Genre and field in critical discourse analysis: a synopsis

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ABSTRACT. This paper relates the concepts of genre and field, as developed in the context of systemic-functional linguistics, to the broader concepts of discourse and discursive practice. Generic structure is described in terms of the sequencing of speech acts, and as realizing the activity sequences which form the core of discursive practices. Field structure is reinterpreted as the recontextualization of social practice and as realizing discourses, that is, context-specific knowledge constructions about social practices. The theory is extended to the multimodal text, the text which uses more than one semiotic, e.g. verbal text and images. It is applied in a critical analysis of the discursive practices constituted by a certain kind of professional guidance writing in the press, and of discourses about 'going to school for the first time'.

KEY WORDS: discourse, discursive practice, field, genre, recontextualization, social practice, speech act analysis, substitution analysis, visual semiotics

1. INTRODUCTION

There are two kinds of relation between discourses and social practices. There is discourse as itself (part of) social practice, discourse as a form of action, as something people do to or for or with each other. And there is discourse in the Foucauldian sense, discourse as a way of representing social practice(s), as a form of knowledge, as the things people say about social practice(s).

Critical discourse analysis is, or should be, concerned with both these aspects, with discourse as the instrument of power and control as well as with discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality. Van Dijk's work has dealt with the discursive practice of news (1988) as well as with the representational category of racist discourse (1984, 1987), for instance, and Fairclough (1992) discusses the interview as a key discursive practice as well as the representation of changing social practices in contemporary 'enterprise culture'.

Critical discourse analysis is, or should be, concerned also with the way in which these things are done in and through language, the way in which

linguistic analyses can bring to light, for instance, inequalities between addressers and addressees, or systematic omissions and distortions in representations. It is on this aspect that the emphasis lies in this paper: I will attempt to relate the two aspects of discourse, discourse as practice and discourse as 'theory', to the concepts of genre and field as they have been elaborated in systemic-functional linguistics (cf. esp. Martin, 1992). I will describe *generic structure* as the syntagmatic structure of discourse, its 'beginning–middle–end' structure, which is also, and at the same time, the structure which realizes discourse as social practice, or rather, as part of it, for social practices comprise both discursive and non-discursive elements, both text and context. I will describe *field structure* as a structure which is more dispersed through the text and realizes the knowledge of some field as it is constructed in the context of a given institutional domain, e.g. the knowledge of politics as it is constructed in the mass media, or some sector of the mass media, or the knowledge of sexuality as it is constructed in (certain forms of) psychotherapy, and so on.

Genre and field analysis allow not just the deconstruction but also the reconstruction of discourse. They make it possible to integrate the results of the separate linguistic analyses that are usually applied in critical discourse analysis (agency structures, modality, turn-taking, cohesion, etc.) into a whole. And they make it possible to integrate this whole, in turn, with the results of analyses of the non-linguistic signs that combine with language to realize discursive practices and discourses. Genre and field are concepts that are not restricted to language, but can be used in an integrated analysis of multimodal texts, of texts which involve a number of different semiotic means.

This paper, then, foregrounds method. I am proposing a mode of discourse analysis aimed at bringing out the dual aspect of discourse, and aimed also at applicability to the multimodal text. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and for this reason I have included extensive examples, not just to demonstrate the feasibility of my proposals, and allow the reader to follow the steps taken in the analysis in detail, but also, and above all, to demonstrate the utility of my approach for critical analysis. The examples are drawn from a corpus of texts dealing with the social practice of 'going to school for the first time', and including children's stories, parental guidance brochures, newspaper articles, and teacher training texts; in other words, texts which all centre on the practice of 'going to school for the first time' but instantiate a variety of discursive practices and, at least potentially, of discourses about 'going to school for the first time'. Mundane and ideologically innocent as these texts may seem at first sight, they deal with a key moment in social life, the moment at which power over a large part of the child's socialization passes from the family to the school. In today's culturally heterogeneous society this practice, with its division of labour and demarcation of power between the family and the school, is likely to be increasingly challenged. This is reason enough for a critical examination of the way it is represented and legitimated in the discourses that surround it.

2. GENERIC STRUCTURE ANALYSIS: DISCOURSE AS PRACTICE

The basic unit of generic structure is the speech act, that is, the minimum unit that can realize a unit of discursive practice, a move in the interaction. The speech act is also a first example of a unit that can integrate a diversity of linguistic features. A speech act of DESCRIPTION, for instance, combines at least the following linguistic features: indicative mood; specific reference; a relational (attributive) clause of which the attribute does not have a negative or positive connotation in the given context (an attributive relational clause is a clause which ascribes some attribute to something, cf. Halliday, 1985: 112ff.). Conversely, any clause which has these features constitutes an act of description, e.g.:

> *The peg has Jane's name on it*

A speech act of CONFESSION, similarly, can be defined as combining indicative mood; first person; reference to self as theme (up front in the clause); specific reference; non-relational clause in which the verb denotes an action, thought or feeling considered reprehensible in the given context. For example:

> *I started to cry*

Changing any of the features in these combinations also changes the nature of the speech act. Thus a description with a positive evaluative attribute and the added feature of first person would become a form of BOASTING. With second or third person and a positive evaluative attribute it would become a form of PRAISE, with second or third person and a negative evaluative attribute a form of ACCUSATION, and so on. It follows that one could construct a grammar of speech acts, as in the following fragment of analysis (Figure 1), where CHARACTERIZATION is taken to be a form of DESCRIPTION in which the carrier of the relational clause (the entity to which something is attributed, cf. Halliday, 1985: 112ff.) denotes a person or persons.
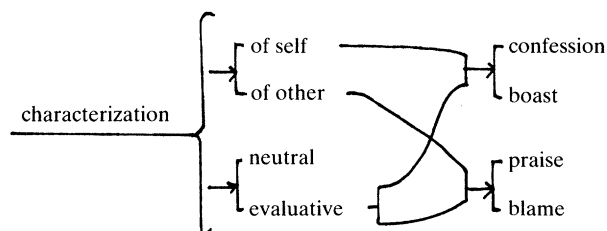

FIGURE 1. Characterization network

Below a number of further speech acts are defined as combinations ('co-selection patterns') of linguistic features—those, in fact, that occur in Texts 1 and 3 (the texts themselves can be found in the Appendix).

NARRATE. Indicative mood; third person; past or present tense; specific

persons and/or time thematic; specific reference; non-relational clause, e.g.

> *She is given a name badge to wear for the morning*

('thematic': the theme of a clause is 'the element which comes in first position in the clause' and 'serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned': Halliday, 1985: 38–9).

DECLARE INTENTION. Indicative mood; first person; future; first person and/or time thematic; specific reference; non-relational clause with verb denoting action, thought or feeling classified as volitional in the given context, e.g.:

> *Today I'm going to school*

PREDICT. Indicative mood; first, second or third person; future; if first or second person, verb classified as non-volitional in the given context, e.g.:

> *It won't last long*

EVALUATE. Indicative mood; third person; (typically) present tense; non-human theme; specific reference; relational clause with an attribute that has a positive or negative connotation in the given context, e.g.:

> *Jane's induction into school was pleasantly calm, well-organized and trouble-free*

IDENTIFY. Indicative mood; first, second or third person; specific reference; relational (identifying) clause, e.g.:

> *Mark was one of the many children teacher-turned-author Valerie Martin spoke to*

('identifying relational clause': clause which uniquely identifies something or someone [the 'token'] in terms of some role, meaning, etc. [the 'value']: cf. Halliday, 1985: 115ff.).

