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Te Whare Wānaka o Aoraki

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Lincoln University Digital Dissertation

Understanding 'GATTSPEAK'

- An Analysis of the Discourses Surrounding the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and Their Presentation in the Media

Presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Science (Resource Management)

at

Lincoln University

by

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Centre for Resource Management
Lincoln University
1994

ABSTRACT

The planet Earth is faced with many environmental crises. The effects of trade have played a part in this environmental degradation. The GATT plays a major role in determining the practices of international trade. There exists conflict and tension between discourses surrounding trade and environmental discourses. Throughout the course of this project I investigate the way in which the discourses surrounding the GATT have established and maintained a dominant position in society. This position of dominance has been at the expense of environmental discourses. By using a framework advocated by Fairclough, who in turn uses the work of Foucault, I examine three different dimensions of the discourses surrounding the GATT: Discourse as social practice; discourse as discursive practice; and discourse as text. My particular focus is upon the historical locations the discourses surrounding the GATT have originated from and the role the media have played in perpetuating the hegemony with a specific focus upon the presentation of the GATT within newspaper reports.

This form of analysis allows some measure of insight into the complex nature of the patterns of dominance that ensure resistant and challenging discourses are marginalised or ignored completely. This type of analysis, especially of agreements such as the GATT, is important in order to better understand ways and means of successfully challenging dominant discourses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Often when I read the acknowledgements at the beginning of a piece of work I get the feeling that they have become so commonplace as to become expected and a little cliched. However, this project is mine through authorship only. It is a product of a process that has included the participation of many people. Each of those who had input has played a part in shaping this project. It would not be what it is without the contributions of many other people. So to the following people I would like to extend my sincere thanks on this page because I may never get around to doing it in person. The only cliche I wish to fall back on is the one where I claim full responsibility for the the finished project.

So, on that note I would like to thank the following people who have contributed;

Ton Bührs, for providing supervision and patience with a sometimes *(or is that 'often'?)* wayward student.

Stephanie Rixecker, for her invaluable comments on draft copies.

Geoff Kerr, for his introduction to the e-mail service that would provide much information (and entertainment)

Rea Daellenbach, Steve Dawson and Margie Kilvington for their input when I initially started forming ideas.

To my colleagues at the Centre for Resource Management for putting everything into perspective, especially to those who were able to remind me that it would be finished one day .

On a more personal level, I would like to extend my thanks to my flatmate and friend Alix Newman for his inspiration and the occasional attempts at paternal guidance.

And finally, it is often those closest to you who must bear much of the stress that goes into producing something like this. So my special thanks go to Faith, without whose support and understanding I am sure I would be checking out the patterns on rubber lined rooms.

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Figures and Tables

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a broad introduction to the research topic and some of the ideas that will be investigated. To achieve my goals that I have set, I must cover a wide range of academic and theoretical terrain. One hallmark of this project is that it uses an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on disciplines as diverse as linguistics and economics, philosophy and media studies, and sociology and natural resource management.

1.1 In the Beginning . . .

Daily we are informed through many varied sources that the global and local environments upon which we depend for our survival are threatened by overuse and mis-management. This threat is one that should not be taken lightly for we humans do not exist in isolation nor are we exempt from the degradation of the environment, "humanity's inability to fit its doings into [a pattern of clouds, oceans, greenery, and soils] is changing planetary systems, fundamentally . . . This new reality, from which there is no escape, must be recognised - and managed" [Brundtland Commission, 1986: p.1]. From the relatively small effects of localised chemical spills into groundwater sources to the global effects of deforestation, it is apparent that any changes in the delicate balance of the earth's natural environment will have direct impact upon societies, communities and individuals.

A major contributing factor to the rate of environmental degradation that

occurs is the rate at, and the methods by, which we extract and use the limited resources available. The twentieth century witnessed a rapid increase in the rate of resource depletion partly due to rapid industrialisation. With this rapid industrialisation, a concurrent increase in trade occurred [see figure 1]. There is clearly a direct link between the rate of trade and environmental degradation.

Figure 1

World Trade 1900-2000
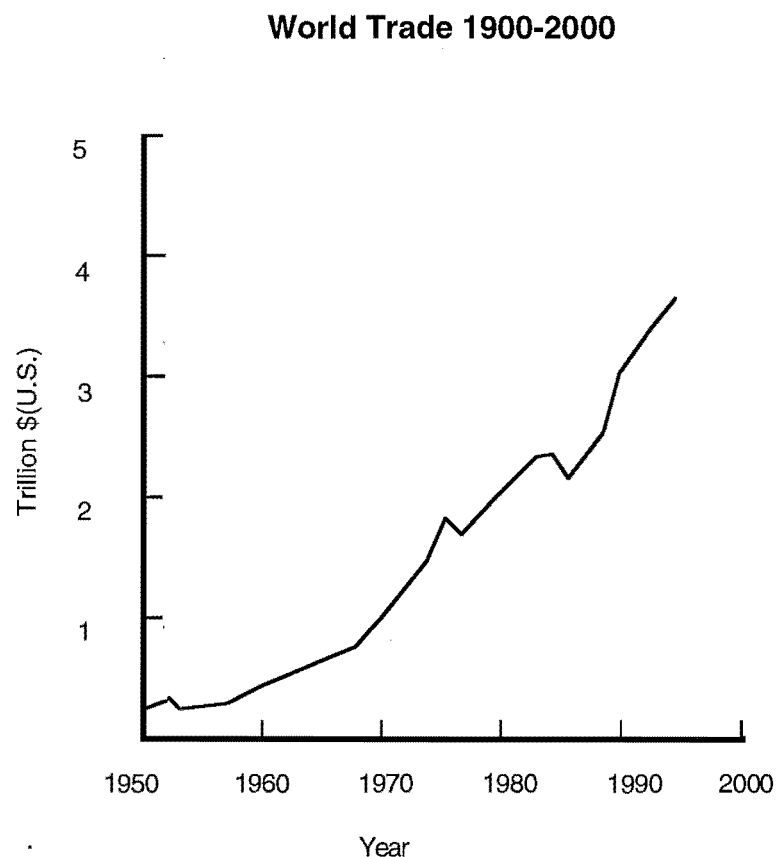
[source: French, 1993: p.7]

Throughout the course of this project I will, at one level, examine the links between trade and the environment. This will be done by examining the

way the benefits of the recently signed General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and subsequently the benefits of trade, have been 'sold' to the general public, apparently with little or no consideration given to the impacts of trade upon the environment.

