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The Control of Interpretation and the Interpellation of Subjectivity. On Possible Uses of Critical Discourse Analysis in Textbook Research (Exemplified by the Results of Discourse Examination in Selected Social Science Textbooks for Lower Secondary Schools)[1]

The aim of this paper is, first of all, to identify the opportunities offered by the critical paradigm, especially Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in textbook research[2]. Secondly, it is to demonstrate – on the basis of selected results of my survey of social science textbooks for lower secondary schools[3] – the possible effects of studies involving the use of CDA instruments. In the paper, I pay special attention to what is called the control of interpretation and to Norman Fairclough's concept of the interpellation of subjectivity in discourse. The research has demonstrated that the discursive and linguistic devices employed have primarily been used to legitimise and justify the representation of the social reality constructed in the text in textbooks and are designed to control the possible ambivalence in the understanding of the presented knowledge. The application of the CDA perspective and the development of the resulting methodology, allows us to identify the means with which the aforementioned effects are produced.

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[1] The theoretical and empirical studies described here were conducted within a research project No. 3637/H03/2007/32 funded by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (MniSzW) *Dyskursywna konstrukcja podmiotu w wybranych obszarach kultury współczesnej* [Discourse Subjectivity Formation in Selected Areas of Present-day Culture] implemented between 2007–2011 at the Philosophy of Education and Cultural Studies unit of the University of Gdańsk.

[2] J.L. Kincheloe, P. McLaren, *Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research*, [in:] *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, vol. I, N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd. 2005.

[3] The textbook research was a part of a larger research project comprising three elements: a survey of the narration of teachers, of students and of textbook discourse. It must therefore be stressed that not all the textbooks available were studied, but only those used in the classroom by the teachers participating in the survey.

In the first and larger part of the paper, I discuss the essence of a critical textbook research, for which the CDA-based methodology was the foundation on which the research methods and tools have been built. I also present the adopted theoretical perspective, based on selected CDA conceptions. The second part of the paper is devoted to the presentation of some of the results of the conducted research.

Critical perspective and CDA in textbook discourse research

Jason Nicholls identifies four basic approaches to school textbook research: positivism, post-modernism, hermeneutics and criteria theory[4]. I have adopted the latter perspective, whose main representative is, according to Nicholls, Michael W. Apple and in which it is the textbook which basically establishes the material conditions for classroom teaching and learning and defines what is elite and legitimate and as such should be adopted[5]. As Falk Pingel says, an important elements of textbook content are the recognised norms, rules and patterns of behaviour, in other words all that the generation producing the textbook knowledge believes in and, above all, all that it would like to inculcate into the younger generations[6]. This enculturative and, in fact, duplicative approach to textbook function has been supplemented by the critical theory with another important element, namely the relation of power, hegemony and ideology. Viewed in this way, a generation or a society at a given time in history does not exist as a universalised, undifferentiated body. As Apple says, it is not the society as a whole that forms the school textbook content (and school curricula), but a defined group of people within it[7]. In this way, textbooks play an important part in defining whose culture is taught and passed on[8].

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[4] J. Nicholls, *The Philosophical Underpinnings of School Textbook Research*, "Paradigm" 2005, 3/1.

[5] M.W. Apple, *Teachers and Texts. Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education*, Routledge, New York – London 1986, p. 81.

[6] F. Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision. 2 Revised and Updated Edition*, UNESCO, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Paris/Braunschweig 2010, p. 7.

[7] M.W. Apple, *Official Knowledge. Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, Routledge, New York – London 2000, p. 47.

[8] "Yet textbooks are surely important in and of themselves. They signify, through their content and form, particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge. They embody, what Raymond Williams called the "selective tradition": someone's selection, someone's vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital, disenfranchises another's. Texts are really messages to and about the future. As part of a curriculum, they participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of society. They participate in creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help recreate a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief, and morality really a r e". *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Close to this tradition is the approach whereby textbooks are viewed as social products and analysed with regard to a specific social, historical and cultural context[9]. The culturalist perspective is also focused on the examination of ideological influences on textbook contents, while contesting the perspective of traditional analysis, primarily oriented towards the possibilities of attaining the official, declarative objectives of education[10]. The textbook is treated here as one of the most important aids of both the teacher and the pupil[11], yet even in this case the concept of the concealed curriculum requires that its major functions be denaturalised. In this way, studies tend to focus on the one hand on the vision of the world the textbook creates, including the social realities and identity, and on the other – on the ways in which the process occurs[12]. Issues undertaken in this research context include the sources of legitimising the construction efforts affecting the textbook content[13].

The textbook, therefore, perceived in terms of a cultural artefact, is thus approached through its links with ideology. From this perspective, it is seen as a key instrument in the process of legitimating an ideology and a reflection of the beliefs, values and knowledge of the privileged social groups. Its content is studied as a manifestation of the cultural, ideological and political supremacy of the dominant groups, which by building the "valid" knowledge about the world and promoting the desired attitudes uphold their cultural hegemony[14]. In this way, the textbook provides ideologically mediated intellectual maps[15] presenting a picture of the world which may be perceived as necessary and unbiased.

As Anyon says, the ideologies contained in textbooks, despite being a representation of "the" reality (thanks to the practice of interpretation), appear to be an objective reality. The objective validity of the representation occurs because of the status of truthfulness it has gained thanks to the process of justification, rationali-

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[9] J. Anyon, *Ideology and Unites States History Textbooks*, "Harvard Educational Review" 1979, vol. 49, No. 3, p. 361.

[10] M. Chomczyńska-Rubacha, D. Pankowska, *Władza, ideologia, socjalizacja. Polityczność podręczników szkolnych* [Power, Ideology, Socialisation. The Political in School Textbooks], [in:] *Podręczniki i poradniki. Konteksty – Dyskursy – Perspektywy* [Textbooks and Handbooks. Contexts – Discourses – Perspectives], M. Chomczyńska-Rubacha (ed.), Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", Kraków 2011, p. 19.

[11] *Wartości i manipulacje w podręcznikach szkolnych* [Values and Manipulation in School Textbooks], E. Stawowy (ed.), Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls", Kraków 1995, p. 3.

[12] M. Chomczyńska-Rubacha, D. Pankowska, *Władza, ideologia…* [Power, Ideology…], p. 8.

[13] E. Zamojska, *Równość w kontekstach edukacyjnych. Wybrane aspekty równości w polskich i czeskich podręcznikach szkolnych* [Equality in Educational Contexts. Selected Equality Aspects in Polish and Czech Schools], Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2010, p. 142.

[14] K. Crawford, *The Role and Purpose of Textbooks*, "International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching, and Research" 2003, vol. 3 No. 2, p. 5.

[15] P.G. Altbach, *Textbooks: The International Dimension*, [in:] *The Politics of Textbooks*, M.W. Apple, L. Christian-Smith (eds.), Routledge, New York 1991, p. 244, after: M. Mirkovic, G. Skola and Y.K. Crawford, *Teaching History in Serbian and English Secondary Schools: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Textbooks*, "International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching, and Research" 2003, vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 91–92.

sation and legitimation[16]. Group or class interests may take the form of ideological selection, either through 'obvious exclusion' or 'concealed presumptions'. In this way, Anyon argues, the analysis of school knowledge as a social product is about exposing the vested and universalised interest of the powerful groups, which demonstrate their own concept of reality as legitimised. Consequently, groups which have not been empowered can be identified by disclosing the viewpoints, activities or practices that have not been included in the school curriculum or textbooks[17].