CLASSIFY. Indicative mood; third person; present tense; relational (identifying) clause with several tokens, e.g.:

> *The main problems for new pupils were separation from families, meeting large numbers of children they didn't know, and conforming to a classroom situation*

ASCRIBE PURPOSE. Indicative mood; third person; present tense; relational (attributive) clause with verb from closed set (*serve to*, *is designed for*, etc.), e.g.:

> *This ceremony is designed to help the child feel she now belongs to the school*

COMMAND. Imperative mood, e.g.:

> *Give them plenty of time to get ready*

RECOMMEND. Indicative mood; third person; present tense; 'Fact' clause

with projected second person clause and closed set of attributes serving to grade the recommendation (*worthwhile*, *important*, *vital*, *crucial*, etc.), e.g.:

> *On the first day it is important not to rush children*

Not only features of the clause, but also aspects of cohesion, and, in the case of multimodal texts, non-linguistic features, participate in determining the nature of speech acts:

- *Conjunction types* can codetermine speech acts. An act of DESCRIPTION, for instance, may also, and at the same time, be an act of explanation, if it is so linked to the previous speech act, as in the case of this EXPLANA-TORY ASSERTION:

  > *... because children become unsettled if they have to rush*

- *Lexical relations*, in combination with *position*, can codetermine speech acts. An act of narration, for instance, may be a NARRATIVE SUMMARY if it is (a) final in the text or a section of the text, (b) if its process (verb, or noun denoting process) is superordinate to the processes in earlier acts of narration, and (c) if conjunction is summative, of the *to sum up* type. For example, in Text 3:

  > *The child was given personal attention*

  It may also be a NARRATIVE RESOLUTION if it is (a) final in a narrative text or narrative section of a text, (b) the antonym (inverse) of the initial narrative act(s) in the text, and (c) if it has adversative ('but' type) conjunction. For example, in Text 1:

  > *But after a few days I really loved school*

- In multimodal texts (and most texts are multimodal), linguistic features combine with features from non-linguistic sign systems to form speech acts, or rather 'semiotic acts'. This will be taken up in the final section of the paper.

The analyses of Texts 1 and 3 in Tables 1 and 2 show, first of all, how speech act analysis integrates a variety of linguistic analyses and obser-vations. They also show that sequences of speech acts cluster together into *stages* (the term is from Martin, e.g. Martin, 1992) in which the combi-nations of features remain relatively homogeneous. These stages could be given labels indicating their interactive function (e.g. 'narrative episode', 'expository argument', 'procedural step'). They need not be completely homogeneous, but could contain *inserts* (e.g. non-narrative comments or descriptive details in a 'narrative episode'). The initial and/or final speech act(s) of a stage may differ from the others (e.g. a 'narrative episode' may conclude with an 'evaluation' or a 'summary'). The boundaries of a stage thus suggest themselves either by the presence of such initial and/or final speech acts, or by a shift in the pattern of combination. In the analyses in Tables 1 and 2 possible boundaries are indicated by dotted lines.

The overall generic structure, finally, is formed by the sequence of

TABLE 1. Speech acts and the linguistic features that realize them in Text 1

		Mood	Person	Tense	Type of theme	Reference	Transitivity	Conjunction	Projection	Other
1.	CONFESSION	Indic.	First	Past	Person	Specific	Non-relational		+	Verb denotes action that is reprehensible in the context
2.	NARRATIVE RESOLUTION	Indic.	First	Past	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal/ adversative	+	
3.	NARRATIVE SUMMARY	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Summative	−	
4.	IDENTIFICATION	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Relational (identifying)	Additive	−	
5.	DESCRIPTION	Indic.	Third	Present	Issue	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive	+	
6.	IDENTIFICATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Issue	Specific	Relational (identifying)	Adversative	+	
7.	CLASSIFICATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Issue	Specific	Relational (identifying)	Reason	+	Several tokens
8.	OFFER	'here are'						Conclusive	−	'Suggestions'
9.	COMMAND	Imp.	Second	Future	Addressee	Specific	Non-relational	Explanatory	−	
10.	RECOMMENDATION	Indic.	Second	Present	'Fact'	Specific	Relational	Additive	+	'Important'
11.	RECOMMENDATION	Indic.	Second	Present	'Fact'	Specific	Relational	Additive	−	'Important'
12.	COMMAND	Imp.	Second	Future	Addressee	Specific	Non-relational	Additive	+	
13.	COMMAND	Imp.	Second	Future	Addressee	Specific	Non-relational	Additive	−	
14.	COMMAND	Imp.	Second	Future	Addressee	Specific	Non-relational	Additive	+	
15.	PREDICTION/ RESOLUTION	Indic.	Third	Future	Anaphoric item	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Reason	+	Antonymical to verb in 1

TABLE 2. Speech acts and the linguistic features that realize them in Text 3

		Mood	Person	Tense	Type of theme	Reference	Transitivity	Conjunction	Projection	Other
1.	DECLARATION OF INTENTION	Indic.	First	Future	Person	Specific	Non-relational		+	
2.	DESCRIPTION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive	−	
3.	IDENTIFICATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Things	Specific	Relational (identifying)	Additive	−	
4.	GENERALIZED NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person*	Specific	Non-relational	Additive	−	*Numerative
5.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Additive	−	
6.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	−	
7.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: preceding	−	
8.	DESCRIPTION	Indic.	Third	Present	Anaphoric	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive	−	
9.	DESCRIPTION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive	−	
10.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: initial	−	
11.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	−	
12.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	−	
13.	ASCRIPTION OF PURPOSE	Indic.	Third	Present	Anaphoric	Specific	Relational (identifying*)	Additive	−	*Restricted set ('is for')
14.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	−	
15.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	−	
16.	DESCRIPTION	Indic.	Third	Present	Thing	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive	−	

TABLE 2 (contd)

		Mood	Person	Tense	Type of theme	Reference	Transitivity	Conjunction	Projection	Other
17.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	—	
18.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	—	
19.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	—	
20.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	—	
21.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	—	
22.	NARRATION	Indic.	Third	Present	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Temporal: successive	—	
23.	POSITIVE EVALUATION (CONCLUSIVE)	Indic.	Third	Past	Issue	Specific	Relational (attributive*)	Conclusive	—	*Positive Attribute
24.	EXPLANATORY DESCRIPTION	Indic.	Third	Past	Issue	Specific	Non-relational (attributive*)	Reason	—	*Multiple Positive Attributes
25.	SUMMARY NARRATION/ RECOMMEND*	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Explanatory	—	*Recommendation metaphor 'ingredients'
26.	SUMMARY DESCRIPTION/ RECOMMEND	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive	—	
27.	SUMMARY DESCRIPTION/ RECOMMEND	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive		
28.	SUMMARY NARRATION/ RECOMMEND	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Additive	—	
29.	SUMMARY NARRATION/ RECOMMEND	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Non-relational	Additive	—	
30.	SUMMARY DESCRIPTION/ RECOMMEND	Indic.	Third	Past	Person	Specific	Relational (attributive)	Additive		

stages, appropriately labelled. Through this sequence a complex interaction is articulated, working, stage by stage, towards the crucial final stage or stages in which the ultimate goal of the interaction is meant to be achieved, and without which the text would appear incomplete.

Text 1 contains four distinct generic stages, and one speech act (line 4) which could be seen either as belonging to stage 1 or as belonging to stage 2, and which therefore has been labelled 'Hinge'. The text begins with a 'mini story', then moves to an expository account of 'the first day' as a 'problem'. This is followed by a series of adhortations addressed to parents, and a prediction. A conclusive conjunction links the adhortations to the exposition of the 'problem'.

