; “smart growth” is systematically referred to as a positive feature of the projects to increase their desirability (5.35, 5.36, 5.37 in 5.3.1). By contrast, the representations of “growth” in the AN reflect a critical stance with respect to its characterisation as the unquestionable factor regulating planning and development trends (5.33, 5.34). Such critical stance emerges more straightforwardly from the analysis of “smart growth”, mentioned in the context of discussions circa the defining aspects of the urban movement (5.39, 5.40, 5.41 in 5.3.1).

7 Conclusion

The analysis of the occurrences of “city” has pointed to a greater divergence between the two sub-corpora, particularly in relation to the sub-meaning denoting the municipal government. As anticipated above, in the MQN sub-corpus several occurrences of “city” are instances of the discursive practise of exploitation of meaning potential. The practise is instrumental to diffuse agency, but also to reproduce emphatic references and appeals to the city, understood as the collectivity and the public interest. This has been considered as a further realisation of the overall promotional strategy characterising the news discourse of urban planning and development (6.22, 6.23, 6.24 in 6.2). The underlying assumptions in the various discourse samples taken in consideration, validate the insights gathered with the interdisciplinary research with regard to the conceptualisation of cities as commodities competing against each other (6.14, 6.25, 6.27). By contrast, in the AN several occurrences of “city” produce different elaborations of the metaphor “the city is an enemy”, which expresses the antagonistic and sceptical perception of the municipal governments and of their planning departments from the perspective of the urban communities (6.37, 6.38, 6.39). Other instances, instead construe the inter-relations between the two parties, i.e. the citizens and the public officials, as based on distrust and on a clear-cut distinction of their expectations as far as the welfare of the communities is concerned. Such attitudes are conveyed through the discursive construction of an “us-” and “them-group”, respectively referring to the citizens and the public officials (6.40, 6.41, 6.42).

7 Conclusion

Finally, the analysis of the discursual construction of gentrification has allowed to examine more directly how the discourse sampled in our corpus accounts for the social impact of the urban processes. In this case, the divergence between the two sub-corpora has resulted less pronounced, though several defining elements of the respective representations are based on different social values. The review of early emblematic episodes of gentrification and the analysis of an editorial advert of the *New York Real Estate Board* published in the *New York Times* in 1985, have provided a basis for the analysis of the corpus data. The explanation adopted by the news discourse for the early episodes of gentrification drew on consumption theories of gentrification. Thus, gentrification was explained as the constructive initiative of a rather homogeneous social group, including artists and highly-educated young professionals, who were referred to as “pioneers”. This metaphor implied the inferiority and worthlessness of the urban areas prior their arrival, and implied the rationalisation of the transformation of modest working-class neighbourhoods in affluent ones. Likewise, the editorial advert describes the positive changes brought by gentrification as the realisation of common and legitimate family needs, while their negative impact affecting less affluent social groups, as insubstantial fears and threats (6.3.1). The apologetic intent of the text to “redefine” the phenomenon including the negative connotation of the word, which the text rhetorically refers to as a “dirty word”, has pointed out the controversial nature of gentrification since its early development, and has been insightful to account for the low frequency of occurrence of

7 Conclusion

the word in our specialised corpus.

Gentrification occurs sporadically in the MQN sub-corpus, while the occurrences in the AN are mostly concentrated in one text. The themes and explanations used in the MQN texts echo its early representations as a cultural phenomenon. The commodification of the city as well as specific views of urban lifestyles are embedded in the texts to explain the phenomenon (6.51, 6.64, 6.67, 6.69 in 6.3.2). The impact on non affluent urban communities is not the focal point of news texts dealing with (re-)development projects. Homeless people, for instance, when not discussed as a public safety and hygiene problem (6.65, 6.66), are subjects of fictionalised accounts of their own way of living. It has been argued, that such fictionalised account of homeless people is to normalize their presence (in gentrifying areas) and facilitate their assimilation in the dominant discourse of gentrifiers and more broadly of discourses 1 and 2 as outlined in the model for the order of discourses of urban planning and development in the fifth chapter. Comparable results have been gathered with the analysis of the occurrences of “change”. The texts show an enthusiastic attitude towards changing neighborhoods, and, how these accommodate affluent urban lifestyles. In addition, as in the case of gentrification, such changes are explained as the manifestation of culturally significant trends (6.86, 6.88, 6.89).

The accounts in the AN endorse a perspective more sympathetic to those groups of residents who feel threatened by the changes taking place in their communities (6.91, 6.92, 6.93). Likewise, the representations of

7 Conclusion

gentrification emphasise its duality, i.e. its being positive for certain social groups within the urban demographic, and traumatic for others. Unlike MQN, they refer to production-theories of gentrification to explain the phenomenon (6.73, 6.75, 6.81). However, although the representations critically discuss relevant aspects of how gentrification takes place, they do not reject its understanding as ineluctable outright (6.76, 6.82). The reported speeches of the planning professionals entail such view, particularly their references to issues such as the greater stability granted by property ownership and the role of market and other economic aspects, rationalise the phenomenon and its negative impact on the established communities (6.78, 6.80). In addition, the critical elaboration of (discursive) metaphors, such as the “weather patterns” and “natural catastrophe” metaphors (see the expression “the economic weather patterns” in 6.75) reflects a certain discourse awareness, i.e. the awareness of other discursive practises produced within related discourses. The critical elaboration of discursive practises, unlike interdiscursive relations, can, arguably, contribute to make manifest the bias and ideological stance of discursive practises. However, the instances gathered in our corpus (particularly in samples 6.75, 6.74) may function in an ambivalent way. On the one hand, they may object the established biased representations, on the other they may further reiterate them. This may be a suggestion for future research, which would investigate the distribution of such practises in the world of communication media, their socially constitutive capacity and whether can be discourse emancipatory or not.

7 Conclusion

The integration of quantitative and qualitative methods of research has proved to effectively serve the objectives of the study. The design of the corpus, a small special-purpose corpus including two different sub-corpora, and the use of the text analysis software have optimized the application of quantitative research tools for doing critical discourse analysis. Likewise the knowledge gathered with the interdisciplinary research has supported the completion of the immanent and socio-diagnostic critiques, and has allowed to purposefully address aspects such as the conventional understanding of urban planning as a progressive field of theory and practise and the explanation embedded in the news discourse to account for the phenomenon of gentrification (moving from the review of production- and consumption-based theories of gentrification).

The different functionalities of the texts analysis software (including concordancer, wordlists, file view functions, collocates) have enabled the amenable access the desired data portions and analyse, each time anew, the different contexts of occurrence of the keywords. This has resulted in a vast array of categories of analysis from the lexical, syntactical and argumetative dimensions of discourse. A more comprehensive analysis of the discourse of urban planning and development in a follow-up study would not necessarily rely on a larger corpus then, but rather on a more varied data set, which would also be advantageous for triangulation. Such data set could include inter alia texts from more news outlets, the annual reports of development firms and advertising materials of urban destinations.

7 Conclusion

To conclude, to assess the discursiveness of a practise, i.e. its capacity to shape the discourse in which it occurs and, hence, the perspective from which such discourse signifies the topic it is concerned with, is not straightforward. Counting the instances and realisations of each practise in the corpus while it can partially address the issue and, to an extent, validate the analysis, it still creates a problem of “discourse data quantification,” a concern for CDA as well as other (non critical) approaches to discourse (see e.g. Schegloff 1993). For instance, in our corpus the exploitation of the lexical meaning potential has various realisations which make the grouping of identical instances (as this facilitates counting and statistical description), not an amenable task. More relevantly, such approach does not solve the relevant question of how to deal with the significance of sporadic and singular occurrences. Also, if observing the effects of systematic and repeated use can offer insights into various aspects of a linguistic system, it does not exhaustively explain *why* they occur. This is crucial for CDA in accordance with the hermeneutic tradition in which the field is placed. An insight for the assessment of the discursiveness of a practise can be extrapolated from Foucault’s definition of discourse (1972) as a body of knowledge, i.e. as the set of conditions which permeate the social and historical spheres and that is “responsible” for the creation of the imageries and ways of conceiving of the topics discourse concerns itself with. Thus, a discursive practise is not a discrete entity (Foucault speaks of “discursive formations”), even though it is a component of discourse:

7 Conclusion

[The individualisation of a discourse] ... such an analysis would not try to isolate small islands of coherence in order to describe their internal structure. It would describe systems of dispersion ... discover whether, between these elements, which certainly are not organised as a progressively deductive structure, nor as an enormous book that is being gradually and continuously written, nor as the oeuvre of a collective subject, one cannot discern a regularity: an order in their successive appearance, correlations in their simultaneity, assignable positions in a common space, a reciprocal functioning, linked and hierarchised transformations (Foucault 1972: 37).