For Ewa Zalewska, the school textbook understood as a "construction laboratory"[18] and the knowledge constructed in it and viewed as a representation should be put in a perspective which she calls "analytical and discoursive"[19], as opposed to the 'conventional' approach[20]. Within this framework, she refers to the process of textbook construction (and the construction of the underlying curricula) as discourse-entangled[21].

The adoption of the perspective of discourse in the study of school textbooks enables an effective use of methodologies rooted in CDA[22]. From the ontological

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[16] J. Anyon, *Ideology…*, pp. 361–363.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 363.

[18] E. Zalewska, *Programy kształcenia i podręczniki szkolne w edukacji początkowej jako "wybór z kultury"* [Curricula and Textbooks in Early Schooling as a "Cultural Pick-and-Choose"], [in:] *Pedagogika wczesnoszkolna – dyskursy, problemy, rozwiązania* [Pedagogy of Early Education – Discourses, Problems, Solutions], D. Klus-Stańska, M Szczepska-Pustkowska (eds.), Wydawnictwo Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa 2009, p. 310.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 521.

[20] The conventional approach is connected with the concept of the textbook as a "didactic book". If this approach is used, the research is focused on the didactic function of the textbook and the evaluation of its substantive content. *Ibid.*, pp. 519, 521.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 509. This means that the knowledge created in the textbook is of a discursive nature, so as Zalewska says, "textbooks present to the pupils a reality from a specific political, cultural and social perspective. They contain a picture of the world which concentrates 'collective attitudes of the participants of culture and the rules for the creation of these attitudes'; the picture of the world thus constructed becomes a tool of socialisation. […] it may be said that that curricula and textbooks are constructed with regard to 'procedures of excluding' – ideas, types of knowledge, values, attitudes and opinions which do not conform with ideas and opinions about what is desirable, legal and truthful". *Ibid.*, pp. 511–512.

[22] It should be stressed that according to the initiators of this research orientation, CDA is not in itself a research method or a sub-discipline of discourse analysis. Authors writing about CDA use phrases like "research approach", "critical perspective or research" or "positioned discourse analysis". M. Meyer, *Between Theory, Method, and Politics: Positioning of the Approaches to CDA*, [in:] *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, M. Meyer, R. Wodak (eds.), Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi 2001, p. 14; T. A. van Dijk, *Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity*, [in:] *Methods…*, p. 96. CDA, which is a research approach, accommodates a number of research methodologies and theoretical perspectives. It is not, therefore, a single, specific theory or research methodology. Studies within the CDA perspective are marked by diversity, different theoretical foundations, lack of homogeneity in the choice of data to be analysed, and by the adopted methodology or diversity of approaches to language and grammar. G. Weiss, R. Wodak, *Introduction: Theory, Interdisciplinarity and Critical Discourse Analysis*, [in:] *Critical Discourse Analysis. Theory and Interdisciplinarity*, G. Weiss, R. Wodak (eds.), Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basignstoke, Hampshire, New York 2007, p. 12.

and epistemological perspectives, the main distinctive element is the assumption that reality is discursive or partly discursive[23], and secondly, the attitude mentioned above, i.e., social and cultural criticism[24]. Like any critical science, CDA poses questions in the first place about responsibility, interests and ideologies[25]. Its task is the study of linguistically manifested transparent and structural relations of dominance, discrimination, power, control as well as factors which consolidate and legitimate social inequalities[26], and it "always chooses the perspective of those who suffer most and critically analyzes those in power"[27]. As

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The differences may arise from the perspective adopted, which depending on whether the analysis is focused on microlinguistic, macrolinguistic, textual, discursive or contextual issues, becomes an increasingly philosophical, sociological or historical perspective. R. Wodak, *What CDA is About – A Summary of its History, Important Concepts and its Developments,* [in:] *Methods…*, p. 8. Differences may also be generated by a specific theoretical approach and its focus of attention, like the reproductive or innovative (discourse) perspective, sociocognitive processes or genres (mediation relation between the text and what is social), or the multifunctionality of the text (a systemic-functional approach to language), or its discursive character (hermeneutical and interpretative approach). N. Fairclough, R. Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis,* [in:] *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, vol. 2, T. A. van Dijk (ed.), Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi 2007, p. 262.

[23] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, who are counted among the most prominent discourse theorists of our time, and whose theory is duly recognised by Fairclough – the author of crucial concepts for this paper maintain that "discourse is the primary terrain of the constitution of objectivity as such". E. Laclau *On Populist Reason,* Verso, London – New York 2005, p. 68. This means it is the mechanism playing a fundamental role in constituting and shaping social reality. According to Laclau and Mouffe, "every object is constituted as an object of discourse", but the acceptance of the discursive nature of phenomena does not mean that empirically observable reality does not exist; it is only the recognition of the existence of objects in the symbolic space whose assigned meaning 'depends upon the structuring of a discursive field'". E. Laclau, Ch. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Social Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, London – New York 2001, pp. 107, 108. This, however, does not mean that the relation between discourse and social reality is unilaterally deterministic. Most discourse conceptions as well as theories developed within CDA assume there is dialectical relation between the two. Wodak says: "On the one hand, the situational, institutional and social settings shape and affect discourses, and, on the other, discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions". R. Wodak, *Introduction: Theory, Interdisciplinarity…*, p. 22.

[24] CDA is special not because researchers have declared a specific model of the method to be the correct one, but because of the primary goal of its research work, which is searching for a link between discourse and social inequalities. P. Tomanek, *O swoistości socjologicznej analizy dyskursu* [On the Specific Nature of Sociological Discourse Analysis], [in:] *Analiza dyskursu w socjologii i dla socjologii* [Discourse Analysis in and for Sociology], A. Horolets (ed.), Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2008, p. 31. The critical approach means concentrating on social problems, especially on the role of discourse in the constitution and reproduction of the relation of power, resulting in social inequalities. T. A. van Dijk, *Multidisciplinary CDA…*, p. 96; T. A. van Dijk, *The Discourse-Knowledge Interface,* [in:] *Critical Discourse Analysis. Theory…*, p. 87. "Like critical social science generally, CDA has emancipatory objectives, and is focused upon the problems confronting what we can loosely refer to as the 'losers' within particular forms of social life – the poor, the socially excluded, those subject to oppressive gender or race relations". N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis as a Method in Social Scientific Research,* [in:] *Methods…*, p. 125.

[25] T. A. van Dijk, *Racism in the Press*, Arnold, London 1986, p. 4, after: R. Wodak, *What CDA is About…*, p. 1.

[26] R. Wodak, *What CDA is About…*, p. 2.

[27] T. A. van Dijk, *Racism…*, p. 4.

ideological dominance linked with hegemonic interests is always naturalised, the aim of critically oriented discourse analysis is to denaturalise it by showing the relationship between the discourse and the specific (contextualised) social formation[28].