My initial interest in this project was formed when reading arguments for and against the GATT. On both sides of the GATT 'fence' arguments were presented that sought to justify either the seemingly endless benefits of the trade agreement, or conversely, the 'Gattastrophe' to come. My own position swung between the two sides as I read new pieces. It was precisely this ambivalence that led me to admit that whatever I attempted to do in the way of analysing the GATT agreement was not going to be the definitive statement on the topic. This fact coupled with the knowledge that I, compared with many other writers in the field, have a relatively limited knowledge of many of the finer points of the complex economic theories used to justify or dismiss the GATT led to the point at which I am now at.

Another factor that provided impetus for my research was the surprise I experienced when I learnt that the GATT focused solely on trade without considering the wider social and environmental impacts, "in negotiating the GATT, governments of the developed world have simply ignored the need to integrate environment and development issues. It is as if last year's Earth Summit had never happened" [Kernot, 1993: p.27].

In the international arena there is a growing awareness of the interconnectedness between social, economic and environmental causal

relationships. This could be seen as constituting a discourse which challenges the dominant discourse, of which the GATT is a product. A growing amount of literature, such as *Our Common Future,* and international forums such as the 1992 'Rio Earth Summit', recognise the links between economic activity and the degradation of the environment. In the face of this slowly changing perception, the GATT stands out like the proverbial 'sore thumb'. It is this inconsistency and tension between discourses that has led me to question the way in which one particular, and quite specific, discursive product, the GATT, has been represented favourably in the media to the detriment of other discourses and their products. Thus, I begin with the proposition that dominant discourses in society that espouse the benefits of free-trade practices do so at the expense of pro-environmental discourses.

Therefore, instead of choosing to engage in the sometimes highly emotive debate about the 'pros' and 'cons' of the GATT, I have chosen to examine instead the way the agreement has functioned as a discourse and a product of a much wider and more pervasive discourse. What emerges is a focus on language, in its broadest sense, as the mode of articulating and certifying 'knowledge'. For example, free-trade economics is a discursive practice in which individual 'utterances' are framed, within particular contexts, to present the beliefs of the speaker as true knowledge. The contextual social constructions of utterance empower speakers with the authority to speak on and certify certain areas of knowledge. It is through the manipulation of "linguistic repertoires that economists lend their authority to particular accounts of natural processes and support their claims to truth" [Dant, 1991: p.153].

By using a methodology grounded in discourse analysis, a sociological investigation of "knowledge and ideology is possible through the empirical analysis of discourse" [Dant, 1991: p.3]. By using this theoretical and methodological approach it is possible to make explicit what is assumed and taken for granted. By uncovering, or deconstructing, the discourse and discursive strategies used, it is possible to discover whose interests are being promoted and perpetuated, and from this forecast the likely future management of the earth's natural resources.

As part of acknowledging the existence and importance of discursive practices, I must accept and admit that what I write does not exist outside of discourse. Thus, I begin with an admission that my underlying intention is to ensure management of the Earth's finite natural resources that is in harmony with protection of the natural ecosystems for their intrinsic value rather than any assigned to them by humans. This belief no doubt features large amounts of naivety and idealism reflecting my limited experience beyond academe. However, there is no escaping the bias of the author within this document, or in any document.

1.2 Speaking the Language

In describing the power of language, and more widely, discourse, to influence our perceptions and understanding of our experiences, I am reminded of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Orwell describes a centralized, repressive and militarized state in which the rulers attempt to control thought by controlling language, by creating new words and grammatical rules which became known as 'Newspeak'. The purpose of

'Newspeak' "was not only to provide a medium of expression of the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees [of the dominant ideology/discourse], but to make all other modes of thought impossible" [Chilton, 1981: p.7]. Borrowing from Orwell, I have chosen to label the rules and regulations controlling the discourse of 'free-trade' as 'Gattspeak'.

Language is one facet of discourse. The ability of discursive practices to shape our perceptions is highlighted by the way in which words and grammar can codify a view of the world, including a view of the GATT, and that when people use language, "the language itself confirms, reinforces, or even directs people's attitudes and beliefs'" [Chilton, 1985: p.1]. The naming of things is one of the most critical aspects of human behaviour. What we call something determines to a large extent what or how we think of it. For example, the term Third World, or underdeveloped nations, or developing nations. Whichever of these terms is the one we choose, the image created is one of inferiority. The importance of language as a major part of the discourse of free-trade economics should not be underestimated, as 'economy' and 'free-trade' are not merely labels provided for us by language for a clearcut event or phenomena that already exists in the world. Instead, rather than describe, they inscribe and make the event intelligible to us.

Thus, if we view the 'language' used to describe the GATT as a powerful discursive strategy for coercing compliance between countries and acceptance by the public, we can see that by analysing this it is possible to discover the 'big brother' that shapes not only our perceptions towards

trade, but also many other connected issues such as the environment.

1.3 Project Outline

What I will attempt to do throughout the course of this research project is to provide answers to some of the queries which provided the impetus for the project and, based upon the findings, to indulge in a bit of forecasting of how our perceptions of, and our subsequent management of, the environment and its resources will be influenced. The method that I am using to achieve this is one particular, and quite specific, way of analysing the power of the discourses surrounding the GATT.

Chapter two, presents an outline of the GATT, its history and origins and a brief summary of the conflict between free-trade, its proponents, and the natural environment. This is given to provide the reader with some basic understanding of the both the agreement and the issues surrounding its formulation and implementation.

The next chapter, chapter three, presents an outline of the theoretical framework used to analyse 'Gattspeak'. Fairclough [1992] uses a framework, known as Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA), that views discourse as constituted by three dimensions; discourse as social practice, discursive practice, and discourse as text. Generally put, this refers to the linguistic attributes, the means of perpetuation and distribution, and the manifestation of discourse as social practice. Particularly important to this last dimension of discourse is the work of Michel Foucault and his theories of discourse, ideology, knowledge, and

power are explored. Chapters four, five, and six of this project use this three dimensional framework as the starting point for investigating different facets of the discourses surrounding the GATT.

Chapter four, representing an examination of discourse as social practice, examines the wider discursive context of the GATT. The evolution of economic discourses based upon concepts of free-trade and other economic discourses is outlined, as is the context within which they originate. This 'scene setting' is valuable in placing the social practices that surround the discourses of the GATT in context.