In other words, the text first draws the reader in with a short confessional narrative, a story of individual experience with which one can identify easily. It then generalizes this story, turning it into a 'problem' which is analysed and interpreted in the authoritative language of the expert. A series of dos and don'ts for parents, distilled from this analysis, follows, and finally success is predicted—always provided the instructions are adhered to.

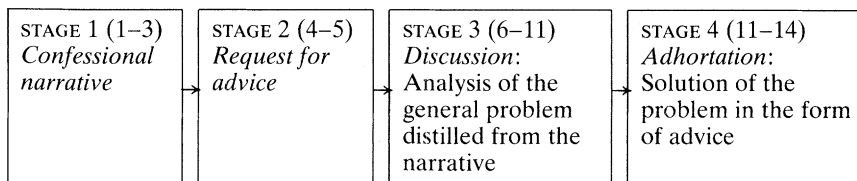| STAGE 1 (1–3) Confessional narrative	STAGE 2 (4) Hinge	STAGE 3 (5–7) Discussion: Analysis of the general problem distilled from the narrative	STAGE 4 (8–14) Adhortation: Solution of the problem in the form of instructions	STAGE 5 (15) Prediction: Prediction of success (happy ending)
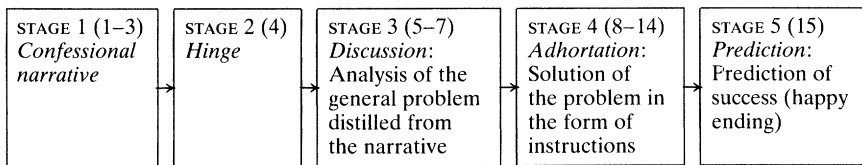
This structure realizes a particular kind of discursive practice, a particular kind of (short, secular) sermon, commonly used when apparently neutral professional experts address a 'lay' audience (usually women) on matters of a 'personal' nature—health, childrearing, sexuality, and so on. It is based on three premises: (1) professionals know the experiences and feelings of their clients even before the clients have related them, and can therefore relate their advice to the clients' feelings, and ground it in the clients' needs; (2) professionals know how to generalize and interpret the clients' experiences, whereas the clients themselves are not capable of doing so; (3) professional expertise allows professionals to predict the outcome of the clients' behaviours. Given these expert powers, there is no need to explicitly invoke the social sanctions that would be incurred by deviant behaviour, and the adhortations can be framed as 'advice', 'recommendations', 'suggestions', rather than as 'rules' or 'regulations'.

The following short text, from the agony column of an upmarket women's magazine, employs more or less the same structure, albeit within the context of a question (1–5) and answer (6–15) format:
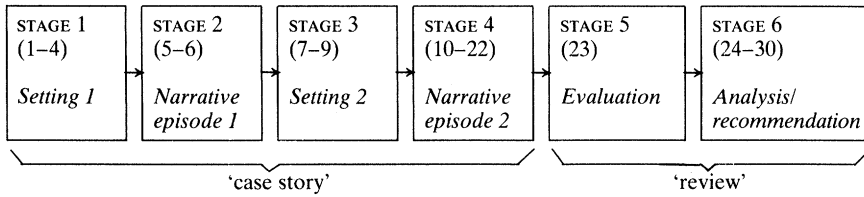
> [1] I am a 35-year-old mother who loves her husband very much [2] but I can't stop imagining every second man I see as a lover, be it men we both know, movie actors, or the guy from the petrol station. [3] When I'm making love with my husband it's much more exciting to imagine he's the

neighbour or my husband's mate. [4] What is wrong with me? [5] Why can't I be content with one partner happily ever after? [6] Mid-30s and over are often a sexually restless time for women. [7] At this age a lot of women, like you, have been with the same man for many years. [8] Many are just coming out of that sexually dampening period of caring for young children [9] and are beginning to relax and enjoy their sexuality in a way that was not possible earlier in their lives. [10] In such circumstances, the desire is very natural. [11] Sexual curiosity tends to take over, leaving us wondering and fantasizing in a way we never did before. [12] So rest assured, [13] it's perfectly normal to feel the way you do, [14] and you are certainly not doing any harm in exercising that torrid imagination. [15] For the sake of your husband's ego, however, I would think twice about telling him.

STAGE 1 (1–3) Confessional narrative	STAGE 2 (4–5) Request for advice	STAGE 3 (6–11) Discussion: Analysis of the general problem distilled from the narrative	STAGE 4 (11–14) Adhortation: Solution of the problem in the form of advice

When this structure is used in a news article, as in the case of Text 1, an additional factor enters the picture. Most of the speech acts have a double structure, because they are projected. If one regards the projecting clauses (clauses like *Mark, aged six* and *Valerie says*) as the main clauses, the speech acts are reports (of what 'Mark' and 'Valerie' said), and the structure becomes a loose concatenation of reported sayings. In this way newspaper writers indicate that they want to be seen as conduits for the discourses of others, rather than as, themselves, agents of social control. As a result the piece can be read in terms of two discursive practices: as a journalistic report, and as a piece of expert guidance.

Text 3 realizes another discursive practice, this one addressing, not 'lay' parents, but teachers, future experts themselves, and this in the context of tertiary education. The text mixes narrative and non-narrative speech acts throughout, but narrative speech acts dominate until speech act 23. The first section (1–22) could be analysed as consisting of a 'setting' (description of Jane's 'initial state', at home) followed by a narrative episode, followed by a second 'setting' (description of the school, prepared for Jane's arrival), followed by another episode. So far the text is a 'case story', which means that it must be both a 'case' and a 'story'. For this reason the narrative is often generalized, and shot through with inserts (descriptions, purpose ascriptions, etc.). At speech act 23, the text moves from 'case story' to 'review', shifting to past tense. This 'review' begins with an evaluation, and then moves to an analytical stage which is at the same time a set of (oblique) recommendations ('Jane's induction contained four ingredients to make her arrival smooth . . .'). The oblique recommendations form the ultimate raison d'être and closure of this section of the chapter.

STAGE 1 (1–4) Setting 1	STAGE 2 (5–6) Narrative episode 1	STAGE 3 (7–9) Setting 2	STAGE 4 (10–22) Narrative episode 2	STAGE 5 (23) Evaluation	STAGE 6 (24–30) Analysis/ recommendation

'case story'   'review'

Texts 1 and 3 attempt to regulate the interactions of parents, teachers and children. However, the interactions between newspaper writers and their readers, and between textbook writers and their users, are also subject to regulation, and although these interactions manifest themselves in generic structures, because they take place through language, the generic structures cannot themselves tell us how they are regulated. In other words, 'genre', although a social (and variable) concept, cannot tell us all we need to know about discursive practices: to which degree the production and reception of text is prescribed by detailed rules, to which degree by more flexible strategies; how detailed is the receiver's knowledge of these rules and strategies in the case of texts which involve both participants with active and passive mastery of the genre ('producers') and participants with only passive mastery ('consumers'); whether the rules or strategies are explicitly formulated or tacitly acquired in the course of some form of socialization (e.g. 'on the job' professional training); whether there are sanctions (or perhaps bonuses) for breaking the rules or for using strategies other than those that have become conventional in the given context, and, if so, what form these sanctions take; whether or not there exists a discourse or several discourses to support these various possible institutional arrangements, and, if so, how they do this—all these 'logonomic' (Hodge and Kress, 1988) factors constitute historically and contextually varying practices situated within specific social institutions which are related to each other in specific ways. There cannot be one categorical concept of what 'genres' or 'schemata' are, and of how they work. Instead there are different logonomic regimes, different regimes of control over the production and reception of meaning. The study of such regimes, and of their social locations and conditions, should form an important part of critical discourse analysis. It can in part by achieved by ascertaining the variability within a contextually more or less homogeneous set of texts, but it will also require additional (intertextual and sociological) information. Text analysis should continue to be the first step in the study of discursive practice, but it cannot, by itself, provide the whole picture.