Moving from here, what is of interest is to single out the defining properties of the discursive practises, explain how they can possibly support specific social meanings and the configuration of the pertinent social orders, and paraphrasing Foucault, account for its ability to occur.

8 Appendix

8.1 Developer thinks big to keep pace with growth Jim Thomas is leading a massive proposal for Universal City, a plan that could serve expanding real estate needs

Los Angeles Times Business News, by Roger Vincent, December 2006

Jim Thomas is one of Southern California's most influential developers and civic leaders, helping to build some of the region's most recognizable skyscrapers and co-leading the launch of the ambitious Grand Avenue project in downtown Los Angeles. Yet he has remained largely unknown. Now, Los Angeles County's latest large-scale real estate project, a proposed \$3-billion addition to Universal City, has thrust Thomas into the spotlight. Thomas' company, Thomas Properties Group, is the key developer in a team looking for city approval to add nearly 3,000 residences,

8 Appendix

two large office buildings and numerous other structures, including stores and movie production facilities. The project at the nation's largest movie studio lot will be a crucial test of increasingly popular urban planning theories that Thomas champions, calling for dense development around mass transit and using ecologically friendly building methods.

Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa called the Universal proposal "a transformative project, a city-making project" that should be "the epicenter of smart growth in the 21st century." Thomas is expected to play a crucial role in building support for the massive development that proponents hope will serve as an example of effective growth to serve the city's expanding housing and business needs. By building housing close to offices, cutting a new street through the studio's back lot and improving nearby streets, supporters hope to minimize its effect on the surrounding community.

But many neighbors are aghast at the scope of the Universal proposal, alarmed about the potential effect on traffic of such a large project. Thomas, 70, shares their sense of fear about what is happening on local roadways. Traffic congestion, he says, is going to jump out in the years ahead as the No. 1 issue people want their politicians to address as the region's roads grow ever more unbearable. He even predicts that on a not-too-distant day, an accident or incident on the Westside is going to cause true gridlock, in which cars won't be able to move. Frustrated drivers will give up and abandon their vehicles. "I wanted to be the first one to call it," he joked.

8 Appendix

But stopping all development is not an option, Thomas said. With more than 100,000 people coming to Los Angeles County every year, growth is an unstoppable force that must be addressed with big measures such as the Universal project, Thomas said. "This isn't something you can fine-tune," said Thomas, president of his namesake company. Such bold and decisive approaches have become a trademark for Thomas, who has emerged in recent years as a business and civic leader with a reputation for taking on tough, big-scale projects that change Los Angeles. Universal Studios President Ron Meyer said he wanted Thomas to handle the office portion of the project because Thomas had a reputation for completing big tasks. "He is just such a solid guy that you feel very comfortable being in his hands," Meyer said. To avoid traffic himself, Thomas leaves his Brentwood home at around 6 a.m., when roads are mostly clear, for his trip to company headquarters downtown. He had a driver for a while but found the personal service to be "a nuisance," he said. "Jim is a Warren Buffett-type," said Stan Ross, chairman of the Lusk Center for Real Estate at USC. "He's fiscally conscious, family oriented and he's not overly aggressive with people." The comparison with the folksy Nebraska billionaire is a measure of how far Thomas has come since he was born in 1936 in Pembroke, the North Carolina hometown of the Lumbee Indian tribe. Thomas was the oldest of three children. When Thomas was in high school, the Native American family moved to Cleveland, where his father found a factory job. Thomas briefly returned to North Carolina on a basketball scholarship to Catawba College.

8 Appendix

After just a year, Thomas had to return to Cleveland to help care for his ailing father. "Jim really pulled himself up by the bootstraps," said longtime business partner Ned Fox, president of Vantage Investment Properties. "He's been highly motivated" to succeed. Thomas went back to school in Cleveland and went on to become a federal tax lawyer, trying cases for the Internal Revenue Service. In 1966, he was transferred to Los Angeles, where he later went into private practice. A young developer with tax problems named Robert F. Maguire was referred to Thomas, and by the early 1970s, the two became partners on some real estate developments. By 1983, Thomas left law to work full time with Maguire. Together they built housing, shopping centers and some of the city's most recognizable offices, including the U.S. Bank Tower in downtown Los Angeles, the tallest building in the West.

Maguire, who is more flamboyant, got most of the media attention in the partnership that lasted until 1996, when Thomas left to start his own company. "We had a good run," but "nobody would contend Rob and I have the same personality," Thomas said. The split "was good for both of us." Maguire declined a request to be interviewed for this story. In 2003, Thomas beat other bidders, including his old partner, to acquire the former Arco Plaza in downtown Los Angeles, a 1970s landmark office and retail complex that had fallen on hard times through its previous owners' neglect. Thomas invested millions of dollars to make the property competitive with other top office towers again, adding two giant buildings to the market and forcing Maguire and other landlords to hold their rents

8 Appendix

down to compete with Thomas. Although the complex, now known as City National Plaza, is still almost 30% vacant, Thomas believes it will be a profitable investment in the long run. "Arco spared no expense building it," he said. "When Rob and I came downtown, it was the envy of every developer.

"Success in real estate enabled Thomas to indulge another longtime desire by buying control of the Sacramento Kings professional basketball franchise, which he held from 1992 to 2000. He enjoyed much of the owner's role ó hanging out with players, talking strategy with coaches and meeting with the league commissioner. But being the owner also was "very stressful," Thomas said. "My whole outlook depended on whether we won or lost. That was the thing that surprised me the most." Thomas' competitive instincts are well-known to others, however, who portray him as a tireless, detail-oriented leader with intense focus. Although many others his age might be scaling back, Thomas says he loves what he does and has no plans to retire. "The one word to describe him is disciplined," said real estate broker John Cushman, chairman of Cushman & Wakefield, who has negotiated with Thomas for decades. "He's a tough guy; thoughtful, careful and precise." Attention to detail is part of what makes Thomas effective and perhaps occasionally annoying. Architect Martha Welborne, who worked with Thomas on the Grand Avenue redevelopment, credits Thomas with getting the project off the ground by attacking every obstacle and staying on top of the smallest particulars. "I had to show him everything, absolutely everything," said Welborne,

8 Appendix

managing director of the project. "He reviewed every document with a fine-toothed comb. It's amazing how hard he works." She added, "He's a bit of a micromanager." His legal training gets the better of him sometimes, keeping him too closely involved in details, Thomas acknowledged.

"For a typical lawyer, it's often easier to just do something yourself," he said. "You are always fighting the shift to being a manager." Thomas' preferred management style is to let his five top managers run their divisions, meeting with them every morning to keep up and look for consensus. Once a month he hosts a conference call with all 150 employees in nine cities that lasts two or three hours and covers operational details. "People like to know what's going on," Thomas said. "It puts them in a better position to contribute." Thomas' 10-year-old company has almost 11 million square feet of properties and more than 5 million square feet in the development pipeline. In Los Angeles, future urban construction should take place in high-density locations near transportation hubs, such as downtown and Universal City, Thomas said. "You can't just keep spreading out across the basin," he said. "We have a rare opportunity now. Hopefully we have the leadership to get it done."

8.2 Bloomberg, Avella and Thompson at WFP Mayoral Forum: Some Highlights

The Villace Voice, by Roy Edroso, July 2009

Last night three candidates for Mayor of New York – Michael Bloomberg, councilmember Tony Avella, and comptroller Bill Thompson – attended the Working Families Party Mayoral Forum at the Hotel Trades Council on West 44th Street. (We should mention that Green Party candidate Reverend Billy wanted to be at the forum, but was excluded; "The Working Families Party have sent a cynical signal," his office tells us. "New York is not a corporation. New York is a city. A city in a democracy. Let's debate like it is.")

The forum resembled the political "debates" with which we are all too familiar, but each candidate was grilled separately with more or less the same questions. Talking Points Memo liveblogged it, and we'll probably have more on the event later. For now, some quick highlights:

Mike Bloomberg. He bragged on development in places like "Greenpoint, Williamsburg, West Chelsea" that has brought "good paying jobs to neighborhoods where nobody could do anything before." He admitted some construction jobs may not pay top dollar, but explained that some projects "just could not be [built] at prevailing wages" and so were done "on a B schedule, if you will."

On a proposal to make employers pay for sick days, Bloomberg said

8 Appendix

he was looking at it but "I don't want small businesses to cut their work forces or close" because they can't afford such a requirement. Interestingly, he said one reason he "made a point" of not closing many schools for swine flu was "because there were so many parents who couldn't afford to stay home and take care of their kids."

He defended schools chancellor Joel Klein from charges that he alienated some parents and teachers. "Could he have better social skills?" he asked. "We all could, I suppose. His job is not to be a nice guy."