Following Fairclough's second dimension of discourse, which concentrates upon the production, consumption, and distribution of discourse, chapter five examines the ways in which the media acts as a legitimate distributor of discourse in New Zealand society. The way in which the media is manipulated by, or manipulates, social reality is an important area to question. All forms of media are pervasive and persuasive forms of communication, and as such it is necessary to have an understanding of the way in which the media is controlled by groups or individuals with political interests that seek perpetuation of dominant discourses.

Chapter six, based upon Fairclough's third dimension of discourse, discourse as text, presents the results of research done by examining newspaper articles that reported the GATT for the twelve months until the completion of the round in April 1994. Two newspapers, *The Press* and *The New Zealand Herald* were used. The articles are examined for the presence of several literary mechanisms that indicate a bias within the

newspaper discourse of the GATT. These literary points also lead into an examination of the wider socially based discursive implications of contents of the articles.

Chapter seven attempts to provide some sense of cohesion to an otherwise eclectic mix of topics. What is discovered is that the GATT is a product of a wider discourse that must take a large proportion of responsibility for the degradation of the environment that we now experience. Given this, questions must be raised about the ability of such a discourse to preserve and enhance the environment upon which we depend. The impact of the GATT is extremely far reaching and has implications for all people on the planet. Therefore, to effectively address the issues arising from this discourse it is necessary to have an understanding of the mechanisms by which challenging or resistant discourses can be used by individuals and groups in society.

2.0 Introducing The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

This chapter presents an introduction to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], its historical origins and an outline of the relationship and sites of conflict between trade and the natural environment.

2.1 Origins of the GATT

The GATT agreement, signed in 1947, began to operate in 1948 [see appendix one for an outline of the evolution of the GATT]. The GATT has its origins in the post-World War II international order which emerged from the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944. That historic conference resulted in the formation of the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the International Labour Organization (ILO). Maintaining that trade conflict was one of the root causes of the Second World War, the U.S. and British governments proposed the formation of an International Trade Organization (ITO) to regulate and encourage greater world trade. As well as attributing the need for the ITO upon the causes of the war, the United States needed a mechanism to counteract European subsidies of its industries and tariffs against goods from the United States.

Meanwhile, to facilitate trade until the ITO could be ratified, two dozen countries held a conference on trade issues in 1947. The results of that conference were recorded in a document called the 'General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade'. Soon afterward, the U.S. Congress decided against ratifying the ITO, citing concerns about sovereignty and other

issues. This prompted U.S. President Truman to drop the ITO plan. By default, then, the GATT became the international framework by which to facilitate trade.

Initially, 30 nations entered into the trade contract. The contract has been extended and interpreted over the years through seven 'rounds' of negotiations. The latest round, the Uruguay Round, signed on April 14th 1994, is due for implementation on January 1, 1995. The number of commodities covered by the GATT have increased steadily with each new round. Most of the GATT's articles are authorizations to impose a range of trade restrictions. The provisions of the GATT involve regulation of tariffs such that a nation cannot impose tariffs or barriers to imports not specified by the treaty or in conjunction with goods covered by the agreement. The wide acceptance of the GATT throughout the world has seen a growing amount of world trade and trade regulations come under the authority of the GATT. At the same time the rules and regulations of the GATT have resulted in a fall in the average tariff on manufactured goods from 40 percent to about 5 percent during the period from its inception to before the beginning of the latest round [Daly, 1992: p.24].

While the GATT is not a formal organization, it is more than a mere set of rules. The GATT is an international 'agreement' which means it has only the power that each member country is willing to grant it. However, contracting parties agree to abide by the GATT's articles and rulings, so that in practice the GATT is able to use the threat of reciprocal action by other member countries to 'force' governments to comply with its rulings. The GATT developed an institution, a 'Secretariat', that compensates for

its lack of formal structure. In keeping with its limited power, the GATT works on the principle of consensus. All contracting parties must agree to any changes in the agreement. As a consequence of the Uruguay Round, a World Trade Organisation (WTO) has been established which will replace the GATT and become the central institution to oversee the new world trade order.

2.1.1 Enforcement of the GATT

There are two ways that the GATT rules are enforced. If a domestic company believes that a foreign company is violating the GATT in the domestic market, the company can ask the home government to impose sanctions in its home market. Alternatively, if a domestic company believes that its foreign sales are being reduced because of violations of the GATT, the company must ask its government to lodge a formal complaint with the GATT secretariat. Enforcement, then, is based upon GATT dispute resolution rules "that have a decidedly diplomatic flavor *[sic.]*" [Wathen, 1992: p.27]. Under the pre-WTO rules, the members of the GATT must agree by consensus to adopt any ruling made by the GATT secretariat. This means that the country which lost the ruling can block the decision. Even if a panel ruling is approved by the full membership, it is still up to the offending country to abide by the ruling, although the GATT Council can later authorize trade sanctions against the offending country. Despite such relatively weak enforcement provisions, mutual dependency serves as a powerful incentive to comply. The GATT panel rulings are rarely blocked from adoption or ignored by the losing countries.

GATT's minimal authority is typical of the agreements between countries that are loosely referred to as 'international law'. However, there is no world government to provide the bureaucracies, courts, police departments, and armed forces needed to effectively enforce this international law. Instead, countries sign 'treaties', 'agreements', and protocols' that bind them to mutual promises yet which do not infringe upon the sovereignty of the country over its territory.

The newly established WTO, scheduled to come into place on January 1, 1995, will take on board many of the functions for dispute resolution that the secretariat previously held. The WTO shall provide "the common institutional framework for the conduct of trade relations among its Members in matters related to the agreement and associated legal instruments included in [the GATT]" [Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization, GATT]. It will also have many new and more binding abilities. It will have more resources than GATT now does to fully monitor compliance with trade agreements, take enforcement action, and promote continuous trade negotiations. Yet, it will only be able to back up its decisions with the threat of economic and trade sanctions from member countries. Although to aid policing of adherence to GATT rules, each member country joining the newly proposed WTO is required to allow the WTO to enjoy "such legal capacity privileges and immunities as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions" [GATT]. Also, each country must "make such changes to domestic law as are necessary to ensure conformity" [ibid] to trade rules administered by the WTO. The exact impact of this new organisation upon national sovereignty is yet unclear and will only become apparent after disputes have tested the

system.