3. FIELD AS THE RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF SOCIAL PRACTICE

Unlike generic structure, which is the structure *of* the text, field structure is a structure *used* in the text, and its traces can be dispersed through the text in a multitude of ways. As a coherent, integrated structure, field structure

is an artefact of analysis, the representation of a discourse, of a knowledge of some field or fields which pertains to and is activated in a specific social context (we can have different knowledges of 'the same thing', to be activated in different contexts).

It is assumed here that texts make reference to an experiential world outside themselves and their immediate context, and that this ultimately means 'reference to a social practice other than that constituted, in part, by the text itself'. In other words, the field structure of a text or set of texts is a *recontextualization* (Bernstein, e.g. Bernstein, 1981) of the structure of a social practice, or set of interrelated social practices. It is further assumed that a social practice can be analysed into the following elements:

1. PARTICIPANTS, i.e. the human participants involved in the practice (and also animals, insofar as they are treated as participants, rather than as tools).
2. The ACTIVITIES in which the participants engage.
3. The participants' REACTIONS to other participants or to the activities, i.e. the 'prescribed' emotions and their manifestations.
4. PERFORMANCE INDICATORS, i.e. the ways in which activities should be performed (e.g. quietly and slowly, or quickly and efficiently).
5. The appropriate PLACES and TIMES of the activities.
6. The TOOLS needed for the performance of the practice.
7. The DRESS (including body ornamentation) 'prescribed' for the practice, or for parts of it.
8. The ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA for the participants (who may, for instance, have to be male or female, of a certain age, etc.), and also of the places, the tools, and the dress.

The *practical knowledge* of a social practice, the knowledge of how to perform as a participant of that practice, is knowledge in an 'unrepresented' state. As soon as the practice is represented (taught, described, discussed, etc.) it is recontextualized. This involves the following:

1. *The REARRANGEMENT of the elements of the practice, in a way determined by the purposes of the context into which it is recontextualized.* In Text 1, for instance, the stage of 'preparing children for the first day' follows the account of the first day itself, because it is on the former that the adhortations which close off the text focus.

2. *The DELETION of elements of the practice not 'relevant' to the purposes of the context into which it is recontextualized.* Text 1, for instance, deletes the role of the teacher, even though it could be argued that the text as a whole addresses parents on behalf of the teacher's interests.

3. *The ADDITION of elements, notably PURPOSES for, EVALUATIONS of, and LEGITIMATIONS (or DELEGITIMATIONS) of the social practice or elements of it.* Different recontextualizations of the same social practice may well ascribe different purposes to that practice, or to parts of it, and these are again, contextually determined. In Text 1, for instance, morsels of 'child psychology' ('children become unsettled if they have to rush') legitimate activities. In Text 2 the episode with the dog who may not enter school has

a legitimatory purpose: entering school is also entering civilization, and it ends a period of relative equality between the children and their pets.

4. *The SUBSTITUTION of elements.* An activity or sequence of activities can, for instance, be represented by means of an *inversion*, that is, by a deviant activity or sequence of activities, as happens, for instance, in the genre of crime reporting, or in children's stories in which an animal goes to school (inversion of an eligibility criterion). Or, to give another example, a representation may be *overdetermined*, as when a metaphorical practice refers to a number of social practices at once. This happens, for instance, in fairy tales: the story of a king, seeking a worthy successor, may recontextualize (the 'deeper' principles in) a number of different succession practices, situated in different social institutions.

For reasons already indicated (the 'unrepresented state' of practical knowledge), it is not possible to represent substituted elements 'transparently', in their 'unsubstituted' state. To give an example, both *nomination* (e.g. 'substituting a specific, named participant for a social role') and *functionalization* (e.g. 'substituting a social role for a specific, real individual or group') are 'substitutions', and the choice between them depends on the epistemology of the recontextualizing context.

The field structure of a text, or set of texts, then, is a description of a social practice or set of interrelated social practices *in their recontextualized state*, complete with added purposes, evaluations and legitimations.

The analysis of field structure involves three steps:

1. *substitution analysis*;
2. *rendering*, that is, 'undoing' the substitutions, to get the representations in a form that allows comparison with other recontextualizations of the same social practice(s);
3. *sequencing*, that is, reconstituting the recontextualized social practice in its sequential form, together with the additions. This form of analysis has of course been applied to narrative and procedural texts, in other words, to texts in which chronological structure is dominant, but here it will be applied also to texts which are mainly concerned with, for instance, legitimation, and which delete most activities, or represent them in highly generalized and objectivated ways, e.g. abstract expository texts.

4. SUBSTITUTION ANALYSIS

Like speech acts, substitutions can be defined linguistically. The 'system network' in Figure 2 shows the participant substitutions that occur in Texts 2 and 3. The terms are defined in the 'realization statements' below.

1. INCLUSION/EXCLUSION. A participant is/is not referred to explicitly (see 12 and 13 below).

2. ACTIVATION/PASSIVATION. A participant is/is not recontextualized as playing the active part in some activity. For example, 'your child' is activated in *It is important your child knows how to use and flush a*
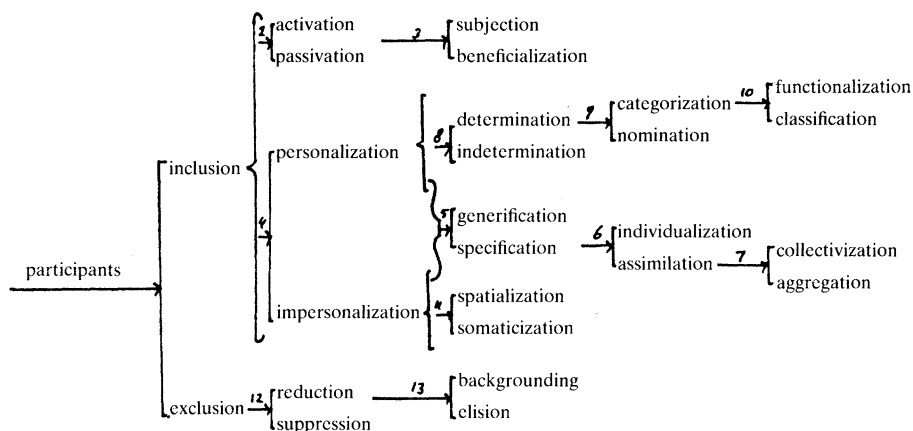
```
                            ⌐activation  ──────  ⌐subjection
                          1 └passivation    2    └beneficialization
                                                                         ⌐functionalization
                                                      ⌐categorization 10 ┤
                                      ⌐determination 9 ┤                 └classification
                                    8 ┤                └nomination
            ⌐inclusion  ⌐personalization ┤indetermination
                       ┤                  ┤⌐generification      ⌐individualization
            │          4                 5┤                   6 ┤              ⌐collectivization
participants┤                             └specification        └assimilation 7┤
            │          └impersonalization ┤⌐spatialization                      └aggregation
            │                           11┤
            │                             └somaticization
            │                   ⌐reduction    13  ⌐backgrounding
            └exclusion 12┤                  ──────┤
                         └suppression             └elision
```

FIGURE 2. Participant substitution network

toilet. (Grammatically the activated participant is Actor in a material process, Behaver in a behavioural process, Sayer in a verbal process, Senser in a mental process, or Assigner in a relational process: cf. Halliday, 1985: ch. 5.)