CDA is connected with a definite determination of theoretical assumptions[29], usually explicitly stated by researchers. I have based my research on the following (essential in the context of the present paper) assumptions: a representative and formative conception of discourse[30], the assumption that discourse processes are socio-cognitive[31], legitimation theories[32], and the conception of the interpellation of subjectivity in discourse. The latter will be described in more detail.

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[28] N. Fairclough, *Critical and Descriptive Goals in Discourse Analysis,* [in:] *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language,* N. Fairclough (ed.), Longman, London – New York 1999, pp. 27, 35.

[29] M. Meyer, *Between Theory, Method…*, p.17.

[30] In one of his books, Fairclough defines discourse as follows: "I see discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world. Particular aspects of the world may be represented differently, so we are generally in the position of having to consider the relationship between different discourses. Different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people. Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions. The relationships between different discourses are one element of the relationships between different people – they may complement one another, compete with one another, one can dominate others, and so forth. Discourses constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another – keeping separate from one another, cooperating, competing, dominating – and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another". N. Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse. Textual Analysis for Social Research,* Routledge, London-New York 2004, p. 124.

[31] Cognition occurring in the context of attitudes shared by a given community is, according to Dijk, a process of interaction between the discourse and the society, and cognitive formations are considered at both the individual and social level (within the context of power, ideology, norms and values). Dijk believes the socio-cognitive approach provides a foundation for conceptualising the macro (social) and microdimensional process of interaction. From the discourse perspective, knowledge is public in a double sense; on the one hand as public attitudes, on the other as the representations of the discourse situation. In this way, the representations formed are both individual and socially rooted, they integrate the experience, goals or interests of particular users of language, which in itself is social. T. A. van Dijk, *Contextual Knowledge Management in Discourse Production. A CDA Perspective,* [in:] *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis. Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture,* P. Chilton, R. Wodak (eds.), John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, Philadelphia 2005, p. 87.

[32] In this case, the legitimation theories of Wodak and Theo van Leeuwen as well as of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. In the former, legitimation is one of the discourse strategies designed to maintain and perpetuate certain semantic formations with the aim of supporting, maintaining and reproducing the created forms of identity and justifying the *status quo*. Legitimation is about "why social practices or parts thereof must be the way they are. This 'why' again is never intrinsic to the practice, but has to be construed in discourse". T. van Leeuwen, R. Wodak, *Legitimizing Immigration Control: A Discourse – Historical Analysis,* "Discourse Studies" 1999, vol. 1(1), pp. 93, 98. In the latter approach, "Legitimation 'explains' the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings". P. L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1991, p. 111.

In his concept, Fairclough assumes there are three levels of discourse, namely the text, the interaction/discursive practice, and the context (historical, political, economic and so forth)/social practice[33]. There is a dialectical interrelation between them, which in this case may mean intermediation. Every moment is included in the next one, at a higher level of generality. The broadest perspective is the social context. It determines the social agents' capacity to produce meaning, which Fairclough calls "members' resources". The resources constitute the cognitive dimension, as they determine the socially internalized and generated, but also socially modified resources of meaning, which people use in the process of construction, reconstruction and interpretation[34].

This means that production and interpretation are an interplay between, firstly, social (semantic) resources internalised by social agents and, secondly, models of text production that, after decoding, constitute sets of cues for the interpretation process. The use of resources and the model decoding process take place automatically and largely nonconsciously[35]. As Fairclough says, "A text only makes sense to someone who makes sense of it, someone who is able to infer those meaningful relations in the absence of explicit markers"[36], yet implied by the text itself.

In this perspective, Fairclough adopts Louis Althusser's theory of ideology (partly modified), in particular its principles that, in the first place, ideology materialises only in discursive practices; secondly, it interpellates individuals as subjects; and thirdly, that the object and venue of class struggle are "the ideological state apparatuses". Within this conception, we may only talk about subjectivity from the perspective of ideology, which as Althusser puts it, interpellates individuals to become subjects[37]. Consequently, we may not talk about subjects beyond ideology and beyond the material form of their ideological practice.

This concept can be best illustrated by the following excerpt from Althusser: "But the vast majority of (good) subjects work all right 'all by themselves', i.e. by ideology… They 'recognize' the existing state of affairs…, that 'it really is true that it is so and not otherwise'"[38]. This means that self-recognition within the ideological order is a guarantee of subjectivity. Althusser illustrates the mechanism in a picturesque way by depicting a situation when an individual turns round on being hailed by a policeman: "Hey, you there!" His reaction is automatic identification with the hailing him (and naming) system. However, becoming a subject is only

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[33] N. Fairclough, *Language and Power,* Longman Pearson Education, London 2001, p. 21; N. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change,* Polity Press, Cambridge 2009, p. 73.
[34] N. Fairclough, *Language…*, pp. 20–21.
[35] N. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social…*, p. 80.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[37] L. Althusser, *Ideology and the State Ideological Apparatuses*, transl. by Ben Brewster, [in:] L. Althusser (ed.), *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, Monthly Review Press, New York 1971, p. 170.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

possible if the subjects "are working by themselves", which means that although they are animated by the system, they should maintain a certain degree of autonomy, in other words recognise the sources of their subjectivity[39].

According to Fairclough, the mechanism amounts to the very participation in discourse practice, within which subjective positions are partly settled. In the case of school textbooks, they are those textual elements which deploy individual participants of the educational situation in a certain order by linguistic means. As stated earlier, the mechanism is not approached in such a deterministic way by modern varieties of discourse theory.

Processes of production and interpretation, however, are to a significant extent socially constrained. They are, on the one hand, constrained by the internalised members' resources (in this case functioning as a mental map of the social order)[40], and on the other, by the social practice formation within which production and interpretation actually take place and which affects the selection performed at the level of available resources[41]. At this point, Fairclough introduces two ways in which interpretations reduce the potential ambivalence of texts. The first one is that of 'context' (of the specific discourse practice within which the text is produced), the other is 'coherence'.

The effect of context means that members of the public take (nonconsciously) into consideration the whole context of the social practice of which the text is a part. The context, therefore, firstly means predictions about the meaning of the text, which reduce its ambivalence by excluding some possible meanings, and secondly the member background setting their positions (formed in the discourse at the stage of its production)[42]. Coherence relating to the process of interpretation (and not the features of the text itself) means that texts interpellate subjects and the possible interpretations linked with the subjects' set positions[43].

Every institution or specific model of social interaction (set in specific social practice) constitutes a basic reference framework which determines the possible interpretations by the individuals involved. In the case of the school and the textbooks used there, it means that every ambivalence they contain (giving an opportunity for a diversity of interpretations) is controlled by the context. The broadest context, as has been said, is the social reality (or to be precise, its hegemonic representation).

The social context is thus important not only as a framework in which textbooks occur as discourse or knowledge – which is produced as an important element of

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[39] Identification is thus possible by a simple self-recognition in ideology, "…that you and I are always already subjects, and as such constantly practice the rituals of ideological recognition, which guarantee for us that we are indeed concrete, individual, distinguishable and (naturally) irreplaceable subjects". *Ibid.,* pp. 172–173. Participation in rituals, therefore, confirms subjectivity.