2.2 The links between Trade and the Environment

The relationship between trade and the environment is one which affects the whole planet and all forms of life upon it. Throughout history trade has played a central role in human development, responsible for "shaping such historical trends as the spread of Islam into Africa, the rise of European city-states, the European expansion into the Americas, and the emergence of Japan as a new kind of global superpower" [French, 1993: p.57]. Human societies have always placed great importance on the business of exchanging goods with one another based upon their varying natural and acquired endowments.

However, just as trading patterns contributed to historic changes in the patterns of human habitation and industry, they are now becoming a driving force in one of the latest, and perhaps the greatest, challenges to confront humanity. This challenge is the need to halt and reverse the deterioration of the natural resource base upon which all economic activity, and all life on the planet, ultimately depends. Though the practice of trading seems to be as old as antiquity, governments have pursued the goal of expanding international commerce with particular vigour in the half-century since the end of the second world war. As a consequence, there has been a dramatic acceleration of the evolution of trade. Trade has moved beyond the exchange of commodities between individuals to practices that linked communities, then cities, states and so on. Trade has now evolved to the global marketplace in which all sorts of goods are

shipped thousands of kilometres and where capital is instantaneously mobilized at the punch of a computer keyboard.

Of all the challenges that lie ahead in achieving a goal of a sustainable global economy, perhaps none is more riddled with pitfalls than that of international trade; "the debate over trade and the environment has become a political minefield that reaches into virtually every country, industry, and ecosystem" [French, 1993: p.5]. With such looming problems as global warming, deforestation, or biodiversity loss, at least the issues are relatively clearly defined. Trade, on the other hand, cuts across all those problems. It plays a central role in deforesting Malaysia and accelerating extinctions of plants and animals in Costa Rica. It exacerbates climate change by increasing the energy requirements of goods transported over longer distances. The rapid expansion of trade in the twentieth century poses some obvious threats, such as dumping of toxic waste, destruction of tropical forest, the creation of pollution havens, and as free-trade agreements such as the GATT are concluded, attacks on laws protecting the natural environment as 'non-tariff' barriers to trade.

Basically, trade is about an economically determined exchange of commodities and services ultimately based upon resources extracted in one form or another from the Earth. Trade of course is neither inherently good or bad for the environment. It is the manner in which the activities and practices surrounding trade are carried out that decide the impact upon the environment. Trade can spread material wealth and knowledge, and it can accelerate the destructive trends now under way. Increased trade means increased consumption of natural resources. Thus,

increased trade will harm the environment if it promotes greater consumption of goods made from nonrenewable resources or with manufacturing processes that pollute, such as the processing of certain raw materials, such as pulp and paper, oil, and alumina, which can have substantial environmental side effects. Also, increased transportation of goods across long distances will mean more oil consumption, and more of the pollution that results. The relationship between trade and the resource used is not a simple one of equivalent steps forward. The development of new technologies does ensure more efficient use of resources.

International trade has a major influence on global patterns of resource consumption and related environmental impacts. With increased international trade and traffic, countries have become more interdependent. This factor is also reflected in the increasing interdependence between countries with regard to the availability of resources, the global ecosystem, and many other major threats facing countries.

2.2.1 The GATT and the Environment

Considering the relationship between trade and the environment, it is possible to see that the GATT, as the most far reaching of all international trade agreements, will have major impacts upon the natural environment because of the way it dictates that trade should occur between countries. However, explicit acknowledgement of this relationship is not contained within the text of the GATT. The term 'environment' appears nowhere in

the text of the GATT, despite the fact that "of all the multilateral and bilateral trade agreements now being negotiated, those in Geneva to expand the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will have the greatest impact on environmental protection" [Wathen, 1992: p.21].

Historically, the GATT viewed environmental protection only in terms of barriers to trade and allowed a country an exception if the rule is "necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health" [GATT], or relates to the "conservation of exhaustible resources" [ibid]. However, exceptions are not allowed if they constitute 'unjustifiable' discrimination against foreign competitors or are not done in conjunction with similar restrictions on domestic production and consumption. What constitutes 'unjustifiable' discrimination is left up to the GATT panel to decide.

Beyond the direct impact of trade related activity upon the natural resources of the Earth, the three GATT principles which have the greatest impact upon the environment are the following:

* Multilateralism -Where actions affecting trade between countries must be taken under widely accepted international rules. 'Extraterritorial' enforcement of any environmental or health measure is not recognized under GATT's principle of multilateralism.

* Non-discrimination - All trading partners should be treated equally, and foreign companies should have the same rights as domestic concerns.

* Harmonization - In order to follow the principles of multilateralism and non-discrimination, domestic business regulations should not exceed international standards.

Each of these three principles has the potential to impact greatly upon existing or future efforts to preserve the integrity and diversity of the natural environment. In addition, they may be used by proponents of free-trade to successfully challenge environmental laws and agreements. For example, in 1991 Mexico charged that the U.S. Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) is an unfair trade barrier. The MMPA, enacted in 1972 after years of effort by environmental groups, bans tuna imports from countries that kill large numbers of dolphins in their fishing nets. A three-member panel of GATT trade arbitrators ruled in Mexico's favour, forcing the U.S. to compromise its laws.

As recently as October 1994, the director-general of the GATT, Peter Sutherland, admitted that the GATT is still debating "whether the environment and workers' rights are relevant issues to the rules of trade" [Sutherland quoted in Campbell, 1994: p.14]. He goes on to say that;

"if you give the autonomy to countries, without any regard to objectivity, to decide on their trade policy on allegedly environmental or other grounds, it will rapidly become an excuse for unilateralism, which will be used to abuse the poor, for the benefit of those better off" [ibid.]

Sutherland believes it is far better to entrust the GATT and its successor, the WTO, with the right to decide what is best for the environment according to trade rules.

2.3 Arguments For and Against the GATT

The impacts of the GATT upon the environment will be large and far

reaching. Some will be obvious and substantial, other impacts more discrete and cumulative in nature. Because of the potential for trade to be considered at the expense of the environment, there exist many strong arguments from both sides of the fence about the interaction between international trade agreements, particularly the GATT, and protection and preservation of the natural environment and the resources contained within.

Advocates for free-trade believe that environmental protection measures stifle open business competition between nations. For example, companies from developing countries may lack the technology or expertise to meet advanced environmental standards in developed countries, and may lose access to those nations. Free-trade advocates maintain that environmental protection standards are often designed or administered in a way that protects domestic industries. Such concerns have led free-trade advocates to call for the harmonization of environmental regulations throughout the world. They argue that if all the countries in the world have the same environmental regulations foreign companies will not be at a disadvantage when competing with domestic companies.