3. SUBJECTION. A participant is recontextualized as Goal, Phenomenon or Target. For example, 'your child' is subjected in *Try to get your child used to putting on and taking off clothes.* ('Goal', 'Phenomenon' and 'Target' are what was traditionally called the 'direct object' in, respectively, a material process, a mental process and a verbal process: cf. Halliday, 1985: ch. 5.)

   BENEFICIALIZATION. A participant is recontextualized as Beneficiary or Receiver. For example, 'them' is beneficialized in *Give them plenty to eat.* ('Beneficiary' and 'Receiver' are what was traditionally called the 'indirect object' in respectively, a material process and a verbal process: cf. Halliday, 1985: ch. 5.)

4. PERSONALIZATION/IMPERSONALIZATION. A participant is/is not denoted by a noun or pronoun with the semantic feature 'human' (see 11 below for examples).

5. GENERIFICATION/SPECIFICATION. A participant is/is not generically referred to. For example, 'children' are referred to generically in *It is important not to rush children.*

6. INDIVIDUALIZATION/ASSIMILATION. Reference to a participant is/is not by means of a singular pronoun, noun, or name (see 7 below for examples of assimilation).

7. COLLECTIVIZATION. Reference to a participant is by means of a plural noun or pronoun, a mass noun or a noun denoting a group. For example, 'class' is collectivized in *The existing class was already settled.*

AGGREGATION. Reference to a participant includes a definite or indefinite quantifier or numerative. For example, 'many schools' is aggregated in *Many schools now adopt this practice.*

8. DETERMINATION/INDETERMINATION. A participant is/is not referred to as a determined individual or group, that is, by means of indefinite pronouns used in nominal function or generalized exophoric reference (reference to something outside of the text, as with unspecified 'they'). For example, 'someone' is indeterminated in *Someone had put flowers on the teachers's desk*, and 'they' are indeterminated in *They won't let you go to school until you're five years old.*

9. NOMINATION. A participant is referred to by name. For example, 'Mark' is nominated in *Mark quickly discovered school wasn't as 'scary' as he thought.* Participants who are not nominated are CATEGORIZED (see 10).

10. CLASSIFICATION. A participant is referred to by means of a noun or nominal group expressing a category which does not refer to an activity (e.g. age, sex, race, class, nationality). For example, 'children' are classified in *Children become unsettled if they have to rush.*
FUNCTIONALIZATION. A participant is referred to by means of a noun or nominal group referring to an institutional role or activity. For example, 'pupil' is functionalized in *The Head is able to greet each new pupil on arrival.*

11. SPATIALIZATION. Reference is to a location with which the participant is associated, rather than to the participant him- or herself. For example, 'classroom' is spatialized in *The classroom was quiet.*
SOMATICIZATION. Synecdochic reference to a participant. For example, 'voices' is somaticized in *They were following her to a cloakroom full of chattering voices.*

12. SUPPRESSION. A participant is not referred to anywhere in the text. Reference to participants may also be REDUCED rather than fully suppressed (see 13).

13. BACKGROUNDING. A participant is excluded in relation to a particular activity or reaction, but referred to elsewhere in the text, though not in the same clause or sentence.
ELISION. A participant is excluded in relation to a particular activity or reaction, but referred to elsewhere in the same sentence.

Like speech act analysis, substitution analysis integrates a variety of grammatical, lexical and rhetorical analyses. In this way it can form a comprehensive framework for describing the representation of social subjects and their practices. In Text 2, for instance, a mass market children's book, children are represented as active subjects, and collectivized: they come to school as a group, able to provide support for each other. School then individualizes them, and so disrupts neighbourhood solidarity. In Text 3, the teacher training text, children are for the most part subjected

and individualized. They come to school as, socially, *tabulae rasae* (unless of course they are troublesome), and if they find peer support, then this is inside school and thanks to the intervention of the teacher. Two different discourses, two different ways of talking about what, for all practical purposes, is the same practice, 'going to school'. Below, the way participants have been represented in these two texts is summarized in more detail:

(A) Roles

Text 2

Members of the school staff always have an active role, except in the case of 'inherently passive' verbs like 'follow'.

Children have a predominantly active role (81 percent).

Parents have a predominantly active role, but they never interact with members of the school staff.

Text 3

Members of the school staff always have an active role, except in the case of 'inherently passive' verbs like 'follow'.

Children have a predominantly passive role (83 percent).

Parents have an active role in relation to the child, a predominantly passive role in relation to the school staff.

(B) The Individual and the Group

Members of the school staff are individualized.

New entrants are for the most part collectivized (85 percent): they come to school as a group of friends. Once 'lessons start', they become individualized.

The 'existing class' is a collective.

Parents are always individualized.

Members of the school staff are individualized (90 percent) or aggregated ('schools').

New entrants are for the most part individualized (75 percent)—in the other cases they form part of the mother–child dyad.

The 'existing class' is a collective, and also generically referred to and aggregated.

Parents are individualized outside school and at the moment of leaving the child behind in school. Elsewhere they form groups with their children.

(C) Identity

Members of the school staff are always functionalized.

New entrants are always nominated.

The 'existing class' is impersonally referred to (somaticization: 'voices').

Parents are always nominated.

Members of the school staff are functionalized (87 percent) or impersonalized (spatialized: 'schools').

New entrants are often nominated (65 percent) but may also be classified (23 percent) or functionalized (12 percent).

The 'existing class' is impersonalized or classified.

Parents are always functionalized—and linked to their children ('Jane's mother', 'her mother').

(D) Exclusions

All school staff other than the teacher suppressed.

Secretaries and heads not suppressed but often excluded (56 percent), mostly through backgrounding.

| Parents: fathers always suppressed. | Parents: fathers always suppressed. |
| Young siblings and pets included. | Young siblings and pets suppressed. |

Substitution analysis, then, can show how apparently innocent grammatical and lexical choices—the choice between this or that pronoun, between calling a participant 'Mark' or 'the child' or 'the pupil'—all contribute to the realization of discourses, of ways of talking about what children and parents and teachers are like, and about how they interact together within the context of the educational institution.

5. RENDERING AND SEQUENCING

Rendering involves both the 'lexical rendering' of pronouns, ellipses, etc. (cf. Hasan, 1984a) and the 'representational rendering' of substitutions, including the rendering of dialogue in the form of speech acts.

The 'unrepresentability' of 'unsubstituted' elements of the social practice entails that the analysis is ultimately itself a recontextualization: if I substitute 'new entrant' or 'child' for 'Jane' or 'Mark', I do so because it is the purpose of my recontextualization to compare different texts. In other words, the representational renderings should not be taken as constituting a language congruent with the real social practice, or some form of 'deep structure'. They serve merely to facilitate comparison, as a kind of calibration that allows the differences and convergences between different recontextualizations of the same social practice to be more easily charted.

Tables 3 and 4 sequentialize the field structure of Texts 2 and 3. A strictly formalized method for 'representational rendering' I have not yet devised. The tables can therefore offer only a suggestion of how discourses might be represented.

Field structures of this kind can show how the same social practices are represented within different social institutions, and which purposes and legitimations are preferred within these institutions, either in relation to the recontextualization of specific practices, or generally. This, in turn, can contribute evidence about the relative interrelatedness or autonomy of social institutions.