[40] N. Fairclough, *Discourse…*, p. 82.

[41] *Ibid.,* pp. 80, 83.

[42] *Ibid.,* p.81.

[43] *Ibid.,* pp. 83–84.

textbook production – but also as the defining of accompanying or underlying objectives. It has to be stressed that in the perspective adopted here, the relationship between the context and the knowledge constituted in the textbooks, and the educational objectives behind the curricula and the textbooks, is not a direct one. In the CDA perspective, the category which describes the relationship between the social practice characteristic of a given context and its discursive representation elsewhere is recontextualisation[44].

As Fairclough says, "every practice (and every network of social practices – every field) recontextualizes other social practices according to principles which are specific to that practice/field…"[45]. In this way, the category of recontextualisation refers to the relation between production and representation[46]. If we accept that every recontextualisation causes transformation, which is affected by interests, values or the goals of the discourse in its own social practice[47], (in this case a school textbook in the social practice of education), it is because the recontextualised discursive (or nondiscursive) social practice takes place outside the context of the represented practice[48].

Even if the process of interpretation is subject to so much control, it can never be total, simply because of the diversity of the members' resources of individuals and communities. Nevertheless, assuming the existence of a dominant rationality and hegemony of a single ideological option, we may look at the process of education, in which textbooks are involved, from the perspective of Bourdieu's classic theory of symbolic power. It should be stressed that the value of CDA for this type of research is not in the conception of the power that is exercised through discursive practices, but mostly in the possibility of perceiving the logic and the ways in which these processes take place, resulting in the continuation of the hegemony. The possible criticism of CDA's circular nature is therefore ill advised. The purpose is not solely to prove what has previously been assumed –

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[44] The category of recontextualisation has been borrowed by CDA scholars from Basil Bernstein, whose theory of "pedagogic discourse" is largely consonant with the discursive formation concept adopted in CDA. Berstein views the social practice of a classroom as constituting not only pedagogic knowledge, but also identities and the relations between its participants. L. Chouliaraki, *Regulation in 'Progressivist' Pedagogic Discourse Individualized Teacher-Pupil Talk*, *Discourse and Society* 1995, 9 (1), p. 4. Bernstein claims that although pedagogic discourse is not a discourse *per se* ("discourse without discourse"), when interpreted as a principle it concerns the agreeing or matching of other discourses. In this sense, it means above all recontextualisation, or the principle of recontextualisation. B. Bernstein, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity. Theory, Research, Critique,* Taylor & Francis, London 1996, pp. 46–47. As a principle of recontextualisation, pedagogic discourse embodies two basic discourses, abilities and their interrelations (the discourse of instruction) and social order discourse (the discourse of regulation); the work of the two results in imaginary discourse and imaginary subjects. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

[45] N. Fairclough, *Discourse, Social Theory and Social Research: The Discourse of Welfare Reform,* http:// ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/Discourse.pdf, accessed on: 16.08.2012, p. 24.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[47] N. Fairclough, *Media discourse,* Hodder Education, London 1995, pp. 114–115.

[48] T. van Leeuwen, R. Wodak, *Legitimizing…*, p. 96.

violence, power relations etc. – but to demonstrate the means and strategies used in this process.

Examples of CDA applied to analyse the mechanisms of interpellation and the control of interpretation contained in the examined textbooks

The mechanisms of interpretation control were not initially within the scope of the research. Its chief objective was to reconstruct and examine the representations contained in the social studies textbooks for lower secondary schools[49] and the discursive devices used to form these representations. During the examination, however, it turned out that the content of the textbook is a kind of controlled interaction with the reader, i.e., the pupil, in the first place. In this way, the knowledge constituted in the textbooks is not merely a form of authoritarian transmission or persuasion, but is accompanied by the mechanism of justification and legitimation[50].

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[49] Eight civics textbooks have been analysed, from three different publishers: two published by Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej (1. A. Pacewicz, T. Merta (eds.), *Kształcenie obywatelskie w szkole samorządowej. Podręcznik i ćwiczenia dla uczniów gimnazjum* [Civic Education in Local Government Schools. Textbook and Workbook for Lower Secondary Students], Part 1, CEO Warsaw; 2. A. Pacewicz, T. Merta (eds.), *Kształcenie obywatelskie w szkole samorządowej. Podręcznik i ćwiczenia dla uczniów gimnazjum,* Część II, [Civic Education in Local Government Schools. Textbook and Workbook for Lower Secondary Students], Part 2, CEO, Warsaw); three textbooks from Juka publishers (3. J. Królikowski, To jest ważne. Żyję wśród innych. Wiedza o społeczeństwie. Podręcznik z ćwiczeniami dla gimnazjum 1 [It Does Matter. I Live among Others. Civic Knowledge. Textbook and Workbook for the Lower Secondary Grade 1] Juka; 4. J. Królikowski, *To jest ważne. Żyję wśród innych. Wiedza o społeczeństwie. Podręcznik z ćwiczeniami dla gimnazjum 2* [It Does Matter. I Live among Others. Civic Knowledge. Textbook and Workbook for the Lower Secondary Grade 2], Juka; 5. K. Brząkalik, *To jest ważne. Pracuję, zarabiam, gospodaruję. Wiedza o społeczeństwie. Podręcznik z ćwiczeniami do gimnazjum 3* [It Does Matter. I Work, Earn and Manage My Money. Textbook and Workbook for the Lower Secondary Grade 3], Juka; and three textbooks published by Nowa Era (6. K. Kryszka, R. Kryszka, T. Kowalewska, *Dziś i jutro 1. Wiedza o społeczeństwie – podręcznik z ćwiczeniami dla klasy pierwszej gimnazjum* [Today and Tomorrow 1. Civic Knowledge – Textbook and Workbook for the Lower Secondary Grade 1], Nowa Era; 7. A. Kucia, T. Maćkowski, *Dziś i jutro 2. Wiedza o społeczeństwie – podręcznik z ćwiczeniami dla klasy drugiej gimnazjum,* [Today and Tomorrow 2. Civic Knowledge – Textbook and Workbook for the Lower Secondary Grade 2], Nowa Era; 8. I. Janicka, A. Janicki, A. Kucia, *Dziś i jutro 3. Wiedza o społeczeństwie – podręcznik z ćwiczeniami dla klasy trzeciej gimnazjum* [Today and Tomorrow 3. Civic Knowledge – Textbook and Workbook for the Lower Secondary Grade 3], Nowa Era). The number assigned to each of the textbooks above is the same as in the code-numbered excerpts quoted below.