He got a little ruffled when asked about the unfair advantage his riches give him in the Mayor's race. "I made every dime that I have," he said. Besides, "you can't have a totally fair, equal election... some people went to better schools than others... I used my money only to talk about what I would do and what I have done." In the end, he said, it was in the voters' hands – and "rich people don't always win... You can't buy an election. The public's much too smart for that."

Tony Avella. He promised that as Mayor, "I'm gonna say to the real estate industry, your days of controlling the agenda are up... we gotta do real public housing." Among other things, he wants to stop "giving developers breaks" to put affordable housing in their projects – "We need to make it mandatory." He also wants to mandate the use of union labor on such projects.

As mayor, if the appropriate legislative bodies won't make paid sick days mandatory, Avella would "do it by executive order."

He doesn't like Joel Klein. "It would be my pleasure to say to him,

8 Appendix

'you're fired... don't let the door hit you on your way out'... he is a disgrace." Avella is also "not a fan" of charter schools, which he says came about because "the regular schools were failing. Why the hell did we come up with another system? Why not fix the schools that were failing?"

While he's at it, Avella said, "I'm getting rid of the Rent Guidelines Board."

He complained of seeing more homeless on the streets, including one that was across the street when he arrived for this forum – "I gave him a few dollars and I gave him my card and I told him to call my office and we'll see what we can do" – and blamed Bloomberg and gentrification.

He proposed to tax the wealthy, and to close property tax loopholes for big companies. He boasted of presenting the management of Madison Square Garden with a "\$400 million bill" for their exempted property taxes over the years. "Of course they ignored it," he added, "but at least I had the gumption."

He graciously referred to Bill Thompson as "the political machine candidate," and promised that "if by some miracle he gets elected... you're gonna have the same issues over and over again." Whereas if he were to take the Democratic nomination instead, Avella said he was told by political reporters that "my race would get national attention... I'm the anti-money guy, I'm the people guy."

Bill Thompson. He said that with the Bloomberg Administration, "promises have been made and promises have been broken... it's time

8 Appendix

that we charted a new direction, a new course."

In development he proposed "smart growth" – that is, "development that doesn't destroy communities" – and "fair growth," to ensure that "projects that receive government subsidies create good-paying jobs." Also, "it's not [just] the jobs we create during construction. What kind of jobs do they create after?"

He said he supports charter schools but aims to concentrate on reforming city schools. He recalled from his Board of Ed days "something called the Chancellor's District," in which the BOE "capped the size of the schools, create a rigorous curriculum, focused on literacy... what we saw was that those schools improved."

He called the Mayor's proposed sales tax increase "regressive" and would prefer to tax the rich. As to the Mayor's "spirited defense" of the rich, in which Bloomberg worried that the well-off "might think of moving out of New York City," Thompson rejoined, "Well, what about the rest of us? Where do we go?"

He insisted "Mike Bloomberg can be beat, and I believe that he will be." He also said "there's an energy right now that's left over from the Barack Obama campaign," on which he hopes to capitalize.

8.3 Sprawled Out

Pittsburgh City Paper, by Bill O’Driscoll, May 2008

Most of us picture environmentalism as individuals conserving resources, or government cutting pollution and protecting endangered species. But another issue, typically taken for granted, looms just as large: the way our communities are designed.

Sustainable Pittsburgh addressed the matter at its eighth annual Southwestern Pennsylvania Smart Growth Conference. The day-long May 16 event at Downtown’s Omni William Penn Hotel drew about 270 consultants and commercial real-estate types, community-development reps and municipal officials. But while regional planners agree we must reduce environmentally disastrous sprawl – and along with it our dependence on the automobile – attendees might be forgiven for experiencing some cognitive dissonance.

Jim Hassinger, executive director of the Southwestern Pennsylvania Commission, led off by discussing Project Region, the group’s effort to chart its 10-county territory’s preferred future. Over two years, with input from 3,000 citizens, Hassinger says the SPC discovered a public preference for more compact, higher-density development.

Thus, the SPC’s long-range plan – the region’s blueprint for funding things like infrastructure and economic development – leans toward revitalizing existing communities and preserving open space, in contrast to the low-density, bedroom-suburb-and-strip-mall model that has charac-

8 Appendix

terized growth in the region (and the country) for decades.

This was music to critics of the SPC's history of favoring highway-based development. Meanwhile, the conference's keynote speech by renowned metropolitan land-use strategist, author and real-estate developer Christopher Leinberger announced that communities designed to be more compact and walkable – and hence more environmentally friendly – are also the market's future. "The market basically is switching," he said, citing increases not only in fuel prices but in people who prefer urban living.

In between those speeches, however, attendees heard from Shelley Kimelberg, a Northeastern University urban-policy researcher, about how local governments can better attract business and industry. When she presented results from a national survey asking real-estate professionals how businesses choose locations, some sustainability advocates were nonplussed. Among the most important criteria the pros cited – a skilled labor pool, for example – most had nothing to do with environmental protection. Others – especially a desire for on-site parking and easy highway access – even seemed contrary to creating compact, walkable communities.

"The folks that [Kimelberg] was researching ... were businesses that were counter to the keynote speaker," said attendee Greg Boulos, western regional director for the Pennsylvania Association for Sustainable Agriculture. "It was a little bit paradoxical."

To those advocating more self-sufficient local economies, attracting new business isn't even a priority. "I would probably look toward fostering local businesses that are already there, rather than bringing in a large

8 Appendix

conglomerate that's gonna 'save the day,'" said Boulos, who's also an organic farmer. "The smaller the better."

One issue, of course, is how you define "sustainability" (and its cousin, "smart growth"). Environmentally, logging can be sustainable if you keep the forest healthy in perpetuity. Economic sustainability, meanwhile, suggests long-lived businesses. In the long run, a sick world can't indefinitely support healthy corporations; but in the short run, environmentalism and profitability often seem at odds. Big-box retailers, for instance, might thrive in sprawl – but sprawl creates pollution and flooding (see: Millvale); destroys animal habitats and open spaces; requires more energy to transport people and goods; and bankrupts independent entrepreneurs.

Sustainable Pittsburgh's executive director Court Gould acknowledges such paradoxes. But he says that business models are changing: He cites Lucas Piatt, of Millcraft Industries, who at the conference offered a mea culpa for the sprawling Southpointe business park his firm built in Cecil Township. Piatt added that Millcraft's future was in projects like revitalizing downtown Washington, Pa. – and resurrecting Downtown's Lazarus department-store building, which Millcraft is converting to an upscale retail/condo complex.

Similarly progressive supply-side attitudes might address another problem: that of prospective homeowners who say they want walkability, but keep buying in Subdivision Land. Leinberger says people seldom choose walkability now partly because it's seldom an option. The answer, he

says, is to level the playing field, with fewer subsidies for highways and an overhaul of zoning laws that effectively prohibit mixed-use walkable development. Communities, including Cranberry Township (a veritable poster child for sprawl), have taken steps in that direction, Gould says.

Meanwhile, Gould adds, we can save green fields simply by preserving older, "core" communities: "Fix the places that exist first."

8.4 High-Rise Development Plans Threaten Vietnam's Once Gracious Former Capital

The New York Times, by Seth Mydans, November 2006

HO CHI MINH CITY, Vietnam, Nov. 17 — Meet the world's next great metropolis, a once-gracious city bursting from the confines of its history, wide-eyed with the wonders of traffic jams and tall buildings, and thinking very, very big.

Held back by a half-century of war and privation, it is charging forward with gigantic plans for urban expansion and development, determined to seize what it is certain is its rightful place as a world leader.

"We are in a good position and determined to build a whole new Ho Chi Minh City," said Nguyen Trong Hoa, director of planning and architecture for the city once known as Saigon.

"We want to become the biggest city in Vietnam and be the center of

8 Appendix

Asean,” the grouping of 12 Southeast Asian nations, he said, “and be the center of Asia and the center of the world as well.”

His words might apply to the nation at large, which this weekend is throwing open its doors at a meeting in Hanoi of presidents and prime ministers that has acquired the all-but-official title of Vietnam’s coming-out party.

Leaders of 21 nations, including President Bush, are gathering for an Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting that will also celebrate Vietnam’s induction next month into the World Trade Organization.

That step, after years of negotiations, has boosted ambitions here in the country’s economic center to draw a new wave of investors from around the world.

Ho Chi Minh City, which already produces more than one-fourth of the country’s gross domestic product and industrial production and which pays nearly one-third of its taxes, “will become a hub of industry, services, science and technology in Southeast Asia,” according to its official Web site.

Many Vietnamese are certain that this would have happened long ago if, like the bustling Asian tigers that surround it, Vietnam’s economy had not been dragged down by war, economic sanctions and the hobbles of a command economy.

Now the country is in a hurry to catch up and overtake its neighbors, and Ho Chi Minh City intends to lead the way.

Over the next two decades, this hyperkinetic city of seven million people

8 Appendix

is planning to expand its population by as much as 50 percent, spreading its borders into the surrounding swampland.