The field structures of Texts 2 and 3 display both similarities and differences. These are summarized below:

(A) Similarities
- In both texts 'the first day' starts at home, and is seen as a *transition* from home to school.
- Both texts emphasize the appropriate dress.
- In both texts the child is greeted at the door of the school.
- Both texts feature the 'pegs' on which the children must hang their coats, as though, with this gesture, they shed, temporarily, their former identity.
- Both texts have the children escorted by school staff members as they walk through the school.

TABLE 3. Field structure in Text 2

Legitimation	Reaction	Action	Performance indicator	Time	Place	Dress	Tools	Eligibility criteria
	*feel smart,[1] **excited and a little nervous; uncertain and fearful[2]	1. Children,** mothers*** and sibling leave home	***holding children's hands; pushing pram	far too early		boy: shirt; trousers[+] girl: dress; blouse; bow[xl*]	pram	[+]green; dark [x]new, red; white; red
This episode acts as legitimation[3]	*sad	2. Dog follows 3. Child tells dog* to stay behind		until children get back	to door			
	*awe and fear[4]	4. Teacher meets children			at door of school*			*tall; high fence; sign[5]
		5. Teacher* tells children to follow her	*smilingly					
		6. Teacher tells children she will show them their pegs						
		7. Children follow teacher		before they knew it	long corridor			
		8. Teacher shows children their pegs SIMULTANEOUS: Other children chatter			cloakroom		pegs	pegs have numbers 23 and 24
	they look at each other	9. Children hang up their coats						

Notes:

[1] Dress and Reaction refer to a 'preparatory practice' in which the female child 'stands for mother' while the mother 'ties a red bow in her hair'.

[2] Questions realized projected reaction ('it is easy') and performance indicator ('teacher is strict').

[3] The activity of the dog is an *inversion* of the children's activity. Other references to animals, later in the chapter, are also inversions: animals cannot do what children do. Hence the practice is legitimated by the idea of evolution: by going to school children rise above the level of the animals who, earlier in the book, featured as their playmates and equals. This contrasts, for instance, with the legitimations one encounters in texts addressing parents and teachers, which are mostly psychological.

[4] Description realizes reaction of awe and fear.

[5] Projected activity of 'people in the community' ('drive carefully') which does not correspond to an actually performed activity.

(B) Differences

Text 2

There is a sense of fatality about going to school ('The Great Day came').

There is a focus on the children's apprehension and on description of the building and its environment.

Text 3

Going to school is an act of will on the part of the child ('Today I am going to school').

There is a focus on the regulation of the activities of mothers and school staff:
- inclusion of 'substantial' breakfast; emphasis on times;
- detailed treatment of admission procedures;
- detailed performance indicators for the teachers' actions.

Support comes from parents ('holding hands').

Support comes from school staff ('holding hands', 'chatting pleasantly').

Mothers do not enter school or interact with school staff: the transition is abrupt.

Mothers enter school and interact with school staff: the transition is gradual.

Entering school is a transition from one group (the family, the neighbourhood, the 'Gemeinschaft') to another, more impersonal group (a 'Gesellschaft'):
- pegs have numbers rather than names or individualized pictures;
- children immediately become part of group ('Hurry up, everyone!').

Entering school is a continuation of individuality:
- emphasis on child's name (badge);
- individualized pegs;
- child remains separate from the 'existing class'.

Gender differentiation.

No purposes included, but oblique legitimation.

School entirely feminized.

Purpose for all the actions: *smooth transition*.

Text 2, then, rests on a discourse in which school is an anonymous, impersonal institution that reduces the child to a number, and in which the transition from home to school is an irreversible turning-point in life, an event to be dreaded, yet as unavoidable as the passing of time. There is a repressed resistance against schooling here, a resistance which can never be openly acknowledged, and yet makes itself felt in the very linguistic fabric of the story.

Text 3, on the other hand, is written from the point of view of those who hold the reins of power in the educational institution, at least on the local level of the school. It rests on a discourse in which there is no social world outside school other than the relation to the mother, who nurtures the child and then takes her to the school, where she is looked after by other women, equally caring, equally attentive to the child's needs as an individual. Here the transition is smooth and gradual, the difference between the private world of home and the public world of school much diminished, resistance only the result of imperfect 'induction' procedures on the part of the teachers.

TABLE 4. Field structure in Text 3

Purpose	Reaction	Action	Performance indicator	Time	Place	Dress	Tools	Eligibility criteria
	eager	1. Child gets up		early				
		2. Child declares intention to go to school						
		3. Child dresses				pinafore dress*; jumper**		*new grey; **red[1]
		4. Mother feeds child					breakfast*	*substantial
		5. Mother gets ready[2]						
		6. Mother and child arrive		9.30[3]	school*			*settled[4]
		7. Head greets child		on arrival				
		8. (DEL) escorts mother and child						
to help child feel she belongs to the school[5]		9. Secretary checks address and telephone number			secretary's office			
		10. (DEL) enters child in register					admissions register	
		11. (DEL) gives child name badge		during morning*		name badge*	name badge	
		12. Head* escorts mother and child	*holding child's hands; chatting pleasantly	all the way				
		13. Head introduces child to teacher			classroom			
		14. Teacher* greets child	*warmly					
*to hang her coat on;** to help her identify it[6]		15. Teacher shows child peg					*peg	*with child's name and picture of horse**

TABLE 4 (contd)

Purpose	Reaction	Action	Performance indicator	Time	Place	Dress	Tools	Eligibility criteria
		16. Mother kisses child		at this point				
		17. Mother promises to be back[7]						
		18. Mother leaves						
		19. Teacher* talks to child SIMULTANEOUS: Other children perform tasks	*softly, unhurriedly, oblivious of the other children					

Notes:
[1] Eligibility criterion refers to a 'preparatory practice': (1) Head teacher suggests clothes; (2) (DEL) purchases clothes in local chain store. N.B. (DEL) stands for deleted participant.
[2] Here a deviant action has been added (and negated): mother looks at paper leisurely.
[3] Time refers to 'preparatory practice': (DEL) requests mother and child to arrive at 9.30.
[4] Eligibility criterion refers to 'preparatory practice': (DEL) settles children.
[5] Purpose refers to 'preparatory practice': (DEL) designs ceremony.
[6] 'Identify' is an 'intended' reaction, 'hang up coat' an 'intended' action—neither corresponds, in this recontextualization, to an actually performed action.
[7] 'To be back at 12' is a promised action which *does* correspond to a performed action, but only indirectly (i.e. it is discussed in relation to case stories other than that of 'Jane').

6. TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED ANALYSIS OF THE MULTIMODAL TEXT

The different semiotics (language, kinesics, image, sound, music, etc.) which, in various ways, combine to create multimodal text (conversation, theatrical performance, magazines, television programmes, etc.) are either integrated spatially, by means of *composition*, as, for instance, in magazine layout (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1990: ch. 4), or temporally, by means of *rhythm*, in film (cf. Van Leeuwen, 1985).

Temporally integrated semiotics may operate simultaneously or sequentially, or according to a pattern that combines the two: a gesture, for instance, may precede a line of dialogue, standing on its own, and so constituting a separate interactional move ('gesture act'), or it may accompany a line of dialogue, and so constitute, together with the line of dialogue, a 'semiotic act' ('speech + gesture act'). In the latter case one of the two semiotics may be dominant and continuous (at least during some part of the text), the other semiotic intermittent and integrated into the rhythmic pattern of the dominant semiotic strand.

In the case of spatially integrated texts, the composition ultimately determines a temporal event. The theatrical set, for instance, determines the action which is to take place in it, the magazine layout the 'reading path', the order in which the elements of the page will be scanned. Architecture combines the two principles, its vertical dimension creating a reading path, its horizontal dimension a space for action.