Also typical of free-trade arguments is the claim that economic growth enables governments to tax and increase resources for a variety of objectives, including the abatement of pollution and the general protection of the environment. Therefore, the more trade that occurs the more financial resources become available to clean up, protect, and revive the environment. Nature and the environment are viewed as "a

handmaiden to humankind" [Bhagwati, 1993: p.19]. One other argument frequently used to justify the environmental benefits of free-trade relies on concepts of comparative advantage. Where a country should produce what it is best able to produce considering resources and costs that it has. Anything it can not produce as efficiently as another country should be imported from countries with the comparative advantage in those products.

Those opposed to the GATT on environmental grounds fear that the principles of a competitive market dictate that free-trade will cause an international migration of industry, as companies search for lower production costs, especially lower wages. For many industries, this will mean shifting production to countries with weak environmental laws or enforcement. Also of concern is that the rules and dispute resolution mechanisms within trade agreements will be used by business to attack environmental laws. Furthermore, the free-trade principle of comparative advantage pushes an economy towards specialization. Environmentalists fear that increased specialization will cause developing countries to base their economies on exporting commodities, like timber, or on export agricultural crops, like bananas, which can be environmentally damaging when planted on hillsides. Environmentalists typically view the economists on the other side of the fence as members of a discipline with a "preference for logically beautiful results over factually grounded policies [which] has reached such fanatical proportions that economists have become dangerous to the earth and its inhabitants" [Daly, 1993: p.24].

2.4 Summary

The GATT is a wide reaching and potentially very powerful international trade agreement that has been in effect for nearly half a century. It regulates the trade in many goods and services between countries, ultimately seeking the creation of an international market based upon free-trade philosophies. Part of this free market philosophy is the assumption that the market is the best place to ensure the preservation of the environment, and as such there are numerous conflicts between trade and the environment. This conflict has often polarized economists and environmentalists. What is clear from the complexity of the relationship between the GATT, trade, and the environment is that we cannot ignore the "intricate connections between international trade rules and policy approaches to environmental protection" [Wathen, 1992: p.17].

3.0 Theory and Method

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework based around a research methodology known as discourse analysis. By using the work of both Norman Fairclough [1992] and Michel Foucault, the concept of discourse is outlined and defined as it is used in this project. I also introduce Fairclough's three-dimensional framework which enables the analysis of discourse at many levels in society in order to gain a fuller understanding of the discourse surrounding the GATT.

3.1 What is Discourse?

Discourse is a difficult concept to define, largely because there are so many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. In common-sense language, a 'discourse' is simply "communication of ideas, information, etc., esp. by talking; conversation" [Collins Concise English Dictionary]. In the study of linguistics, where the term has its academic origins, it is sometimes used to refer to extended samples of spoken dialogue in contrast with written texts. More commonly, it is used in linguistics to refer to extended samples of either spoken or written language. For the purposes of this project, a much broader definition of the term is required in order to acknowledge the wider social context which creates and is created by discursive practices.

3.1.1 Michel Foucault and Discourse

Foucault provides a view of discourse which is much broader than a narrow linguistic definition and allows for a 'wider net' to be cast in examining social phenomena. He sees discourse as constructed primarily of two views. The first is a constitutive view of discourse, which involves seeing discourse as actively constituting or constructing society on various dimensions, "discourse constitutes the objects of knowledge, social subjects and forms of 'self', social relationships, and conceptual frameworks" [Fairclough, 1992: p.39]. The second is an emphasis on the interdependency of the discourse practices of a society or institution, "texts always draw upon and transform other contemporary and historically prior texts . . . and any given type of discourse practice is generated out of combinations of others, and is defined by its relationship to others" [Fairclough, 1992: p.40].

A discourse does not consist of one statement, but of several statements working together to form what Foucault calls a 'discursive formation', which provide a language for talking about, or a way of representing, a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. Thus, when statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. The statements fit together because any one statement implies a relation to all others. One important point about this notion of discourse is that it is not based on the conventional distinction between thought and action, language and practice.

Discourse is about the production of knowledge through all forms of language. But it is itself produced by a practice known as 'discursive practice', or the practice of producing meaning. Since all social practices entail meaning, all practices have a discursive aspect. Thus, discourse enters into and influences all social practices. A discourse can be produced by many individuals in different institutional settings. Its integrity or 'coherence' does not depend on whether or not it issues from one place or from a single speaker or 'subject'. Nevertheless, every discourse constructs positions from which it alone makes sense. Anyone deploying a discourse must position themselves as if they were the subject of the discourse, "to describe a . . . statement does not consist in analysing the relations between author and what he *[sic]* says . . . but in determining what position can and must be occupied by any individual if he *[sic]* is to be the subject of it [the statement]" [Foucault, 1972: pp. 95-96].

Discourses are not closed systems. A discourse draws on elements in other discourses, binding them into its own network of meanings. The statements within a discursive formation need not all be the same. But the relationships and differences between them must be regular and systematic, not random. Foucault calls this a 'system of dispersion', "whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever . . . one can define a regularity . . . [then] we will say . . . that we are dealing with a discursive formation" [Foucault, 1972: p.38].

3.2 Discourse, Ideology and Knowledge

The difference between discourse and ideology, according to Foucault, is that ideology is based on a distinction between true statements about the world (science) and false statements (ideology), and the belief that the facts about the world help us to decide between true and false statements. However, statements about the social, political or moral world are rarely ever simply true or false, and the 'facts' do not enable us to decide definitively about their truth or falsehood, partly because these 'facts' can be construed in different ways. The very language we use to describe the so-called facts enters in this process of finally deciding what is true, and what is false. Thus, Foucault's use of 'discourse' is an attempt to side-step what seems an unresolvable dilemma in deciding which social discourses are true or scientific and which false or ideological.

Therefore, it can be seen that this concept of discourse gives considerable weight to questions of power. It is power, rather than the facts about reality, which make things 'true', therefore power produces knowledge and "power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relations without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute . . . power relations" [Foucault, 1980: p.27].

The relationship between discourse and knowledge is an intricate one. Lacan states that "there is no knowledge without discourse" [Jacques Lacan, in Lemaire, 1977: p.vii]. For Foucault, discourse is in effect knowledge, but knowledge with its claims to truth and meaning

bracketed, "that which Foucault treats as discourse is an apparently amorphous mass of statements in which the archeologist discovers a regularity of 'dispersion' rather than a hidden system of knowledge underlying it" [Dant, 1991: p.129].