[50] This does not signify the absence from textbooks of standard forms of influence, like indoctrination (a device used to gain adherents of a specific ideology), manipulation (a bias in presenting information), authoritarianism (speaking in a moralising or directive manner), veneration (the use of exaggerated, lofty language), dogmatism (lack of criticism), information selection and blockade (muddling facts with evaluation, descriptions with interpretations, empirical observations with desired patterns, the use of persuasive definitions), bias in the selection of texts, information or visual material, selective representativeness of social phenomena, attaching more value to some versions of the reality than to others, biased evaluation and hierarchisation, attaching

Dan B. Fleming notes that social studies are a "sensitive subject", which cannot be taught without introducing value judgments. Textbook authors, however, have not always been critical enough of the society they live in[51]. From the critical analysis perspective, the aforesaid "not being critical enough" is not accidental. If the dominance of a specific representation of reality is assumed, resulting from the hegemonic position of a specific social group or groups, the ideological, normative "investment" is set in a context, within which the textbook knowledge is produced, legitimated and justified. In other words, the justification and legitimation concern those aspects of reality which the authors explicitly intend to reflect, while being implicitly represented in the form of the specific (ideologically mediated) knowledge constituted in the textbooks. The ideology and particularity may therefore be acquired as a consequence of the process of legitimation and justification resulting in the naturalisation and reification of arbitrary representations contained in textbooks, which in fact is the very essence of the mechanism of interpretation control. The effect is that the constituted knowledge about the reality does not seem to be arbitrarily imposed, but rationally and independently recognised.

It should be pointed out that the discussion of discourse strategies – especially if they concern interpretation – without including the issue of representation is problematic. In CDA, discourse strategies are used in the perspective of their material effects. The analysis of formal mechanisms (i.e., how the discourse works) is subordinated to what is articulated in the discourse (which in CDA is interpreted through the theory of hegemony). Since representations are not the main focus of the present paper,[52] I am going to, if necessary, briefly indicate with which type of representation the given example of interpretation control is connected.

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labels, presenting realities as ideal and free from problems, referring to indisputable theses and argumentation. M. Chomczyńska-Rubacha, D. Pankowska, *Władza…* [Power, Ideology*…*], pp. 26–28. On the contrary, they are a significant part of the process. However, the basic phenomenon observed in textbooks is the mechanism of evoking or generating the readers' acceptance of the chosen representations.

[51] D. B. Fleming, *High School Social Studies Textbooks: Good or Bad Compared to What?*, The International Journal of Social Education 1989–1990, 4, p. 6, quoted after F. Pingel, *UNESCO…*, p. 8.

[52] Elements of this problem have been discussed elsewhere: K. Starego, *Obraz porządku społecznego i tożsamości obywatelskiej na przykładzie wybranych podręczników wiedzy o społeczeństwie* [The Picture of Social Order and Civic Identity Exemplified by Some Civics Textbooks], [in:] *Podręczniki…* [Textbooks…]; K. Starego, *Obywatelstwo* [Citizenship], [in:] *Dyskursywna konstrukcja podmiotu. Przyczynek do rekonstrukcji pedagogiki kultury* [Discursive Subject Constitution. A Contribution to Redefining the Pedagogy of Culture], M. Cackowska et al., "Ars Educandi Monografie", vol. III, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2012.

Intertextuality – objectivation and legitimation
as interpretation control

Like in most school textbooks, source texts appear in the analysed textbooks. Their choice and place in the structure of particular topics make it possible to determine their unassumed (embedded) yet performed functions. The starting point for their understanding may be the concept of intertextuality[53] (a key category used in CDA). This means that every text is rich in fragments of other texts, therefore each process of interpretation is generated and influenced by the whole chain of intertextuality appearing in the text. Fairclough calls this "manifest intertextuality"[54].

Constituting the subject position or interpellation of subjectivity within a discourse through intertextuality takes place because, as Fairclough argues, "Texts postulate, and implicitly set up interpretative positions for, interpreting subjects who are 'capable' of using assumptions from their prior experience to make connections across the intertextually diverse elements of a text, and to generate coherent interpretations"[55]. The whole of the process is of a strictly ideological nature and produces ideological effects.

We may identify two main ways in which intertextuality enables the control of interpretation in the textbooks studied here. This is connected with two basic functions of intertextuality – both present in the textbooks – which may be defined as: objectivation and legitimation. In the former case, the framework is created for the discourse defining the constituted objectivity. Here, thematically selected quotations appear at the beginning of the text. This arrangement prevails in textbooks 5, 6, 7 and 8. It should be noted that in one of them, concerning economic knowledge, an epigraph from Friedrich Hayek (whose thought is considered a classic of neoliberal ideology)[56] is used:

> The best way to understand how the operation of the market system leads not only to the creation of an order, but also to a great increase of the return which men receive from their efforts, is to think of it […] as a game […]. It is a wealth-creating game […], that is, one that leads to an increase of the stream of goods and of the prospects of all participants to satisfy their needs […] (5,4).

The use of intertextuality as legitimation constitutes in this case a representation of the market economy as a regulating force and universally shared welfare.

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[53] The category of intertextuality, which Fairclough uses after Mikhail Bakhtin and Julia Kristeva, describes the internal textual diversity of any single text.

[54] N. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social…*, pp. 85, 117.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[56] Which does matter in view of the fact that the textbook deals with economic knowledge.

Selected press sources are frequently used, most of which are conservative or conservative-liberal dailies and weeklies[57]. This usually involves authorisation – personal (journalists, politicians) or impersonal (the press as the legitimised representation of realities)[58]. In the case of personal authorisation, the position and significance of the person to whom reference is made in the textbook are specified, e.g.,

These are the words of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, an outstanding Polish politician, the prime minister of the first government […] (4,5);

Dariusz Filar (professor of economics at the University of Gdańsk) (5,63);

The author of the text you have just read is the 1974 Nobel Prize winner for economics Friedrich von Hayek – a prominent twentieth-century economist, lawyer, sociologist and philosopher (5,4).

The starting point is often the delegitimation of the preceding order, in contrast to which (through derogatory reference) the positive image of the present is built. Examples of this are provided by topics which are constituted by making a reference to pre-transition socialism in Poland. Within the topic of the market economy and the market, legitimation of the economic order after 1989 is constituted in opposition to communist Poland. The introducing quote is from an entrepreneur doing business before 1989, talking to the *Rzeczpospolita* daily. Legitimation of the order by derogatory reference, apart from the comparison itself, is coupled with the work of intertextuality – legitimation through evaluation.

The quote is saturated with disparaging words; on the contrary, the textbook description of the market system uses words having positive connotations. Thus, the former contains words and phrases like "were seized", "took them over", "apportionment", "the government knows best", "centrally decided", "queues", "long hours of waiting", "poor quality", "were wasted", "there was shortage", and "you couldn't get it". The latter, by contrast – "nobody orders you", "I no longer have to write", "you can buy anything", "plenitude", and "we've forgotten the empty shelves in the shops". Within the framework built in this way, the specific form of the post-transition order, apart from selfreification, automatically gains legitimation, which secures it from being questioned or challenged.