A semiotic theory of the 'reading path' remains to be developed. It would have to take into account at least the following factors: (1) cultural patterns of reading (left–right vs right–left, or top–bottom); (2) perceptual salience (the psychology of perception has established the cues of visual salience—movement, tonal contrast, colour hue and saturation, sharpness, etc.—and their hierarchies); (3) the semantic factors which may override purely perceptual factors (e.g. the salience of the human figure, and of the human eyes especially).

For Text 4 we might hypothesize the following reading path: from Image 1 (left page), via the headline, to Image 2 (the drawing), and then to Image 3 (the photo at bottom right of page 2), and (via the photo on the left page?) back to the headline, the 'box' and the main text (see Figure 3).

Alternatively we could be satisfied with asserting that the pictures are scanned before the text is read (if indeed the text is read, which need not be the case). This would still allow an integrated analysis of the generic structure of the text, for such an analysis stands or falls, of course, with the possibility of a sequential(ized) reading.

The basic unit of integrated generic structure analysis would be the 'semiotic act', defined as a pattern of co-selections from verbal and/or non-verbal lexicogrammatical and discourse-level options. This presupposes the existence of functional grammars of the non-verbal semiotics, for without them the co-selected options could not be described. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1990) outline such a grammar for visual communication. Below are listed some of the systems from this grammar that could be used to
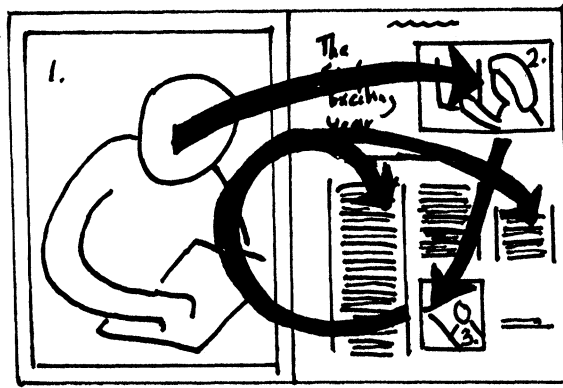
FIGURE 3. Hypothetical reading path of Text 4

define 'image acts' (combined image/text acts are possible only in temporally integrated texts—see Van Leeuwen, 1991, on visuo-verbal conjunction in documentary film and television).

TRANSITIVITY. 'Presentational processes' comprise 'actions' and 'reactions' of various kinds, and are realized by vectors and eyelines; 'conceptual processes' comprise 'analytical', 'classificational and 'symbolic' processes and are realized by various spatial configurations.

CONTACT. 'Direct address' is realized by 'eye contact' between one or several depicted participants and the viewer; 'indirect address' by the absence of 'eye contact'.

DISTANCE. Various degrees of 'social affinity' between depicted participants and the viewer are realized by different sizes of frame, such as 'close shot', 'medium shot', 'long shot'.

ATTITUDE. A relation of 'involvement' or 'detachment' between depicted participants and the viewer is realized by the horizontal angle (the contrast between 'frontal' and 'oblique'); a relation of power is realized by the vertical angle (the contrast between 'looking up at' and 'looking down upon').

MODALITY. The visual 'impression of reality' is realized by degrees in reduction or augmentation of the rendition of colour, depth, illumination, background, detail, etc. These degrees of reduction or augmentation carry different modality values, according to types of social context.

CATEGORIZATION OF MAJOR PARTICIPANTS. For example, 'people', 'objects', 'geometrical shapes'.

By means of options from these and perhaps other systems, 'image acts' could be described. A visual act of NARRATION, for instance, might be described as co-selecting (1) 'people' as major participants; (2) presentational transitivity; (3) no contact; (4) tendency towards close distance; (5) high involvement; (6) high naturalistic modality.

Just as is the case with speech acts, commutation of options would

change the nature of the image act. Changing 'presentational' into 'analytical', for instance, would turn the act of NARRATION into an act of DESCRIPTION.

According to this definition, the images in Text 4 would all be acts of NARRATION, and so constitute a stage of the generic structure of the text (see Table 5).

If the hypothesized reading path is correct, and the images are scanned before the verbal text is read, the structure of this text would be similar to that of Text 1: a narrative introduction (but not, this time, in the first person, hence not 'confessional'), followed by an expository stage (*First times of anything tend to have a profound effect on us*, etc.), followed by adhortations (*Regard the week before school starts as a useful time for dress rehearsal*, etc.). The visual element has been given the narrative role, the role of drawing the reader into the text, of providing the 'emotive', 'entertaining' introduction. The structure is not identical to that of Text 1, however: adhortations are introduced earlier, and the journalistic 'double structure' is lacking. In other words, there is quite a strong similarity between the way parents are addressed on the 'family' pages of a newspaper and in the pages of this commercially produced parental guidance booklet, but in the case of the newspaper the 'parental guidance' structure must be embedded in the structure of the journalistic report.

STAGE 1 (*Visual*) Narrative (presentation of the 'problem')	→	STAGE 2 (1–2) (*Verbal*) Generalized adhortation	→	STAGE 3 (3–8) (*Verbal*) Discussion (analysis of the 'problem')	→	STAGE 4 (8–10; 'Box') (*Verbal*) Adhortation ('solution of the 'problem')
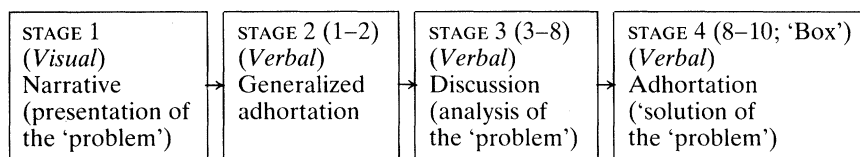
Once usable functional grammars of the non-verbal semiotics are available, integrated field structure analysis will also become possible. One would then have a framework for studying which substitutions can be realized verbally and visually, which only verbally and which only visually; in other words, one would be able to study the *role division* between semiotics in a given culture and epoch.

To give just two examples of visual substitutions, visual 'activation' and visual 'passivation' are realized by the participants' relation to the vector: the participant from whom the vector emanates has the active role, the participant at whom the vector is directed the passive role (cf. Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1990); visual 'impersonalization' is realized (for instance in diagrams) by depicting the buildings or tools with which participants are associated, rather than the participants themselves, or by substituting geometrical shapes for participants.

A summary of the visual substitutions in Text 4 is given below:

(A) Roles
    Children: before school: passive (active in their reactions).
                    at school: active (with respect to objects).

TABLE 5. Image acts and their realization in Text 4

	Image act	Major participant	Transitivity	Contact	Distance	Attitude	Modality	Conjunction
1.	NARRATION	People	Presentational	–	Close	Involvement	High/naturalistic	
2.	NARRATION	People	Presentational	–	Close/long	Involvement	Slightly lower (drawing)	Temporal: preceding
3.	NARRATION	People	Presentational	–	Close	Involvement	High/naturalistic	Temporal: preceding

TABLE 6. Field structure in Text 4 (visuals only)

Reaction		Action	Performance indicator	Place	Tools	Dress	Eligibility criteria
absorbed	1.	Child works on puzzle		classroom	puzzle	casual	brown woollen jumper, blue long pants, glasses
*looks back pensively **half smile ***sad	2.	Mother* says goodbye to teacher** and child***	**holds child's hands ***holds up bag	at door of school	bag	*casual **neat ***neat	*woollen jumper **blue blouse with short sleeves and white collar, grey skirt ***red jumper, red pleated skirt, two tails in hair
**engrossed	3.	Older child* reads to younger children**			book	*uniform **casual	*blue skirt, blue pullover with V-neck, white blouse **woollen jumpers, jeans

Parents: active.
School staff: active in relation to the child; passive in relation to the mother.