3.2.1 Knowledge and Power

By participating in and having control over the distribution of a dominant discourse, the concept of knowledge is altered to suit the participants. Through claims of truth and fact, knowledge is controlled, and through this control comes power. There is a simple sense in which knowledge is power. For example, certain types of knowledge enable certain sorts of action which are beneficial to the actor, i.e. knowledge about how to design and use a plough can enable humans to act in a way which will maximize the effects of their efforts to grow plants that satisfy the need for food. Knowledge is both constructed and reproduced in the process of participants exchanging and transforming meanings in discourse.

Yet control of power through knowledge is not complete. It is subject to challenges and resistance from competing discourses. Foucault's approach to power is to recognise that it involves a counter force, a resistance rather than being characterized by open conflict. Foucault [1982] describes power in relation to discursive formations through the rules of exclusion and inclusion of 'speakers' that regulate the discourse and its potential contents. For the individual then, to participate in discourse is to enter into power relations.

Knowledge, as well as being a binding force in society is also a key feature of the fragmentation between social groups. Differences in what people share as knowledge, "not only in terms of their beliefs but also in terms of that unspoken knowledge hidden within social practices and customs, mark the differences between social groups" [Dant, 1991: p.1].

3.3 What is Discourse Analysis?

As with the definition of 'discourse', the definition and application of discourse analysis is wide and varied and depends upon the discipline in which it is being used. Discourse analysis, in general, refers "to the theoretical work which engages in a continuous deconstruction of a discourse" [Burton, 1979: p.128]. Burton goes on to suggest that discourse analysis has displaced epistemology, "epistemology's concern with the roots of knowledge has been superseded by analyses of the modes of knowing" [*Ibid.*: p.15]. In those fields of study where a more linguistically oriented definition of discourse is used the shared interest for various phenomena between academic disciplines of language use, texts, conversational interaction, or communicative events has become integrated under the common label of discourse analysis.

Beyond the 'internal', or academic goals, of discourse analysis, there are many possible relevant uses of the methodology as a valid research tool. Discourse analysis as a methodology allows an examination of many of the processes at different levels of interaction between members of society, whether they be individual, groups, or classes. This investigation of the processes and relations in society allows valuable insight not only

for researchers but also for individuals and groups seeking to challenge and resist dominant discourses in society.

3.3.1 Foucault and Discourse Analysis

Michel Foucault has had a huge influence upon the social sciences and humanities, and "the popularization of the concept of 'discourse' and of discourse analysis as a method can be partly attributed to that influence" [Fairclough, 1992: p.37]. Foucault's work makes an important contribution to a social theory of discourse in such areas as the relationship of discourse and power, the discursive construction of social subjects and knowledge, and the functioning of discourse in social change. Foucault stresses that, unlike linguistic analysis, discourse analysis continually attempts to be non-normative, to deny privilege to conventionality, "the question posed by language analysis of some discursive fact or other is always: 'according to what rules has a particular statement been made, and consequently according to what rules could other statements be made'. The description of the events of discourse poses a quite different question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather then another?" [Foucault, 1972: p.35]. Discourse is therefore not reducible either to the relationships within which are realised its object (desire) nor to the relationships within which are engendered its effects (subjects).

Foucault does not deny the extra-discursive reality, he only specifies that discourse analysis must give primacy to its theoretical object - discourse. From this point of view, discourse analysis is an approach to the study of language as a potent force with profound material effects in the

construction and negotiation of social reality. Language is the first line of defence and the cutting edge of change in the ideological fabric of societies.

3.4 Putting Theory into Action - 'TODA'

Fairclough [1992] offers a method, or model, for the analysis of discourse known as Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). The approach to discourse and discourse analysis which Fairclough sets out attempts to integrate a variety of theoretical perspectives and methods into a model for studying discursive dimensions of social and cultural change. His three-dimensional framework identifies as a major concern the tracing of explanatory connections for particular instances of discourse between the nature of the social practices of which they are a part, and the nature of their discursive practice. Although Fairclough makes a distinction between discourse (as text) and social practice, it is rather artificial and for his purposes to make the distinction between the two forms, linguistic and Foucaultian, of discourse. For my purposes throughout the course of this project discourse, except where indicated, is used in its broader Foucaultian sense as outlined above. It is a distinction I make because my background is in sociology not linguistics.

Ultimately, what Fairclough is able to do with TODA is apply Foucault's abstract concepts to a practical method for the analysis of discourse. This framework brings together text analysis, the analysis of processes of text production and interpretation, and the social analysis of discourse events. It is an attempt to bring together three analytical traditions, "each

of which is indispensable for discourse analysis" [Fairclough, 1992: p.72]. The three dimensions are not exclusive of one another and overlap to differing degrees. This three-dimensional conception of discourse is represented in figure 2.

By separating discourse out as three identifiable dimensions, this particular analytic framework is able to encompass many of the processes occurring in the manufacture, distribution, and perpetuation of discourse throughout all levels of society.

Figure 2

Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse Analysis


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                    Text

          Discursive Practice

        Social Practice
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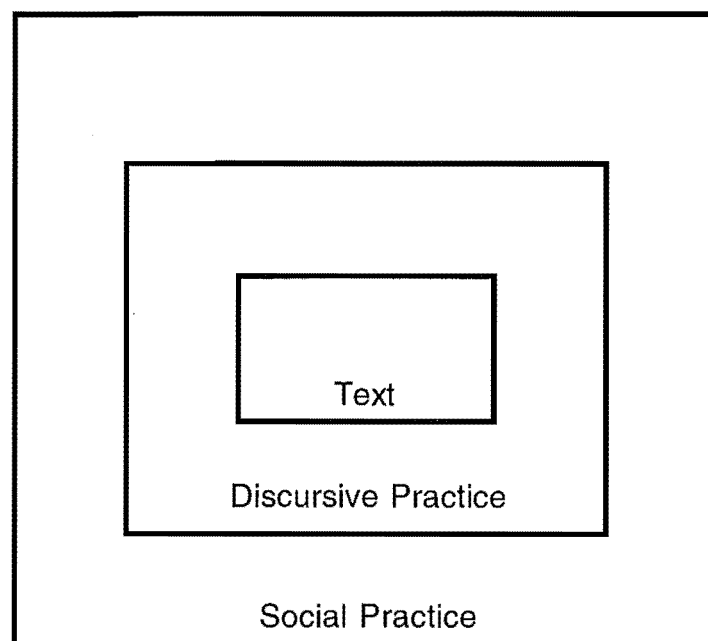
[source: Fairclough, 1992: p.73].