An entire subcity called Saigon South is emerging on reclaimed land along the southern edge of town, and a vast new downtown is planned on undeveloped land across the Saigon River to the east.

With plans for a new port and a new airport, for bridges, highways, a subway system and high-rise buildings, Ho Chi Minh City has embarked on one of the most ambitious programs of urban renewal anywhere.

Sewage and garbage collection services are being revamped at a projected cost of hundreds of millions of dollars. A tunnel is being dug beneath the Saigon River. A latticework of bus and tram routes has been mapped out.

“With the changes they are talking about, we can expect that in the next 10 years we will be seeing a completely different city,” said Ayumi Konishi, the Vietnam country director for the Asian Development Bank.

But like the quieter capital in the north, Hanoi, it is trying to resist the helter-skelter development that has robbed Asian cities like Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila of much of their character.

It has not yet decided, though, which way it wants to go, how much to weigh old-world charm against 21st-century aggressiveness. For people who feel they have been left behind by a fast-changing world, the big, the bold and the brassy can feel like hallmarks of class.

“The city is not yet sure of its own identity,” said Nguyen Van Tat, an architect who is deputy editor of the magazine Beautiful Home. “For

8 Appendix

some developers, modernity is the next step in the city's development.

“For them, the Singapore model is very attractive, very clear, very obvious, easy to understand,” he said. “For me, it would be very hard to accept that that is the final fate of Saigon.”

In the 1860s, French colonists laid out grids and began to build the shady city that came to be known as the Pearl of the Orient. City officials are now redefining it for the next century or more, and the question is how much of the old Saigon will remain.

“A city is like a human being,” Mr. Tat said. “It needs to have a past. There is a saying in Vietnam that even if the pages are frayed, a book must still have its spine.”

The pages are already fraying. As Vietnam's economy opened fitfully over the past decade and a half, developers seized their moment to coarsen some of the city center's elegance with faceless office buildings. The skyline was fouled with undistinguished structures including two dozen skyscrapers.

But projects like this are now at least debated, most recently a proposed 53-story tower that would devour a park and overshadow the central market, a city landmark. At one point, a Taiwanese developer was offering \$500 million for the site, a very hard sum to turn down. There are some officials who like the idea's aesthetics, signaling the city's thrust into the future.

The emerging plan calls for most tall buildings to be concentrated in the new downtown across the river. But that is still years away, and the

8 Appendix

demands of developers, along with the city's hunger for modernity, may overwhelm aesthetics.

Bold plans for transportation systems and for underground parking garages are only at the starting point — too late to avoid the traffic gridlock that has almost overnight become a new feature of the city.

According to the city's figures, 400,000 cars are now on the roads, with three million motorbikes. As the economy surges, the balance will tilt toward automobiles, and using a common rule of thumb, each car waiting at a stoplight will take up the space of six motorbikes.

It is much easier to start fresh, of course, and Ho Chi Minh City is blessed with broad areas for expansion. For city planners, Saigon South is a model for the future, a 7,600-acre project managed by a Taiwanese company, Central Trading and Development Group.

It will come complete with shopping malls, hotels, schools, hospitals, scientific institutes, food courts, a small golf course, offices, a convention center, an industrial park, apartments and housing developments.

Neat, clean and orderly, it is a futuristic Saigon, leached of its history.

The fresh face of Saigon South is probably historically inevitable, uncannily similar to the version of a modern Vietnam created by refugees as Little Saigon in Southern California.

In its newer districts, it might be said, big Saigon is being transformed into a big Little Saigon.

8.5 It's not just for work. With clubs and bars popping up in the land of office cubicles, there are lots of places downtown for play

Los Angeles Times, by Jessica Gelt, December 2006

IT'S happy hour at funky Bar 107 in downtown Los Angeles. "Johnny Hit and Run Pauline" by the iconic punk band X plays on the stereo as bartender Felicia Cox, her chest and arms covered in intricate tattoos, pours stiff vodka tonics for several members of the burgeoning inner-city hip set. A homeless man shambles in, sits at the end of the long wooden bar and carefully lays down three crumpled dollar bills. The regulars watch with interest as Cox sets a Schlitz tall boy in front of the man, who nods thankfully and takes a big swig. Despite its loft-inspired leaps toward gentrification, downtown remains an area of glorious contrast.

Known not long ago as a nighttime no-man's-land, the concrete landscape bordered by the Los Angeles River and the 101, 10 and 110 freeways finds itself at the center of an extraordinary bar and nightclub explosion fueled by a who's-who of L.A.'s thriving after-dark empire.

By the middle of next year, some 20 venues — including bars, boutique drinking establishments and live music houses — will have opened (or undergone makeovers) in roughly a two-year span. The phenomenon owes

8 Appendix

much to the success of the area's residential market. But as its entertainment options multiply and the sight of dog-walking locals allays concerns about safety, downtown is increasingly becoming a nightlife destination.

"Until the Standard opened downtown, there was nothing much to do," says Jason⁷¹, a 35-year-old musician and visual artist who has lived downtown for six years. "Now there are more boutique-y bars and other places that have opened up and are attracting people to come on down."

Indeed, entrepreneurs are using downtown's growing residential base as a foundation for their ventures. The number of market-rate residential units has more than doubled since 1998 and stands at nearly 7,500, according to the Downtown Center Business Improvement District. Eight thousand more units are under construction. Officials project that by 2013, downtown's current population of roughly 30,000 will have doubled.

And in a twist on the cheesy "Field of Dreams" catchphrase, it might be said that if they come, someone will build a bar.

Getting started Three or four years ago, downtown nightlife lacked cohesion and most folks left before it got too late. What little scene existed was kept afloat by pockets of activity in distinctly separate areas serving disparate clienteles. There were devotees of the sushi and sake bars of Little Tokyo, as well as the low-key lounges and galleries of Chinatown. There were partyers at the often-illicit warehouse raves. There were the white-collar happy-hour crowd at restaurant bars, the out-of-towners cloistered at hotel bars, the sports hordes that came to Staples

8 Appendix

Center and its Fox Sports Sky Box, and the patrons of the fine art venues who suspected downtown began and ended with the Patina Group and its upscale eateries. Then there were the regulars, who tiddled at legendary places such as Cole's, Hank's and Little Pedro's, or divey options like Crabby Joe's and King Edward's.

The Standard's L.A.-noir rooftop lounge, which opened in 2002, turned the heads of a few Hollywood players. "The last couple of years we're always packed," says the bar's manager, Steven Sué. "It's a destination bar, for sure."

Dotting downtown are other venues revealing a changing scene.

Bar 107 was a gay dive before L.A. (roller) Derby Girl Vianey Delgado and her manager, a onetime king of low-brow Hollywood after-hour parties, Brian Traynam, turned it into a raucous neighborhood spot where a little person named O-Dawg could occasionally be spotted doing back flips and inverted push-ups on the bar.

The saloon has the good fortune of being located near the 6-year-old lofts above Pete's Cafe & Bar at 4th and Main, a corner widely considered the birthplace of the downtown "renaissance." The lofts and their in-house restaurant were developed by charismatic New York expat Tom Gilmore, who says that his decision to be the first to convert downtown office space into residences — shortly after the 1999 adaptive reuse ordinance proposed by the Central City Assn. made the endeavor possible — was "a no-brainer."

"It shocked me that the second-largest city in America didn't have a

8 Appendix

workable downtown," Gilmore says. "I wanted to reintroduce urbanism."

"Tom Gilmore did a really smart thing," Jason71 says. "He got three buildings in the same neighborhood. Instant community."

Says Gilmore: "Pete's came about because we needed Pete's. My residents were like, 'This is a really good loft, but where are we going to eat and drink?'"

Moving it forward If Gilmore gave the loft and restaurant movement wings, then downtown prodigy Cedd Moses is the granddaddy of the nascent bar scene.

Tall, slender, with an air of unstudied distraction and a droning voice, Moses, the son of abstract artist Ed Moses, is the source of inspiration most frequently cited by new bar owners. After all, it was Moses who in 2004 opened the hugely successful Golden Gopher on 8th Street between Olive and Hill in a space once known for being one of the most dangerous bars downtown. A year later, he cut the ribbon for the Broadway Bar next to the Orpheum Theatre. Now he is poised to unveil a plush whiskey bar named Seven Grand in the old Clifton's Silver Spoon Cafeteria on 7th Street. Seven Grand highlights will include a pool table, a smoking deck, more than a dozen draft beers, live music and whiskey-friendly, extra-slow-melting ice cubes.

"In 24 hours a half million people work down here," Moses says, leaning over a color-coded map of downtown in his 213 Inc. offices above Seven Grand. "We want to create neighborhood bars out of beautiful buildings."