(B) The Individual and the Group
Children: before school: collectivized (with other children; with teacher).
               at school: individualized.
Parents: individualized.
School staff: collectivized (forms group with the child).

(C) Identity
All participants are personalized.

(D) Exclusions
Father and school staff other than the teacher suppressed; older sibling
included; teacher backgrounded in Image 2, and suppressed elsewhere.

Table 6 shows that it is also possible to do a sequential field structure
analysis for images. An integrated analysis would in fact merge the visual
and verbal realizations into a combined structure—markers could still
indicate what is realized verbally, what visually, and what in both ways.

Even this brief example reveals some of the things which, in this kind of
text, are typically represented visually: the details of the setting, the tools,
the dress, and the emotive reactions of the participants.

7. CONCLUSION

I have discussed discourses as recontextualizations of social practices,
defined them as context-specific knowledges about social practices, and
suggested how they are realized in texts, and how they can be represented
by field structures.

I have discussed discursive practices as social practices that recontextual-
ize other social practices for context-specific purposes, and I have sug-
gested a way of describing at least the activities which form, as it were, the
backbone of discursive practices—the generic structure, the description of
the activities of the discursive practice, cannot reveal every element of the
discursive practice, which, like other practices, also has its participants, its
times and places, its dress, its tools, and so on.

I have not explicitly criticized either the discourses or the discursive
practices I have described, but this does not mean that I do not consider
this paper critical. I consider it critical insofar as it shows how to closely
scrutinize, and then actually scrutinizes, something that is usually taken for
granted: the power of the discursive practices of professionals, and the
power of the school, as a major social institution. How is it that, despite so
many debates about education, we still do not follow the example of Illich
(1973) and question schooling itself? And why do we continue to place
professional expertise on a pedestal, despite the fact that it has robbed us

of all our skills (or, if we still have any, of the opportunity of using them) except our own narrow professional expertise, if any? Perhaps by scrutinizing, closely scrutinizing, the discourses which so successfully reproduce these institutions and which so effortlessly efface themselves in the fabric of our culture, we can begin to notice them again, and that is a necessary first step towards the possibility of action.

APPENDIX

Text 1

Text 1 is a short article from the 'family' pages of a Sydney tabloid newspaper, the *Daily Mirror* (24 January 1984). It appeared a few days before the beginning of the school year.

1. 'When Mum first took me to school I started to cry because I thought I would never see her again.'
2. 'But after a few days I really loved school'—Mark, aged six.
3. Mark, now 10, quickly discovered starting school wasn't as 'scary' as he thought.
4. Mark was one of the many children teacher-turned-author Valerie Martin spoke to when writing From Home to School, a book dealing with the first day.
5. 'The first day at school can be a happy and a memorable one', Valerie said.
6. 'But the secret is getting ready and preparing now.'
7. Valerie said the main problems for new pupils were separation from families, meeting large numbers of children they didn't know and conforming to a classroom situation.
8. Here are some of Valerie's suggestions to help take the hassle out of the big day.
9. Over the next few days try to get your child used to:
   - putting on and taking off clothes
   - tying shoe laces
   - eating and drinking without help
   - using a handkerchief.
10. Valerie says it is important your child knows how to:
   - use and flush a toilet
   - ask for things clearly
   - say his or her name and address
   - cross a road safely.
11. On the first day it is important not to rush children.
12. Valerie says give them plenty of time to get ready, eat breakfast and wash and clean their teeth.
13. If possible, get everything ready the night before because children become unsettled if they have to rush.
14. 'And finally don't worry if you or your child cries', Valerie says.
15. 'It won't last long.'

Text 2

Text 2 is the opening of the final chapter of *Mark and Mandy*, by E. Leete-Hodge (n.d.), a children's book distributed via newsagents and major supermarket and (downmarket) department stores, where it can be found in racks at the checkout counters. It has at least one brightly coloured illustration on every page.

The great day came at last. Mark and Mandy were off to school for the first time. They were

both very excited, and, to tell the truth, just a little nervous. Would it be easy? What would it be like? Would the teacher be strict?

Mandy was wearing a new red dress and white blouse, and felt very smart as she stood for Mummy to tie a red bow in her hair. Mark wore a green shirt and dark trousers.

Far too early, for they were both so excited they could not wait, they started out, Auntie Barbara pushing Debbie in her pram, and Auntie Margaret holding on to Mandy's and Mark's hands. Smudge followed to the door.

'You'll have to wait until we get back', said Mark, and Smudge looked very sad. Where could they be going, and why were they carrying satchels? The school building was tall with a high fence round it, and a big road sign telling drivers to be careful of the children. It looked very big, what would it be like inside?

A smiling teacher met them at the door. 'Come along, Mandy and Mark', she said, 'I'll show you where to put your coats.' And before they knew it, they were following her down a long corridor to a cloakroom full of chattering voices. 'Here you are', she said, 'Number 23 and 24.' They hung up their coats and looked at each other.

'Hurry up now, everyone', said the teacher, 'school is just about to begin.'

Text 3

Text 3 is the opening of chapter 8 from S. Cleave et al., *And So to School* (1982), a study of the transition from home, or pre-school, as the case may be, to school. The study was sponsored by the Department of Education and Science, and carried out by the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales. It is based on 'participant observation' and discussions with staff in 'a large number of schools'. It is widely used in teacher training.

1. 'Today I'm going to school.'
2. Jane is up early, eager to put on her new grey pinafore dress and red jumper.
3. These are the clothes suggested by her head teacher and purchased from a local chain store.
4. Many infant schools now adopt this practice.
5. Her mother makes sure Jane has a substantial breakfast today
6. and instead of a leisurely look at the paper gets herself ready to take Jane to school.
7. Jane and her mother have been asked to arrive at school at 9.30 a.m.
8. This means that the rest of the school are already settled
9. and the head is able to greet each new pupil on arrival.
10. First, they are taken to the secretary who checks Jane's address and telephone number.
11. Jane's name is then ceremonially entered in the admissions register
12. and she is given a name badge to wear for the morning.
13. This ceremony is designed to help the child feel she now belongs to the school.
14. The head personally escorts Jane and her mother to the classroom, holding Jane's hand all the way and chatting pleasantly.
15. She introduces her to the teacher who greets Jane warmly and pleasantly, and shows her a peg on which to hang her coat.
16. The peg has Jane's name on it and a picture of a horse to help her identify it.
17. At this point her mother kisses Jane goodbye
18. and leaves, saying she will be back at 12 o'clock.
19. The teacher talks to Jane softly and unhurriedly, oblivious of the other 15 children present who are busy with tasks.
20. She shows Jane around the classroom,
21. then settles her at a table with a picture to colour.
22. Five minutes later another new entrant arrives.
23. Jane's induction into school was pleasantly calm, well-organized and trouble-free.
24. It contained four ingredients to make her arrival smooth:

25. Children were admitted one at a time.
26. The existing class was already settled.
27. The atmosphere was calm and quiet.
28. The child was given personal attention,
29. made to feel she mattered,
30. and that the teacher had plenty of time for her.

Text 4

Text 4 is a section from *Your Child and Success at School*, by Melita Luck (1990), a 110-page parental guidance book in magazine format, published by a major magazine publisher, and commercially distributed.

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