3.5 Discourse as Social Practice

This first dimension of discourse used by Fairclough in his framework is based upon the theories of Foucault. Chapter four of this project utilizes this particular dimension to analyse the wider social context and set of social practices surrounding the GATT. Central to this particular dimension are the concepts of ideology and hegemony. Fairclough discusses discourse "in relation to ideology and to power and [places] discourse within a view of power as hegemony, and a view of the evolution of power relations as hegemonic struggle" [Fairclough, 1992: p.86].

3.5.1 Discourse and Ideology

Using the work of Foucault, Fairclough makes three claims about ideology. First, the claim that it has material existence in the practices of institution, which opens up the way to investigating discursive practices as material forms of ideology. Secondly, Fairclough states that ideology 'interpellates subjects', or challenges the identity of subjects involved in the discourse. The third claim that 'ideological state apparatuses', "institutions such as education or the media" [Fairclough, 1992: p.87] are both sites of, and stakes in class struggle, points to struggle in and over discourse as a focus for an ideologically oriented discourse analysis. The ideologies embedded in discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized, and achieve the status of 'common sense'.

3.5.2 Discourse and Hegemony

The concept of hegemony used by Gramsci [1971] is in harmony Fairclough's view of discourse. It provides a way of theorizing change in relation to the evolution of power relations which "allows a particular focus upon discursive change, but at the same time a way of seeing it as contributing to and being shaped by wider processes of change" [Fairclough, 1992: p.92].

Hegemony is the power over society as a whole by one of the fundamentally economically defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily. Hegemony is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Therefore, hegemony becomes a focus of constant struggle around the points of greatest instability to construct, sustain, or fracture alliances and relations of domination/subordination which ultimately take economic, political, and ideological forms. This struggle occurs on a broad front, including social institutions such as education and the family.

Although hegemony would seem to be the predominant organizational form of power in contemporary society, it is not the only one. Fairclough suggests that there are also the remains of a previously more salient form in which domination is achieved by an "uncompromising imposition of rules, norms and conventions" [Fairclough, 1992: p.94].

Thus, the concept of hegemony provides discourse both: (1) a matrix, "a

way of analysing the social practice within which the discourse belongs in terms of power relations, in terms of whether they reproduce, restructure or challenge existing hegemonies" [Fairclough, 1992: p.95], and (2) a model, "a way of analysing discourse practice itself as a mode of hegemonic struggle, reproducing, restructuring or challenging existing orders of discourse" [*ibid.*].

3.6 Discursive Practice

Chapter five of this project, which focuses upon the role of the media as producer and distributor of discourse, uses Fairclough's second dimension of discourse. Discursive practice involves processes of text production, distribution, and consumption, and the way in which the nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse according to social factors. A newspaper article, for example, is a text produced in a specific way in specific social context through complex routines of a collective nature, by a team of journalists, editors, and typesetters variously involved in its different stages of production. The process includes accessing sources such as press agency reports, transforming these sources (often themselves already texts) into a draft report, deciding where to place the report in the newspaper, and editing the report.

Fairclough identifies three separate and identifiable facets of discursive practice. The way in which the discursive practice is produced, consumed/interpreted, and distributed are all important in the the analysis of discursive practice. However, a broader interpretation is taken

of this section of Fairclough's framework in order to more fully understand the role of the media as a medium of discourse practice. Using Fairclough's narrow interpretation of discourse practice would overlook the institutional settings for the control and production of discourse in society.

3.7 Discourse as Text

Chapter six of this project uses the third dimension of Fairclough's framework, analysis of discourse as text. Texts, from this definition, are the linguistic texts, either spoken or written which can be heard or read by participants in the discourse. They may take the form of conversation between two or more people, consultation between doctor and patient, interaction between teacher and pupil, television documentaries and newspaper reporting to name but a few. These texts are made up of forms which past discursive practice, condensed into conventions, has endowed with meaning potential.

The analysis of text can be organized under seven headings, each focusing upon different aspects of the text's construction. Of the seven headings, 'vocabulary', 'grammar', 'cohesion', and 'text structure' can be thought of as ascending in scale. Vocabulary deals mainly with individual words, grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences, cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together, and text structure deals with large scale organizational properties of texts. The remaining three headings, the force of utterances, the coherence of texts, and the intertextuality of texts, are used to analyse discursive practice

rather than text analysis. Together, these seven headings constitute a framework for analysing texts which covers aspects of their production and interpretation as well as formal properties of text.

3.8 Summary

This chapter outlined a framework, for the analysis of discourse taken from the work of Norman Fairclough. Fairclough uses a three-dimensional framework for the analysis of discourse in order to acknowledge the breadth and complexity of investigating the changes in social discourses. By examining discourse as text, discursive practice, and social practice, it is possible to account for social change. Using this framework, chapters four, five, and six of this project examine the discourses surrounding the GATT in order to more fully understand the power relations in operation in society that must be understood in order to be successfully challenged and resisted.

4.0 Locating the GATT and Free-Trade

Using Fairclough's first dimension of discourse, discourse as social practice, this chapter explores the wider social context within which the GATT has developed. It is important to realise that the economic discourses do not exist free of context and are in fact themselves products of much wider discourses rooted in the origins of what we refer to as Western culture. This exploration will traverse the concepts of knowledge, power, and hegemony previously outlined in chapter three. What will be shown is that hegemonies were established using claims to power legitimized by assertions of knowledge. It is from these power structures that the discourses which constitute and perpetuate free-trade philosophies and the GATT emanate.

4.1 The Enlightenment and the West

A convenient place to begin the exploration of the origins of free-trade economic discourses is in the eighteenth century, although long historical processes have no exact beginning or end and are difficult to date precisely. The 'Enlightenment' formed the first stage in the development of the forging of a modern conception of society as an entity open to human agency, whose workings are in principle open to our scrutiny.

> "These new practices were, apparently, in the control of human beings; no longer did human beings live out the order of god or nature, they were located at the centre, creating their own order. The study of human beings took on a new quality because the object in the human sciences was self-determining, the subject of its own destiny" [Dant, 1991: p.122].

This view of examining humans as separate and controllers of nature paved the way for many practices which were to be largely responsible for environmental degradation in future years. Through the advances of rational inquiry and the power of the human mind, the goal of utopia seemed achievable. However, the reality of this positivistic, rational manifestation of modernity was that humans are but one part of a complex and interconnected environmental system, and any impact on one part of it has repercussions throughout the whole system.