8 Appendix

Once there's critical mass in terms of bars down here, we'll create a destination."

In fact, Moses and his partner, design guru Ricki Kline, seem to be willing to create critical mass all by themselves. Moses just bought the classic 1908 Cole's Pacific Electric Buffet on 6th Street. "Cole's is brilliant already," Moses says. "It just needs cleaning and a little paint and a big improvement in the food department." He is also working on a lavish private club specializing in mixology called Petroleum in the old Petroleum building at Olympic and Flower. And he is partnering with Spaceland Productions' Mitchell Frank to acquire a historic downtown theater with designs on making it a live music venue. The undisclosed space is in escrow.

"I tried to get investors five or six years ago and nobody would listen," Frank says. "Now they all listen."

Future plans

Other entrepreneurs have felt downtown's siren call too. Take the folks behind the new Library Bar, cater-cornered from the Standard on Hope Street. Co-owner Michael Leko, the mastermind behind L.A.'s Eat Well restaurant chain (he sold the last one in his arsenal to open the Library Bar), says that tourists' reactions to downtown provide a litmus test for the health of the area.

"People have been saying, 'Oh my gosh, I've been doing business here for years and I usually go to the Westside at night.' But now they're saying, 'I stayed downtown all week,' " Leko says.

8 Appendix

Leko and his partner, Will Shamlian, who has a stake in Eagle Rock's Chalet and Silver Lake's 4100 bar, have created a classy neighborhood hangout with the Library Bar. Brick walls, wooden shutters, herringbone wood floors, dim candles in brown glass holders, club chairs and wall-to-wall bookcases put the bar in the same class as Moses' ventures. Although Moses creates faithful retro renderings of interiors based on the historical context of the buildings his bars occupy, Leko and Shamlian have added modern twists to theirs, like nailing sheets of shiny zinc to the tops of wooden tables.

That almost artistic attention to detail sets this generation of entrepreneurs apart from the cavalier L.A. development pack. Many work within the delicate framework of buildings that are close to a century old; they see it as their duty to reinvigorate them. Kline points out that because parts of downtown had fallen so tragically down on their luck, they were largely ignored during the ravenous demolition derby that laid much of L.A.'s architectural heritage to waste beginning in the late 1950s.

Cindy Olnick, the communications manager at the Los Angeles Conservancy agrees: "You've heard of demolition by neglect? Well, this is preservation by neglect."

The conservancy is particularly excited about the future of the 1876, baroque-inspired St. Vibiana's Cathedral at 2nd and Main streets, which it fought desperately to save. With help from the conservancy and state politicians, Gilmore has rejuvenated the structure and began using it as a special-events venue last year.

8 Appendix

Gilmore has also taken out a 20-year lease on the Regent Theater on Main Street, which he will open as a 450-seat rock 'n' roll venue next year. Additional blueprints reveal plans for a tapas restaurant called La Puerta at 4th and Spring streets, and next door another restaurant: Sushi on Spring.

More to come Far from being worried about competition from other corners, Gilmore and his fellow downtown bar owners welcome it. "We all frequent each other's bars," Moses says.

Gilmore praises a number of his competitors, including Elizabeth Peterson, the brains behind Industrial Street's new watering hole the Royal Claytons pub. In addition to partnering with former Derby co-owner Tony Gower and others to remake Little Pedro's as the lush Bordello, Peterson will unveil an English beer garden named Bridge Tavern (in the old Studio Cafe) in February. The mostly outdoor venue will have "serious food and a boutique beer list," Peterson says.

Finally, Peterson plans to open a "speak-easy-style jazz club" named Dietrich's (after one of the original downtown party girls, Marlene) in the basement of the Hellman Building, directly below another Gilmore favorite, Lost Souls Cafe.

Still, the endeavor Gilmore effuses about the most isn't his own. It's the Edison, the dreamlike creation of Marc Smith and Andrew Meieran. "It'll rip your head off, it's so cool," Gilmore says.

The Edison is in the basement of the historic Higgins Building, with

8 Appendix

an entrance off the Harlem Place alley on 2nd Street between Main and Spring. "There was this incredible, almost surreal Jules Verne-esque space — it was under water and abandoned for 20-some years and my imagination went wild," Meieran says. He preserved a giant boiler — now home to a cozy wine bar — and four ancient generators, displayed behind low-slung chains.

The duo is also pairing up on another venture called Mercury Liquors, which will be located in the vaults of an old bank near 6th and Spring. The centerpiece will be the bank's 38-ton solid-steel vault door, which Smith (whose other interests include Hollywood's Three Clubs) says you can still swing open with your pinkie.

DCBID and CCA President Carol Schatz considers adaptive re-use essential to the future of downtown. She speaks in terms of "pillars of revitalization" and cites Staples Center and Walt Disney Concert Hall as the catalysts for a boom that eventually will include L.A. Live near Staples and the Grand Avenue Project near the performing arts centers. "Suddenly people had a reason to come downtown that had no reason before," she says.

"It's almost as if the city fled its center as far as possible, but like ripples in a pond spreading outwards, eventually those ripples are going to hit the bank and head back to the center," Meieran says. "Malls like the Grand Avenue Project and L.A. Live will create hubs to pull people into the area. It's starting on polar sides and filling in block by block."

8 Appendix

Community feeling Nobody has felt the filling-in phenomenon more acutely than Bert Green, the owner of Bert Green Fine Art on 5th near Main and the organizer of the Downtown Art Walk. In two years, the number of participating galleries has grown from eight to 28, and on the second Thursday of every month, the event draws between 1,000 and 2,000 browsers. "People discover the area and come back," he says. "Restaurants within walking distance have told me that's it's their busiest day of the month."

Artists worry that those most vital to the authentic inner-city workings of the district will be priced out. Others point out in a *c'est la vie* manner that revitalization gives as much as it takes away.

"It's pretty much gentrified now," says sculptor and musician Liz McGrath, who has lived downtown for a decade, since the days starving artists could actually barter for their rent. "It's nice to go to a restaurant or coffee shop and have a conversation with people who aren't asking you for money."

As Leko from the Library Bar points out, downtown's multicultural, multi-economic nature — including Broadway's Latino swap meets and storefront churches, Little Tokyo and skid row's homeless population — guarantees that, for the time being at least, downtown will remain diversified. "Try as much as you want, swing for the fence, but you won't lose that gritty sex appeal," Leko says.

Old will continue to commingle with new. Take La Cita, the Hill Street bar adjacent to Grand Central Market that long has been a destination for

8 Appendix

downtown's working-class Latino population. When new investors took over the bar this summer, they retained the popular norteno, cumbia and tejano entertainment on weekends; on weeknights, La Cita draws a decidedly different crowd, with street artist Shepard Fairey DJing on Thursdays and hipster kids Part Time Punks throwing a party on Fridays. But La Cita still retains its old look.

"We refurbished the original furnishings, lowered the lights, cleaned it up a bit, and that's it," one of the new owners, Carl Lofgren, says of the bar's classic plush-red interior and cozy open-air patio.

Just around the corner on 2nd Street, the new owners of the Redwood Bar & Grill, Dev Dugal and Christian Frizzell (ex-GM of the Golden Gopher), have taken a different tack. For years the Redwood was the dive bar of choice for Los Angeles Times staffers. A red phone legendarily connected the bar to the news desk. When Dugal and Frizzell bought the space in May, they remade it with a nautical theme and a menu of gastro-pub fare.

Dugal believes so much in downtown that he bought a 25-passenger shuttle bus for the Redwood. He plans to recruit other bar owners to start a free shuttle service through a new venture, Downtown Bar Hopper.

Bar-hopping corridor or not, most entrepreneurs are aiming for a neighborhood feel that is distinctly anti-Hollywood. "If Lindsay Lohan doesn't ever pay a visit to this place, it'll be fine by me," the Library Bar's Leko jokes.

That's not to say glitz and glamour are absent.

8 Appendix

Ralph Verdugo's Club 740, with its multiple levels, glass walls, light shows, go-go dancers and VIP rooms, is a Hollywood-worthy mega-club that brings the kind of glitter often delivered by promoters at the nearby Mayan Theatre. After the New Year, Verdugo plans a mellower lounge on the street level of his Broadway club called Heaven 4rty.

And closer to Staples, Sergio Dovarro's J Restaurant & Lounge takes a similar approach with a more elegant sensibility. Boasting 25,000 square feet of space over two levels, J's includes a cigar patio, dance floor, restaurant, three full bars (with wine hand-picked by former L'Orangerie sommelier Frédéric Hémon), VIP rooms and a patio with cabanas and fire pits.

Standing on the patio, Dovarro looks out over the changing downtown skyline. "Look around at all the cranes," he exclaims. "How can you not get excited?" Despite the fact that Dovarro hosts celebrity bashes, such as one for the Black Eyed Peas earlier this month, he still feels a kinship with his live-in neighbors, allowing some to leave through the emergency exits and go straight to their units.

