## Contents

| Notes on Contributors  | xii |
|--|-----|
| Acknowledgements   | xvi |
| Discourse Theory: Achievements, Arguments,   |     |
| and Challenges   | 1   |
| Jacob Torfing  |     |
| Introduction   | 1   |
| Achievements   | 2   |
| Three generations of discourse theory  | 2 5 |
| The genealogy of post-structuralist discourse theory                                   | 9   |
| Post-structuralist discourse theory in a nutshell                                      | 13  |
| Common concerns responding   | 17  |
| The added value of discourse theory  | 21  |
| Challenges to discourse theory   | 24  |
| Some initial responses   | 26  |
| Plan of the book   | 28  |
| Bibliography   | 30  |
| 1. European Integration and Security: Analysing French and German Discourses on State. |     |
| Nation, and Europe   | 33  |
| Ole Wæver  | •   |
| Discourse analysis as a theory of foreign policy                                       | 33  |
| Discourse and structure  | 35  |
| Method   | 38  |
| France, Germany, and Europe  | 42  |
| Where does it lead?  | 59  |
| Notes  | 60  |
| Bibliography   | 63  |
|  |     |
| 2. Passions of Identification: Discourse, Enjoyment,                                   |     |
| and European Identity  | 68  |
| Yannis Stavrakakis   |     |
| Introduction   | 68  |
| Passions of identification I: discourse and enjoyment                                  | 70  |

## viii Contents

|    | Passions of identification II: constructing European identity         | 80         |
|----|---|------------|
|    | Conclusion  | 89         |
|    | Notes   | 90         |
|    | Bibliography  | 90         |
| 3. | Polity as Politics: Studying the Shaping and Effects                  |            |
|    | of Discursive Polities  | 93         |
|    | Allan Dreyer Hansen and Eva Sørensen                                  |            |
|    | Introduction  | 93         |
|    | Considerations on method  | 98         |
|    | The case study: polity and politics in Skanderborg and Hylke          | 100        |
|    | Conclusion  | 102<br>113 |
|    | Note  | 115        |
|    | Bibliography  | 115        |
|    |   | 110        |
| 4. | Problematizing the Mobilization of Hospital Directors Steven Griggs   | 117        |
|    | Forging discourse coalitions  | 118        |
|    | The transition of the SNCH to health policy lobby                     | 121        |
|    | Forging a modernizing coalition within the SNCH                       | 127        |
|    | Conclusions   | 135        |
|    | Notes   | 136        |
|    | Bibliography  | 136        |
| 5. | Political Administration  | 139        |
|    | Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen  | 10,        |
|    | Introduction  | 139        |
|    | Analytical strategy   | 141        |
|    | An analysis of form of the difference                                 | 147        |
|    | An analysis of the semantics of the administrative                    |            |
|    | policy as politics about the difference politics/administration       | 152        |
|    | Conclusion: differentiation of a reflexive subsystem Notes            | 161        |
|    | Bibliography  | 167        |
|    |   | 167        |
| 6. | The Human Rights Act: Politics, Power, and the Law Anthony M. Clohesy | 170        |
|    | Introduction  | 170        |
|    | Introduction of the HRA: competing interpretations                    | 172        |
|    | 'Generations' and 'waves' of rights                                   | 176        |

| Methodological considerations: the value of a discourse                               |     |
|---|-----|
| theory approach   | 179 |
| Conclusion  | 186 |
| Notes   | 187 |
| Bibliography  | 188 |
| 7. Right-wing Populism and the Radical Centre: Explaining the Electoral Growth of the |     |
| Vlaams Blok in Belgium  | 190 |
| Patrick de Vos  | 190 |
| Introduction  | 190 |
| The electoral upsurge of the Vlaams Blok  | 190 |
| Separatist nationalism and authoritarian  |     |
| xenophobic populism   | 192 |
| Explaining the upsurge of the Vlaams Blok   | 194 |
| Defending democracy: counter-strategies   | 197 |
| The neo-revisionism of the radical centre   | 198 |
| Politics without adversaries and its  |     |
| threatening outside   | 201 |
| Conclusion  | 204 |
| Notes   | 206 |
| 8. Third Way Politics Today   | 211 |
| Steven Bastow and James Martin  |     |
| Introduction  | 211 |
| The Third Way: left, right, or centre?  | 212 |
| Discourse theory and political ideology   | 214 |
| The Third Way 'repertoire' in European  |     |
| ideology  | 217 |
| Embracing antagonism: radical democracy   |     |
| and the Third Way   | 224 |
| Conclusion  | 228 |
| Bibliography  | 229 |
| 9. New Labour's Politics of the Hard-working  |     |
| Family  | 231 |
| Oscar Reyes   |     |
| The dislocation of Labour's traditional appeal:                                       |     |
| a European perspective  | 233 |
| Post-industrial society   | 234 |
| The contradictions of New Labour discourse  | 237 |
| The hard-working family: ignoble beginnings   | 239 |

## x Contents

| The hard-working family: identifying a                        |     |
|---|-----|
| nodal point   | 241 |
| Community as an empty signifier                               | 244 |
| New Labour's political subject                                | 246 |
| Notes   | 249 |
| Bibliography  | 251 |
| 10. From Welfare to Social Exclusion: Eugenic Social Policies |     |
| and the Swiss National Order                                  | 255 |
| Véronique Mottier   |     |
| Introduction  | 255 |
| Method: Foucauldian discourse analysis                        | 256 |
| Governmentality, pastoral power, and national identity        | 258 |
| Tales of heredity and degeneration                            | 262 |
| Eugenics and social policies                                  | 266 |
| Concluding remarks  | 270 |
| Notes   | 271 |
| Bibliography  | 272 |
| 11. Media Discourse and the Public Sphere Lilie Chouliaraki   | 275 |
| The significance of trivia                                    | 275 |
| Media in the media  | 276 |
| The debate as government                                      | 277 |
| The debate as an articulation of universal                    |     |
| and particular meanings                                       | 279 |
| The debate: 'Fingers off Frederic', Reimer Bo                 |     |
| 21 October 1998   | 280 |
| The politics of truth in the debate                           | 289 |
| The debate as public sphere                                   | 291 |
| Conclusion  | 293 |
| Notes   | 294 |
| Bibliography  | 295 |
| 12. Coalitions, Practices, and Meaning in Environmental       |     |
| Politics: From Acid Raid to BSE Maarten A. Hajer              | 297 |
| Discourse-coalitions in politics                              | 299 |
| Argumentative Discourse Analysis                              | 305 |
| Transcription conventions                                     | 314 |
| Notes   | 314 |
| Bibliography  | 315 |

|  | Contents xi |
|--|-------------|
| Applying Discourse Theory: the Method of Articulation  David Howarth | 316         |
| Discourse theory and the question of method                          | 317         |
| Application, articulation, and explanation                           | 321         |
| Research strategies  | 329         |
| Data as text, text as data   | 335         |
| Analysing text   | 341         |
| The construction of subjectivity                                     | 343         |
| Conclusion   | 345         |
| Notes  | 346         |
| Bibliography   | 347         |
| Index  | 351         |