The representation of the *status quo* constituted in this way is additionally secured by the contextual (the context of lesson structure) control of interpretation. In the lesson structure, the mediating function between the intertextually consti-

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[57] Such as *Wprost* and *Rzeczpospolita*, sometimes *Tygodnik Powszechny*, less frequently *Polityka* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

[58] Personal and impersonal authorisation are a discursive form of legitimation through reference to authority (personal or impersonal). T. van Leeuwen, R. Wodak, *Legitimizing…*, pp. 104–105.

tuted representation (the quotation from Balcerowicz) and the legitimised representation of the present-day social system is performed by the questions the pupils are asked in the closing part of the lesson, which correspond with the goals set at the beginning:

> …you are going to learn where some of Poland's economic problems have come from…, you are going to understand where the sources are of the difficulties we are going through…, you will try to conclude if the recovery of the Polish economy has been completed…; with the skills and knowledge gained, you will be able to formulate your opinion on the economic transition in Poland.
> What, according to the author of the text, are the roots of P o l a n d's m o s t s e r i - o u s problems? D o y o u a g r e e with what professor L e s z e k B a l c e r o w i c z says? W h i c h e c o n o m i c p r o b l e m s d o y o u c o n s i d e r to be most painful for the people? Try to identify t h e c a u s e s o f t h e s e p r o b l e m s by yourself. W h a t, i n y o u r o p i n i o n, h a s n o t b e e n s u c c e s s f u l l y reformed in the last two years? Which branches of the economy s h o u l d b e t r a n s f o r m e d in the first place?

Within the previously prepared semantic and interpretative universe (designated by the quotation from Balcerowicz) the process emerges of legitimising economic reforms primarily designed to wind up the social state, the reduction of the social functions of the state, etc. The final element of this mechanism is the repetition of the legitimation process through adequately formulated closing questions: "W a s the introduction of such radical reforms n e c e s s a r y? C o u l d w e h a v e d o n e without them? What socio-economic price d i d w e h a v e t o p a y?".

Another example of objectivation achieved with the delegitimizing role of intertextuality is the quoting of statistics meant to prove there is no extreme poverty in Poland, or delegitimation of claims about the aggravation of poverty. This strategy appears with the topic of the income and expenditure of households. The accepted indicator of poverty is the limited use of consumer durables. In the final part of the lesson – "Key points to remember" – the following questions appear:

> Do you agree with the 'common knowledge' statement that Poles were getting poorer and poorer throughout the 1990s? Do household expenditure and consumer durables possession statistics support this statement? So why do people believe they are getting poorer and poorer? (5,33)

It is worth noting that the topic in the textbook contains a statement designed to provide the answer to the last of the questions asked:

> In the 1990s, more and more households acquired such goods, which shows that people in Poland were getting better off rather than worse off. People's feelings, however, are different – they will often say they are poor when they cannot afford to satisfy all their needs. This does not always mean living in poverty. (5,29)

In all the textbooks studied here, we encounter – apart from the source texts described above – short "occasional" quotes. They appear as insertions between the previously highlighted parts of the text structure. Their chief function is then to legitimate the previously constituted knowledge. An example can be legitimation through authorisation, an important element of which is "mythopoesis"[59]. In one of the textbooks, when "alternative cost" is discussed, La Fontaine's fable appears. This is an interesting example, as it shows how control of interpretation resulting from intertextuality is supplemented with interpretative control in the form of the exercise which goes with the fable. Like every fable, this one is based on a powerful normative message, moralising and contrasting the good heroes (usually rewarded) with the bad ones (whose behaviour is usually punished).

In the fable *The Grasshopper and the Ant* (2,91), quoted in a thematic sub-chapter, the example to follow is the ant, shown as industrious, responsible and provident, who has secured her survival in the winter thanks to hard work; the negative hero is the grasshopper, described in terms of thoughtlessness, irresponsibility and absence of forward thinking (as the ant was working all the summer, the grasshopper sang casually). Although a reverse interpretation of the characters in the fable is possible (the miserly ant refusing help to the grasshopper, who had put general interest before her own and with her singing made life nicer for all the inhabitants of the meadow and so on, and so forth), the task set for the pupils (below the text) leaves no room for such an interpretation. The presupposed interpretation (reflected in the questions asked) is to regard the grasshopper's decision (about singing throughout the summer) as an economic decision with an alternative cost (the possibility of gathering supplies and surviving the winter). In this way, the decision may be ultimately considered to be irrational and irresponsible.

This fragment shows how intertextuality and two overlapping types of interpretative control relate to knowledge legitimation, but also contribute to the constitution of the recipient's mental model, in which various types of behaviour will be assessed in terms of "rational choices", each of which involves the cost of specific consequences. In this situation, the consequences an individual will have to bear in the context of alternative cost will be legitimised as a problem of his/her own making (every irresponsible economic decision entails punishment – in the grasshopper's situation the punishment is sort of ultimate).

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[59] Mythopoesis is also a form of discursively constituted legitimation, working through the telling of stories. They may be presented as 'moral tales' proving the existence of general, prescribed norms of behaviour, or as 'cautionary tales' used to show and censure deviant behaviour. *Ibid.,* p. 110.

Control of interpretation in textbook exercises

The description of interpretative control in the problems the pupils are expected to solve on the basis of the textbook presentation of a topic is difficult insofar as it requires the thematic context and the way of representation of diverse phenomena, evaluations, legitimations, etc. The tasks for pupils in the textbooks can be divided into two categories: problem solving and knowledge reproduction. It is also important that most of the tasks are to be performed as groupwork. As far as the control of interpretation in the exercises (meant to be problems to solve) is concerned, it is difficult to separate the strategy from the text, as the control is chiefly designed to legitimate the issues appearing as the topic is introduced.

One of its forms is a device which can be labelled "pretended ideological dilemmas". In this case, the process of interpretation control is connected with the absence of either a genuine ideological choice other than the one preferred in the textbook, or of a real conflict in the exercise itself. This is the case with the tasks in textbooks (1) and (2) marked with a graphic symbol and highlighting "dilemmas emerging in the classroom, in other words very difficult questions to resolve" (1,VII). In this perspective, it is of great significance what appears in the tasks as a dilemma (thus considered to be difficult to resolve) on the one hand, and the way of its resolution suggested by interpretative control on the other, the latter working not only through the way in which the dilemma has been formulated, but also through the context in which it appears.

The most frequent strategy is the assumption of the right answer by reference to the text with which the pupils' task appears, and which clearly indicates which of the confronted options is the appropriate one. Examples are provided by the following exercises: *Get involved or stay out?* The exercise appears in the context of forms of civic activity and begins with the following description:

'It's a waste of time.' 'Why bother about it?' 'It's not going to make a change, anyway.' – some say. 'Those who get involved in public activity must have a vested interest.' – others add. Many young people believe that civic activity is boring, if not suspicious. And what do you think about it? (2,5)

"Go to the polls, or not?" This "dilemma" is placed within the topic titled Off to the Polls. The possibility of a problem situation is also excluded right at the beginning. This is the text of the task:

[…] People who do not go to the polls say they are not interested in politics, there are no proper candidates, or that my vote doesn't count, anyway. Some are simply too lazy to go out. In a few years' time, this will become your dilemma – going or not going to the polls. Will you take part in the elections when you reach the age of 18? Why? (2,8)

Quite apart from the already assumed answer rendering the dilemma a pretended one, we should have in focus the constitution of a negative reference and the process of the delegitimation of certain attitudes (thought to be common in social realities). An exercise of this kind is based on a previously adopted assumption of desirable versus undesirable action, to which a particular matrix of reasoning is attributed (reflected by the justification of objections to civic activity and voting in the elections). The tasks, therefore, are not designed to form a genuine dilemma, but to stigmatise and eliminate attitudes thought to be frequent in the social realities. Moreover, the stigmatisation of attitudes is followed by the stigmatisation of those individuals who may be associated with such attitudes.