"I used to see a dog a month, now it's dog row," he says. "It's become a community."

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Der Pressediskurs der Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung: die Abschwächung der konkurrierenden Ansprüche und Kontroversen

Die Arbeit konzentriert sich auf den Pressediskurs der Stadtplanung und Stadtentwicklung. Der Arbeit liegt theoretisch und methodisch der Diskurshistorische Ansatz (DHA) der Kritischen Diskursanalyse - Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) zugrunde. Die empirische Untersuchungsbasis bildet ein Korpus von 100 Texten aus sechs verschiedenen Zeitungen, der mit der Unterstützung einer Text-Analyse Software untersucht wird. Ziel dieser kombinierten Methodologie ist es eine Analyse vorzunehmen, die vornehmlich auf die qualitativen Methoden der CDA zurückgreift, und gleichzeitig den empirischen Beitrag der quantitativen Korpuslinguistik mit einbezieht.

Stadtplanung und -entwicklung sind für ein "Vor" und ein "Nachher" in

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

der Stadt verantwortlich, die die unterschiedlichen Stakeholder-Gruppen aufteilen, und zwar auf Basis einer gefühlten Zufriedenheit und Identifikation mit der Stadt, oder des Verlustes und der Ablehnung von derselben. Haupt-Stakeholder-Gruppen sind hierbei die Mitarbeiter der Stadtverwaltung wie auch die Stadtregierungsvertreter selbst und die Entwickler, weiterhin die sozialen Akteure wie auch die Stadtbewohner. Die Bedürfnisse der Stadtbewohner und ihre Erwartungen gegenüber der Stadt und die Prozesse der Stadtplanung und -entwicklung können erheblich abweichen, und zeigen sie sich hier als nebeneinander konkurrierende Ansprüche. Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht, inwieweit der Pressediskurs im Zusammenhang mit der Stadtplanung und -entwicklung jene Spannungen und Kontroversen schildert, welche in diesem Zusammenhang auftreten können, und im Allgemeinen, wie er die soziale Auswirkungen der städtischen Prozesse darstellt.

DHA, sowie desweiteren Ansätze der CDA, sind ein interdisziplinäres und problemorientiertes Forschungsprogramm. „Diskurs“, „Macht“ und „Kritik“ sind hier zentrale Begriffe, die von der Frankfurter Schule und dem Werk vom Michel Foucault entliehen werden (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 2009; Wodak and Reisigl 2001). Anders als die traditionelle Soziolinguistik oder auch die Textlinguistik versucht die CDA den Zusammenhang zwischen Diskurs, Macht und Gesellschaft theoretisch zu erarbeiten (van Dijk 1993b; Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999), und dadurch die diskursive Konstruktionen, die zur Reproduktion von sozialen Ungleichheiten beitragen, herauszugreifen.

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Diskurs ist sowohl thematisch als auch historisch zu verstehen (Reisigl 2007; Wodak and Meyer 2001). Laut eines gemäßigten Konstruktivismus ist Diskurs wissenskonstituierend, und die Realität wesentlich sozial produziert (Bourdieu 1998; Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001, in Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999). Diskurs wird als eine Komponente der sozialen Praxis verstanden, die das Wissen der im Diskurs ausgeführten verschiedenen (besonders politischen) Themen und Gegenstände bildet, und somit deren entsprechende Realität prägt (Fairclough 2003; Wodak and Meyer 2009).

Triangulation wie auch Methodenpluralismus zeichnen sich als Charakterika des DHA Ansatzes ab, die zu einer größere Tiefenschärfe der Forschung führen (Wodak and Reisigl 2001, 2009; Reisigl 2007). Auf diese Weise spielt die interdisziplinäre Forschung eine fundamentale Rolle um die Texte (verstanden als Diskurserscheinungsformen) bezüglich Aspekten ihrer Produktion zu analysieren, und damit die immanente und soziodiagnostische Kritik vorzunehmen. Die immanente Kritik konzentriert sich auf die Textstrukturen. DHA, und CDA i. Allg., bieten keine feststehende Gruppe von Analysekatoren. Dennoch ist eine Liste mit Kernfragen allgemeingültig (z.B. 1. werden den AkteurInnen positiven oder negativen Eigenschaften zugeschrieben?; 2. welche Ereignisse werden direkt mit den AkteurInnen als Handlungen dargestellt, welche als Prozesse charakterisiert?; 3. welche Argumente/Annahmen unterstützen die eingebrachten Thesen?; Vgl. Reisigl 2007) und lenken die Analyse. Die Analyseebenen schliessen Lexik, Logik-semantische und syntaktische

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Aspekte und Argumentation ein (Wodak and Reisigl 2001; Reisigl 2007). Die sozio-diagnostische Kritik untersucht den Kontext, spezifisch den historischen und politischen um die implizite Inhalte der Darstellungen herauszugreifen und eventuell ihre parteiische und manipulative Gemüt erklären. Die Ergebnisse beider Kritiken sind schließlich für die Umsetzung der weitsichtigen Kritik zu benutzen, die aus den konkrete Initiativen heraus in Partnerschaft mit den beteiligte Institutionen besteht, welche die aus der Analyse entstanden soziale Ungleichheiten angehen.

Das Denken Foucaults, welches ich schon im Rahmen der Diskurstheorie angewendet habe, unterstützt auch die interdisziplinäre Forschung dieser Arbeit. Begriffe wie „Bio-politik“ und „aktiver Raum“ werden hier nachvollzogen um eine kritische Perspektive für das Studium der Stadtplanung und -entwicklung zu definieren, und zwar, um die Dualität der Auswirkungen dieser städtischen Prozessen auszuleuchten. Mit dem Terminus „Bio-Politik“ kennzeichnete Foucault jene Phase der Machttransformation, in der die Bevölkerung (verstanden als Kollektivität sowie als individuelle Menschen) (das neue) Objekt der Kompetenz des legalen und administrativen Wissen wird (Foucault 1991; 1990). Foucault zeigte die Beziehungen zwischen Diskurs und Raum auf, bspw. in seinen Studien „Sexualität und Wahrheit“ und „Überwachen und Strafen“. Er betrachte den Raum als aktiv, d.h. als ein Mittel der Machttechnologie, genauer gesagt als Mittel zur Disziplinierung und „Normalisierung“ der Bevölkerung. Die Stadt, einschließlich der städtischen Wohnhäuser, ergeben sich als optimale Räume für diese Ziele und, zeigen damit auf,

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

dass die Stadtplanung und -entwicklung als eine wichtige Plattform für die Ausübung einer Macht fungiert, die aus Kontrolle anstatt aus einem Abstrafungsprinzip sich konstituiert.

In dieser Analyse des Pressediskurs der Stadtplanung und -entwicklung konzentriere ich mich auf die Ausübung von Macht durch Praktiken, die zur sozialen Integration in der Stadt, wie auch zur Ausgrenzung aus dieser beitragen. Zusätzlich werden gegenwärtige Planungstrends mit dem Ziel berücksichtigt, problematische Aspekte zu betonen, insofern ein stabiles Beziehungsverhältnis zwischen Stadt und Einwohner als erstrebenswert betrachtet wird, und damit als ein grundsätzliches Ziel der Stadtplanung angenommen wird. Diesbezüglich sprechen Planungstheorieforscher von einer "dunklen Seite" der Stadtplanung (Yiftachel 2001, 1996). Die dunkle, oder regressive Seite der Stadtplanung bezieht sich hauptsächlich auf ein Planungsparadigma, welches keine nachhaltige Beziehung zwischen dem städtischen Raum und seinen Bewohnern fördert, sondern stattdessen eine Konzeption der Städte als „Ware“ widerspiegelt (Sassen 2001; Brenner et. al. 2009). Auf diese Weise kann die Kommodifikation der Stadt als programmatische Grundlage für eine regressive Planung und wiederum so als Entwicklungstrend angesehen werden. Gentrifizierung, d.h. die Umwandlung der Arbeiterklassenachbarschaften in obere Mittelschichtnachbarschaften, ist ein Beispiel für diese dunkle Seite der Stadtplanung. Eine Berücksichtigung der Produktion- und Konsumstheorien der Gentrifizierung (Ley 1980, 1986; Slater 2006; Smith 1996; Wacquant 2008) zeigt die wichtigsten Eigenheiten des Phänomens

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

auf und wie seine frühen Abläufe im Pressediskurs aufgefasst wurden.

Die Aufgliederung der Ordnung der Diskurse, in welcher der Pressediskurs der Stadtplanung und -entwicklung situiert werden kann, trägt zu einem Modell der Beziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen von Akteuren und ihren Diskurse so wie „Handlungsfeldern“ bei (Girnth 1996, in Wodak and Reisigl 2001). Ziel ist hier einen semiotischen Zugangspunkt in Bezug auf das Diskursthema aufzuzeigen (Fairclough 2009). Stadtangestellte und -entwickler beschäftigten sich in solchen Handlungsfeldern, wie z.B in denen die zur Prägung des öffentlichen Konsens dienen, in Feldern der Bauordnungsstimmungen, der Verwaltung von Steueraufkommen und Kapitalanlagen, wohingegen das betreffende Handlungsfeld der Stadtbewohner sich in ihrer Rolle als Wählerschaft abspielt. Handlungsfelder wie Bauordnungsstimmungen und die Verwaltung der Steueraufkommen wirken wie Leverage-Faktors in Bezug auf einen möglichen Konsens zwischen den drei Gruppen von Akteuren. In dieser Hinsicht behalten die Entwickler einen großen Teil der Verhandlungsstärke der gesamten Interaktionen der Planungs- und Entwicklungsprozessen. Sie sind für Kapitalanlagen und den damit verbundenen Anstieg der kommunalen Steuereinnahmen verantwortlich und oft befinden sie sich in „alles-oder-nichts“ Verhandlungspositionen, da sie die Entscheidungsposition besitzen, auch in andere städtische Gebieten oder in verschiedene Städte investieren zu können. Die Position der Stadtangestellten ist damit abgesichert. Einerseits suchen sie nach Möglichkeiten, die zur Weiterentwicklung der städtischen Wirtschaftsverhältnisse beitragen und zeigen damit eine Tendenz

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

auf, die Projekte fördern zu wollen. Auf der anderen Seite sollen sie die Bewohner mit bezahlbarem Wohnraum, Schulen und Zuschüsse für die bereits etablierte Gemeinden versehen. Die Stadtbewohner haben anderseits dahingehend eine indirekte Verhandlungsstärke, dass sie auf Grund ihres Wahlrechts öffentliche Beamte aus dem Amt abwählen können.

Auf der Grundlage dieser Analyse, kann eine Hypothese für eine Makro-Diskursstrategie formuliert werden, circa ein „promotional intent“ in der Diskurse assoziierte mit den Beamten und Entwickler, welches einen semiotische Zugangspunkt in Bezug auf das Diskursthema und deshalb eine Orientierung für die Analyse bietet.

Analyse

Die 100 Texte in dem spezialisierten Korpus stammen aus sechs verschiedenen Zeitungen, die sich in drei Tageszeitungen od. „mainstream quality dailies“ (MQN) und drei sind wöchentlich erscheinende alternative Nachrichtenmagazine od. „alternative newsweeklies“ (AN) aufteilen. Die MQN sind: *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*; die AN sind: *The Village Voice* (aus New York), *LA Weekly*, *Pittsburgh City Paper*.

AN werden, im Gegensatz MQN, nicht regelmäßig als Datenquellen innerhalb CDA, verwendet. Zu diesem Zweck, Theorien von alternativen Medien werden überprüft um das alternativen Charakter der AN einzuschätzen, und somit zu klären wie diese sich von MQN unterscheiden. Auf der Grundlage der Theorien über alternativen Medien, können AN

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

bezüglich ihrer Inhalte nur bis zu einem gewissen Grad als „alternative“ betrachtet werden. Ihre konsolidierte Eigentümerstruktur, zeigt Ähnlichkeiten mit den MQN auf (Atton 2002; Cecil 2000; Gillet 2003; Hamilton 2000). Die Ergebnisse der Korpusanalyse spiegeln ihren hybriden Charakter in Bezug auf die Berichterstattung der Stadtplanung und -entwicklung wider.

In Rahmen der CDA wird ein Textkorpus grundsätzlich als ein „Zeug“ für die Analyse benutzt, d.h. dass die entwickelte Methode einen deduktiven (corpus-based) und „abduktiven“ (Wodak 2001) Weg geht und nicht, wie innerhalb der reinen Korpuslinguistik einen induktiven Weg (corpus-driven) (Baker et al. 2008). Die Komputation von Frequenz Liste, Konkordanzen, Kollokation, erleichtert die Untersuchung der textlichen Elemente, die sich an der Textoberfläche zeigen, welche den Input für die Diskursanalyse bieten. Stichwörter wie "development" und die damit verbundene "redevelopment" und "mega-development", "growth", "planning", "city", "gentrification" und "change" bilden die Grundlage der Analysis.

Die MQN und AN liefern sowohl vergleichbare wie auch abweichende Ergebnisse. Jedoch spiegelt der Pressediskurs der Stadtplanung und -entwicklung die Abschwächung der Kontroversen und konkurrierende Ansprüche der verschiedenen Stakeholder-Gruppen wider. Besonders die MQN bestätigen die Hypothese (oben erwähnt) bezüglich des „promotional intent“ des Diskurses und neigen dazu, eine Art der Darstellungen der Planungs- und Entwicklungsprojekte zu produzieren, die unfokussiert

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

ist, insofern ihre kontroversen Aspekte, z.B. ihre Auswirkungen auf die soziale Ebene, betroffen sind. Die Darstellungen stützen sich auf die Wettbewerbsrhetorik (entstanden aus der Globalisierungsrhetorik), die Themen wie Innovationbereitschaft, Markt- und Ökonomie-Druck anwendet. Wirtschaftliche Argumente werden im Diskurs als nicht hinterfragbar und als schicksalhafte Notwendigkeit dargestellt. In dieser Hinsicht beweist die Analyse, wie die diskursive Praxis der "Ausnutzung des (lexikalischen) Bedeutungspotential" (Fairclough 2003; 1995) der Stichwörter "development", "growth" und "city" für solche diskursive Konstruktionen maßgebend sind. Verschiedene Beispiele der Praxis sind in der Literatur untersucht worden (z.B. Askehave 2004; Fairclough 1995). Betreffend unserer Stichwörter, nämlich „development“ und „growth“, besteht die Praxis in der Ausnutzung ihrer Kernbedeutung, die beide Stichwörter positiv konnotiert. Diese Kernbedeutung bezeichnet abstrakte und langsam voranschreitende Verbesserungs-Prozesse. Betreffend der Okkurrenzen von "city", wird der Overlap der Unterbedeutungen „Stadtverwaltung“ und „Bürgerschaft“ strategisch genutzt.

Die Darstellungen der Akteure zeigen ihre unterschiedliche Rollen und die asymmetrische Größe ihrer Handlungsfelder auf. Die Analyse der Appositionen zeigt, dass den Entwicklern und Planern positive soziale Werte wie z.B. Wertschätzung für ihre beruflichen Leistungen, „title-ness“ und Vertrauenswürdigkeit zugeschrieben werden (6.1.2); während den Vertretern der community development Interessengruppen, und den Bewohnern im Allgemeinen, hingegen eine geringere Relevanz zugemessen

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

wird (5.2.5). Anders als bei den Entwicklern und Planern, werden die Standpunkte der Bewohner nicht am Anfang der Texte erwähnt, auch werden ihre Namen systematisch nicht mit einer Anrede und Höflichkeitsformeln versehen. Entwickler werden als besonders menschlich im öffentlichen Interesse handelnd dargestellt, anstatt dass die Gründe ihrer Motivation in dem zu erwarteten professionellen und finanziellen Gewinn gesucht wird. Ihre Projekte werden als ein persönliches und altruistisches Unterfangen dargestellt, und ihre Rolle wird oft mit der Rolle der von Führungsfiguren einer Bürgerrechtsbewegung gleichgesetzt (6.3; 5.16). Solche diskursive Konstruktionen stehen in einem direkten Gegensatz zu der Darstellung der Stadtverwaltung anhand des Unternehmensdiskurs (6.14; 6.10).

Die AN sind gegenüber den Planungs- und Entwicklungsprojekten eher kritisch eingestellt. Die Darstellungen von "growth" und "redevelopment" weisen auf einen anderen Standpunkt im Vergleich zu den MQN hin. Die Analyse zeigt, wie „redevelopment“ meistens als Ursache ungünstiger Veränderungen für die betroffenen communities diskutiert wird, und unterstützt so eine Auseinandersetzung mit der unterschiedlichen Konnotation von "development" und "redevelopment", wobei die letztere, da direkter kontextualisiert, die „exploitation of meaning potential“ ausschließt (5.3). Die diskursiven Konstruktionen von "growth" und der damit verbundenen "smart growth" unterscheiden sich ebenfalls in den beiden Sub-Korpora. In den MQN, teilen sich die Darstellungen von "growth" mehrere Eigenschaften mit denen von "development" ins-

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

besondere wegen der Praxis Ausbeutung der Bedeutung Potenzial und seinen diskursiven Konstruktionen als unzweifelhaft und unausweichlich. "Smart growth" wird systematisch als ein attraktives Merkmal der Projekte bezeichnet, wohl um ihre Zweckmäßigkeit zu erhöhen (5.3.1). Im Gegensatz dazu spiegeln die Darstellungen von "growth" in den AN einen kritische Standpunkt in Bezug auf seine Beschreibung als „unbestreitbar“ wider. Ein solcher kritischen Standpunkt entwickelt sich direkt aus der Darstellungen der "smart growth" heraus, die innerhalb debattierender Diskussionen in etwa die Festlegung Aspekte der städtischen Bewegung genannt wird (5.39; 5.40; 5.41).