The exercises in textbooks 3–5, in which the device of pretended ideological dilemmas is used, require a more detailed analysis. In this case we have a separate subgroup of "dilemma" tasks, in which a major role is played by the context and the entire structure of knowledge presentation. The exercises are structured on the idea of a "for a and against" discussion of an issue, an opinion or a question on the basis of arguments given by the authors of the textbook. The arguments are listed in a table headed "Let's talk". Under the table, there are check-your-knowledge questions concerning the topic (usually about the content of the textbook, or problem questions, but these are always loaded questions). The task for the pupils follows after the questions – they are to take a stance and debate using the arguments given earlier. The task description is followed by another table: "Wish to know more". It is only after all the elements of the exercise have been presented that it is possible to grasp the control of the interpretation logic, which makes the presented ideological dilemma a pretended one because a "proper" mental perspective, which the pupils are supposed to follow, is assumed from the start.

The first specimen of an exercise like this concerns the issue: "Is profit fair?" (5,12). The exercise is in the context of the topic "The market of goods and services". It should be stressed that the text preceding the exercise (through the strategy of reification) constitutes the representation of the market as being ruled by objectively existing forces (quite like the laws of nature). Moreover, the market is represented as a field on which agreement is generated between the various players. Individuals are represented as beings having excessive needs which cannot be satisfied. Consequently, only arguments "for" are adequate or corresponding with the topic as they operate with categories already used and explained in the text (e.g., profit as a stimulator of entrepreneurship). Furthermore, one of the arguments resorts to the strategy of personal authorisation through manifest intertextualisation taking the form of a legitimating opinion from outside (a quotation from a book on management). Arguments "against", on the other hand, are based on issues which have not been discussed in any context and in any of the textbooks (e.g., the profit of some is generated by the work of others, social injustice, the immoral nature of excessive profit and so on).

In every exercise of the type, the textbook constitutes two areas: the area of legitimated knowledge and the area of delegitimated "common sense" – with the assumption that the latter may be part of social awareness (including the pupils) which is to be delegitimated or even nihilated, and then resocialised through alternation[60]. The arguments "against", therefore, refer to emotions or morality (it is significant that the constituted representation of the market excludes the possibility of a moral assessment of the effects of its operation), and are presented in too general or even populist terms, as opinions rather than objectivated "facts" (NB., each of the studied textbooks constitutes this division as a criterion evaluating every statement), etc. Their wording is obscure or at least difficult to understand because they do not correspond with the content of the textbook. But, above all, they find no legitimation in the knowledge already constituted. As a result, the dilemma situation is no dilemma at all, but is meant to stigmatise opinions which do not comply with the ideological interpretation of the knowledge the textbook is to constitute.

As far as the context is concerned, the debate task does not appear immediately after the argumentation is presented, but after a check-your-knowledge exercise tagged "Key points to remember", which contains questions about the topic and repeat its content. After running a debate, the pupils are supposed to answer questions like

> Why do people consider profit to be unfair? Is such view, in your opinion, justified? Can the amount of 'fair profit' be determined? (5,12)

With this wording of the questions, the possible profit-related injustice is again subjectivated by being referred to individual opinions rather than "real facts". The possibility of an objective calculation is questioned also in the third loaded question (in this case suggesting that an objective criterion is impossible to introduce).

The whole of the interpretation strategy, however, is completed in the last part of the topic, namely with a table containing excerpts from articles in the press (it is headed "Wish to know more" and is the closing of each subchapter). They concur with the topic, but their function is also to legitimate the previously given representations. A box contains an excerpt from a book by Milton R. Friedman (another

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[60] Within Luckmann and Berger's concept of legitimation, nihilation, resocialisation and therapy are ways in which a specific symbolic universe copes with elements that should be excluded. Nihilation is a kind of "negative legitimation" and negates the reality of phenomena or identities, or re-interprets them so that they fit in a given universe. P. L. Berger, T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction…*, pp. 176–180. Re-socialisation is the pre-condition of legitimation. Re-socialisation understood as "a change of the worlds (or symbolic universes) is indispensable whenever there is a need for a counter-definition of the reality. One of the possibilities is a total modification, which the authors call alternation". *Ibid.*, pp. 190–191.

major neoliberal thinker) about the "invisible hand of the market", which also provides a basis for the delegitimation of the statement that profit is unfair.

> Most economic fallacies derive from the neglect of this simple insight, from the tendency to assume that there is a fixed pie, that one party can gain only at the expense of another. (5,14)

A significant proportion of such exercises in the textbook is related to the ideological dispute about social justice in its different contexts. But for the mechanism of the interpretative control described above, one might think that they are designed to show the diversity of ideological foundations on which the understanding of particular social problems may be based. The ideological diversity, however, is subject to delegitimation and then to reinterpretation. Moreover, the strategy of interpretative control works not only through the textbook material, controlling the possible interpretation of its content, but also through evoking problems, which are subsequently subject to nihilation or delegitimation. Thus the control seems not only to cover the interpretation of the textbook discourse representations, but also to be extended to the social discourse (not represented before) which the textbook tries to generate and then to control, in order to anticipate its possible impact on the consciousness of the pupils, or remove the possibility of its emergence in their consciousness altogether.

Subject positioning in the discourse

The issue analysed from this perspective is the use of personal pronouns – "I", "you", "we", "they" – as well as their absence and the use of impersonal forms. As Małgorzata Lisowska-Magdziarz says, while analysing discourse one should consider what starting point is assumed to be common to the author and the decoder (by the former), or what kind of cognitive and emotional community is established by the partners engaging in a discourse[61]. The use of personal pronouns like "we", Fairclough claims, is to create a particular bond between the author of the discourse and its addressees; in the same way, the use of "they" works to exclude. On the other hand, "we" can be a manifestation of power, when the person using it positions himself/herself as legitimised to speak on behalf of a certain group. The use of the 2nd person singular "you" may be connected with building a relation of solidarity between the author of the discourse and its interpreters and be a call on them to take a stance on the problem appearing in the text[62].

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[61] M. Lisowska-Magdziarz, *Analiza tekstu w dyskursie medialnym. Przewodnik dla studentów* [Text Analysis in Media Discourse. A Guidebook for Students], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Cracow 2006, p. 55.
[62] N. Fairclough, *Language…*, pp. 106–107.

The attempt to build a unity with the interpreter/-s results from the fact that at the base of any discourse is the creation of a pre-imagined audience. This means that, to a certain extent, the text designs a specific interpreter (or interpreters) who is (or are) then subjected to the process of modelling, the effect being an ideal or typical individual or collective interpreter[63].

As Lisowska-Magdziarz says, the author "may choose a communication strategy that will emphasise community, unity and try to build a common identity of the recipient group"[64], in this way creating uniformity or diversity within the audience.

In the textbooks studied here, the use of personal as well as of impersonal phrases serves the aims like the distribution of experientiality, distribution of agency and distribution of access. The first one involves the areas of social realities which are constituted either as near or remote and abstract. When the experience is near, it is possible to take action in specific areas of what is social and, consequently, gain access to the areas themselves. This is of crucial importance in terms of subjects' influence on social realities, and therefore the shaping of a particular attitude to social realities. In other words, the use of either personal or impersonal forms is meant to constitute the representation of the scope of social agency of both the individual and social subjects. This is exemplified by the following textbook excerpts:

There is an adage which says: "Man is a wolf to man". It is supposed to mean that each of u s looks only about his/her interests and in an effort to secure them, is prepared to take things from others or act to their disadvantage […] Naturally, each of u s has needs and interests. W e m a k e e f f o r t s to get money to buy food, clothing, a car, books and toys for the children, to go on holiday and so on. But w e t r y to get an education in order to have an interesting job and do something worth doing, in the first place. W e w a n t to have a family because one of human needs is to love and be loved. So w e not only h a v e material needs (money), but also what is called higher level needs (love, knowledge) or spiritual ones (living a meaningful life). What is more, man is not always driven by his/her needs or advantage. Every day, each of us does a lot of things for our beloved […] W e also g e t i n v o l v e d in activities for the sake of group interests or of the local community […] The closer or more similar to us other people are, the more willing w e a r e t o d o something for them. It is easier to help your relatives than people you don't know. But w e a r e also a b l e to help people who are different or far away from us, for instance by taking part in fundraising for children suffering from cancer or for the victims of war in Kosovo, Afghanistan or Iraq. (1,35)

Executive bodies in Poland are the president and the government. The president i s c h o s e n in a general election for a five-year term of office. The president is the head of state, whose function is not so much day-to-day government, as to prevent major

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[63] M. Lisowska-Magdziarz, *Analiza tekstu…* [Text Analysis], p. 62.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

conflicts between the various power organs. The president, therefore, should be an arbiter, the more powerful as h e h o l d s a m a n d a t e o f t r u s t o f t h e m a - j o r i t y o f c i t i z e n s, w h o e l e c t e d h i m b y d i r e c t v o t e. The President of the Republic of Poland has the powers typical of the head of state, like ratifying inter-national agreements (although the ratification of most important agreements requires the approval of the parliament), appointing and recalling ambassadors who represent Poland in other countries, awarding state decorations, granting Polish citizenship, the power of pardon. (2,51)

Personal pronouns like "we", "you" (both singular and plural) as well as their possessive forms "our", "your", or "their" appear with topics in which the strategy of legitimation is more visibly present. Where knowledge is presented through a description of procedures, definitions etc., impersonal forms are more common, or objectivated subject positions are applied, like "citizens", "consumers", "em-ployers", "employees", "customers", "children", "pupils" etc.; topics with which legitimation strategy is more commonly used tend to build an impression of em-powerment. While interpretation control is fully maintained, pupils are steered to-wards predetermined conclusions, but as they follow the argumentation and have to declare their acceptance (nonacceptance seems absolutely out of the question), they may have an impression of participating in knowledge building. Moreover, a specific bond emerges between the speaker/author and the interpreter – the bond of subordination to the order neither of them can control: majority opinion, what authorities say, accepted norms of behaviour, common-sense argumentation both have to accept their persuasiveness. With topics in which knowledge is pre-sented in an objectivated language and the resulting practice is subject to iteration, the speaker/author looks like a person transmitting or reporting an objective order which has to be accepted.

The use of personal structures, which emphasize the community of the au-thor's and the interpreter's experiences, not only makes the knowledge closer and contextualised in experience, but even more, it removes the status of knowledge from what is constituted and transmitted. The concepts or theories on which the argumentation is based get naturalised as common sense, thus gaining greater per-suasiveness. The interpreter's task is now not so much to acquire the knowledge constituted in this way, as to discover the described regularities in his/her own behaviour. When texts contain a large number of formal terms, the knowledge they constitute becomes decontextualised and the author's or speaker's position is concealed. Furthermore, the subject of the argumentation becomes completely separated from the interpreter's experience as a result of the language of objecti-vation that is used. It should be stressed that the closeness to or remoteness from experience does not reflect the presence or absence of the possibility of participa-tion in the phenomenon described, but the use of a particular form of the linguistic medium, which may in itself be a distancing tool, for instance by the use of other than everyday language.

Personal forms, signifying the proximity of experience and, consequently, the accessibility and possibility of influencing social realities, occur in topics like groups, local community, civic activity and the market. Distancing and abstracting comes with areas like government, local government, politics, democracy etc. As a result, we may talk about the following material effects of the above mechanisms: the distributive control of the political, the delimitation of the boundaries of power and control, the shift from social conflicts to the society versus the authorities/the state, the homogenisation of what is social, the romanticisation of localness and the formalisation of democracy. The first two cases are connected with the process of the delimitation of the boundaries of social agency, which in the textbooks discussed here is strongly separated from power and the ability to transform the reality, as a result of which civic activities lose their political dimension, to be confined to the manifestation of specific psychological needs. In the third, the fourth and the fifth of the cases, the society is deprived of the dimension of conflict. As a result, it is impossible for the relation of domination as well as the mechanisms of social distance development to surface. Such perspective makes it impossible to ask questions and, therefore, to challenge the existing social inequalities resulting from the given social stratification. Ultimately, democracy itself loses the dimension of social experience and is reduced to a set of formalised institutions and procedures.

The three examples described above of the analysis of interpretative control mechanisms in action illustrate how certain representations (of various dimensions of social reality) are protected from being challenged, which could undermine the specific form of the ideological *status quo*.

The presentation of the opportunities offered by CDA, especially from the perspective described in the first part of this paper, the control of the interpretation and interpellation of subjects in the discourse, provides a tool for the examination of the discursive constitution of school knowledge. It is really important that the tools are above all subjected to the critical interest of this variety of discourse analysis. Thanks to this, the CDA perspective allows a subsequent interpretation of the uncovered discursive and linguistic mechanisms from a broader social perspective, in particular the perspective of sustaining and supporting the dominant form of rationality. Moreover, it is possible with CDA to examine the relations (viewed otherwise than in narrowly deterministic terms) between the discourse produced and the discourse reproduced (here by textbooks) at school and the hegemonic social practices. It is vital that the CDA perspective must not be perceived only as a means of disclosing (actually anticipated) hegemonic social practices, but as a research approach designed to demonstrate how such practices materialise and through what measures the hegemonic effect may emerge and persist.

Summary

The Control of Interpretation and the Interpellation of Subjectivity.
On Possible Uses of Critical Discourse Analysis in Textbook Research

The first aim of this paper is to present opportunities arising from the use of the critical paradigm (particularly Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA) in textbook research. The second aim is to present an example of research that uses the method and theory of Norman Fairclough's CDA to analyse lower-secondary school social science textbooks. The main notions used in the research are interpretation control and Fairclough's interpellation of subjects in discourse. The results show that the discursive and linguistic mechanisms applied in the material examined are used to legitimise and justify the representations of the social reality constructed in the textbooks and to reduce the potential for ambivalent interpretations of the knowledge presented. The CDA perspective allows for the discovery of the means by which the aforementioned effects are produced.

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