Eine größere Abweichung zwischen den MQN und AN hat sich aus der Analyse der diskursiven Konstruktionen von "city" ergeben, insbesondere in Bezug auf die Bedeutung von „Stadtverwaltung“. In den MQN sind mehrere Okkurrenzen von "city" Beispiele der diskursiven Praxis der „exploitation of meaning potential“ maßgeblich um die „agency“ zu streuen, sowie auch um emphatische Hinweise und Aufrufe an die „city“, welche sich als Stimme der Kollektivität und des öffentlichen Interesse versteht, zu reproduzieren (6.2). Die Berücksichtigung dieser stillschweigenden Annahmen in den verschiedenen Textauszügen bestätigen die Erkenntnisse, die mit Hilfe der interdisziplinären Forschung in Bezug auf die gegenwärtige Konzeptualisierung der Städte als „Ware“, gesammelt worden waren. Im Gegensatz dazu stehen mehrere Okkurrenzen der Stichwörter in den AN, die die Verwirklichungen der Metapher "die Stadt ist ein Feind" darstellen, welche eine skeptische und antagonistische

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Wahrnehmung der Stadtverwaltung und ihrer Planungsabteilungen aus der Perspektive der Bewohner zum Ausdruck bringt (6.37; 6.38; 6.39). Andere Beispiele weisen auf das Misstrauen der Bürgern und auf ihre klar abgegrenzte Erwartungshaltung gegenüber der Stadtverwaltung hin, so weit das Wohl der communities betroffen ist. Ein solcher Standpunkt (assoziiert mit den Bürgern, und oft auch im Kommentar unterstützt) wird durch die diskursive Konstruktion einer "Wir-Gruppen" und "Sie-Gruppe", jeweils bezogen auf die Bürger und die Beamten, hergestellt (6.40; 6.41; 6.42).

Die Analyse der Darstellung der Gentrifizierung hat eine weniger ausgeprägte Divergenz zwischen den beiden Sub-Korpora gezeigt, obwohl mehrere prägende Elemente der jeweiligen Darstellungen sich auf unterschiedlichen soziale Werten stützen. Die Berücksichtigung einer frühen emblematischen Episode der Gentrifizierung (wie die Umwandlung der *Losaida* in heutigem Lower East Side in New York) und die Analyse einer Textanzeige von dem New York Real Estate Board, die in der *New York Times* im Jahr 1985 veröffentlicht wurde, bieten die Gelegenheit die Fragestellung zu erweitern, um so die Darstellung der Auswirkungen der städtischen Prozesse auf der soziale Ebene aus eine breiteren Perspektive zu beobachten, und dienen als Grundlage für die Analyse der Korpus Daten (nach Triangulation). Wesentliches Ergebnis ist die Feststellung der Erklärungen und Argumente des Pressediskurs um damit Gentrifizierung auszulegen, die auf die Konsumtheorien der Gentrifikation zurückgreifen (Moran 2007; Smith 1996). Nach der Konsumtheorie wurde die

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

frühe Episode der Gentrifikation als eine hauptsächlich kulturelle und konstruktive Initiative einer homogenen sozialen Gruppe, darunter Künstler und ausgebildete junge Fachkräfte wie z.B. der Kommunikationsindustrie, betrachtet. „Gentrifiers“ wurden als "Pioniere" gekennzeichnet. Die Metapher implizierte die Minderwertigkeit und Wertlosigkeit der städtischen Gebiete vor der Gentrifikation und begründete hiermit die Transformation der Arbeiterbezirke in wohlhabenden Viertel. Die Textanzeige von 1985 (6.3.1) beschreibt die positiven Veränderungen, welche durch Gentrifikation eingetreten sind, als eine Verwirklichung eines als legitim dargestellten „Familientraums“, während die negativen Auswirkungen der nicht-wohlhabenden sozialen Gruppen als zu vernachlässigende Ängste dargestellt wurden. Die apologetische Absicht des Textes, nämlich Gentrifikation "(wieder-) zu definieren", einschließlich der negativen Konnotation des Wortes, welche rhetorisch als ein "dirty word" bezeichnet wird, erklärt die strittige Natur der Gentrifikation seit ihrer frühen Entwicklung, insbesondere bezüglich der Spannung zwischen kulturellen und ökonomischen Erklärungen und gibt einen Einblick in die niedrige Frequenz des Wortes in unserem spezialisierten Korpus.

"Gentrification" tritt sporadisch in den MQN auf, während die meisten Okkurrenzen in den AN in einem Text gesammelt sind. Die Erläuterungen in den MQN, wie in den Darstellungen der frühen Episode, fassen das Phänomen als hauptsächlich kulturell auf (nach Konsumtheorien). Die Kommodifikation der Stadt und bestimmte Ansichten wohlhabender „urban lifestyles“ sind in den Darstellungen integriert und tragen zu einem

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

rationalisierten Begreifen des Phänomens bei. Die sozialen Auswirkungen von (re-)development sind kaum Gegenstand der Texte ,wie dies im Fall der Obdachlosen erkenntlich wird, die hier als ein öffentliches Sicherheits- und Hygieneproblem dargestellt werden oder auch als Thema fiktionalisierter Beschreibungen ihres Lebenswandel dienen. Solche fiktionalisierte Darstellung der Obdachlosen in den gentrifizierten Bezirken, so wurde argumentiert, kommt einer Hinnahme der neuen Ankömmlinge (d.h. die „gentrifiers“) in ihrem dominanten Diskurs gleich (6.3.2).

Die Analyse der Okkurrenzen von “change(s)“ hat ähnliche Ergebnisse erzielt. Die MQN Texte zeigen eine enthusiastische Haltung gegenüber wechselnden Nachbarschaften (6.4). Darüber hinaus, wie bei der Darstellung der Gentrifikation, werden diese Änderungen als kulturelle Veränderungen interpretiert. Die Beschreibungen der AN über die wechselnden Nachbarschaften unterstützen eine Sichtweise, die mit der der etablierte Einwohnergruppe übereinstimmt, welche sich von ihnen bedroht fühlen. Ebenso unterstreichen diese Darstellungen die Dualität der Gentrifikation, d.h. ihre sowohl positiven Effekte für bestimmte soziale Gruppen als auch ihre traumatischen Auswirkungen für andere. Im Anschluss an die Produktionstheorien der Gentrifizierung beziehen sie sich auf wirtschaftliche Faktoren (statt kulturelle) um das Phänomen zu erklären. Doch obwohl die Darstellungen relevante Aspekte der Gentrifizierung kritisch diskutieren, lehnen sie nicht einstimmig ihre Auffassung als unvermeidlich ab (6.73; 6.74; 6.91). Bemerkenswert an diesem Teil der Daten ist die kritische Ausarbeitung der diskursiven Metaphern, wie die Wetterverhältn-

9 Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

isse und die Naturkatastrophe-Metaphern, in Ausdrücken wie „wirtschaftliches Wetter“. Ihr Auftreten spiegelt die Wahrnehmung der diskursiven Praktiken der anderen Diskurse wider. Auf diese Weise unterscheiden sich die AN von den MQN, indem sie solche Praktiken explizit als diskursive behandeln (statt als eine stillschweigende Vorannahme). Trotz solcher Klarheit scheinen in sie eine ambivalente Funktion bezüglich der Darstellung der Gentrifikation einzunehmen. Auf der einen Seite bewerkstelligen sie einen Einwand zu den weit verbreiteten Darstellungen, auf der anderen scheinen sie die Unausweichlichkeit des Phänomens zu bekräftigen. Während die relevanten Daten aus unserem Korpus unzulänglich für umfassendere Betrachtungen sind, kann dies eine Anregung für zukünftige Forschung bieten, die die Distribution solcher Praktiken in der Welt der Informationsträger und ihre sozial-konstitutive Kapazität untersuchen könnten, und abschließend, ob sie dazu neigen, (Diskurs-)emanzipatorisch zu sein oder nicht.

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Erklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Dissertation mit dem Titel „The News Discourse of Urban Planning and Development: The Mitigation of Competing Claims and controversies“ selbständig verfasst und nur die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel verwendet habe. Ich versichere außerdem, dass ich die beigefügte Dissertation nur in dieser Promotionsverfahren eingereicht habe.

Pittsburgh, den 27.06.2011

Concetta Balestra