The Enlightenment was a period of intense questioning about the nature of society and, inevitably, some of this questioning was also directed towards those parts of society which we would now designate as 'economic', although this term, a modern one, was not used then.

The emergence of an idea of 'the West' was central to the Enlightenment and was an European affair. Thus, the 'West', the type of society that is developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular, and modern, is a historical construct. Such societies are the result of a specific set of historical processes - economic, political, social and cultural. This concept of the West has become central to global concepts involving economics, politics, and trade. It is the dominant line of demarcation on the planet.

4.2 The Rise and Rise of Science

One of the major distinctive characteristics of modern western culture was its scientific character and the prestige it attached to 'the scientific'.

Western culture was unique in that it developed modern science, begun in earnest during the Enlightenment to an unprecedented degree. Other world cultures - notably Chinese, Egyptian and Islamic cultures - had made notable scientific discoveries. Yet the rise of science and technology, the growth of western capitalism as a 'rational' form of economic life, and of a political culture rooted in legal-rational laws or rules and procedure, all came to be seen as part of a wider process going on in western cultures, the process of "the increasing rationalization of more and more areas of life" [Weber, 1970: p.63].

Ultimately what the world of science established was a self-legitimizing system of authority that saw:

"claims of authority in our contemporary world rest increasingly on the possession of legitimate knowledge, of which scientific discourses are supreme . . . Science and its slightly degraded partner, technology, intrude into what we mean by economics, politics, culture. It is difficult to conceive of a single mode of representation that consciously or not fails to try to emulate scientific norms" [Aronowitz, 1988: p.ix].

The power of science consists in its conflation of knowledge and truth. This power to define the laws of identity, noncontradiction, and exclusion form the foundation of what we mean by knowledge. Using these points of logic, science introduces four essential elements that are dispersed throughout its many discourses. First, the qualitative is excluded and quantitative relations, expressed in the language of mathematics, have become the only acceptable language of all discourse that claims knowledge as its content. Second, the imperative to empirical inquiry, which excludes speculation except at the outset. Third, it is claimed that

exact knowledge is free of value orientations. Fourth, method is given primacy in the confirmation of scientific knowledge. These four elements of scientific discourse are the means by which the power of science is legitimized and all other challenges are marginalised, such that "just as God is taken as axiom, so the four elements of scientific discourse are generally beyond dispute in our world" [Aronowitz, 1988: p.x].

4.3 The Evolution of Economics

The newly formed male god of science spawned many lesser deities that, by aligning themselves with the scientific system of proofs, knowledge, and logic, were able to legitimize their authority while marginalising competing discourses. One of these 'offspring' was the social science of economics, "the study of how society decides what, how, and for whom to produce" [Begg *et al.*, 1987: p.2]. A new way of viewing and examining society quantitatively, as primarily an economy, that is a society defining itself in terms of its performance in providing goods. This new way of looking at society quickly became accepted as a legitimate means of description, analysis, and definition of social interaction. Such that the 'economy' as an object of interest is so much a part of our everyday lives and concerns that it is easily taken for granted.

The development of economic discourses has not been dominated by one particular economic theory. Rather, there has been a constant oscillation between different schools of thought over time. This struggle for dominance between these economic discourses has been encouraged, influenced and decided by external social, political, and economic factors

occurring at the time.

This century has seen a competition between classical, neoclassical, Keynesianist, socialist, and monetarist forms of economics in Western capitalist societies throughout the globe during various periods. The early part of the century saw the tenets of neoclassical economic discourse give way to Keynesian theories of state intervention in the economy and market place. The period after the second world war saw a synthesis of neo-Keynesian and neoclassical economics which lasted until the 1960's. By the late 1970s the twin problems of 'stagflation', stagnation and inflation, were associated with a new anti-Keynesianism. By the late 1970's and early 1980's, a new free-market and anti-statist approach had become dominant in many countries, including New Zealand by the mid-1980's.

What follows is a brief over view of the major competing economic discourses with special emphasis on the development of classical economic discourses.

4.3.1 Classical Economics

The classical economic paradigm has its origins in the eighteenth century with the theories of Adam Smith (1723-1790). The theories espoused by Smith and his successors, Thomas Malthus (1766-1834), David Ricardo (1772-1823), and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) left a legacy of ideas which formed the basis for the neo-classical resurgence sweeping the globe today. Classical political economy stressed the power of the market

to stimulate both growth and innovation, but remained essentially pessimistic about long-run growth prospects. The market mechanism worked by allocating goods and resources by the free interplay of demand and supply, so goods are produced only if they are thought to be profitable. Thus, in this situation it is unnecessary for the state to take an active economic role. The growth economy was thought to be merely a temporary phase between two stable equilibrium positions, with the final position representing a barren subsistence level existence known as the stationary state. The influence of this competitive market analysis has been immensely far-reaching. The notion of the invisible hand at work in the competitive market came from a powerful basis for the nineteenth century argument in favour of *laissez-faire*, the admonition that government should 'leave well alone'.

The economic implication of this argument in favour of *laissez-faire* capitalism coincided with the obvious political inference to be made. As the competitive market, unencumbered by burdensome restrictions, would promote both individual and national prosperity, the state would be absolved from any duty directing the economic affairs of private individuals and would provide only the basic infrastructure of legal order, protection of private property, and external defence. The consequences of this view of the 'economy' as a self-regulating mechanism operating independently of the state were crucial for the future development of economic theory.

4.3.2 Neoclassical Economics

Originating in the classical theories of economics, the neoclassical school of thought emerged in the late nineteenth century. Beginning around 1870, neoclassical economic thought began to be developed by analysts within the mainstream of the economics profession. The labour theory of value was abandoned, and a commodities price was seen not as a measure of its labour cost but of its scarcity. The neoclassical theory of the market was supposed to be neutral and value-free. The basic aim had been to define a set of economic laws which governs economic activity. Rational individuals were seen in terms of seeking to satisfy substitutable wants, or preferences, and this pursuit of individual self-interest was also believed to improve societal welfare. Thus, central to the beliefs of neoclassical economics was a particular model of human nature as being the rational and egotistic person.

4.3.3 Marxist Economics

Karl Marx (1818-1883) adopted the labour theory of value, where workers were the sole source of net economic product, from the classical economists. However, according to Marx, the classical economists failed to place capitalist economic organisation in its historical context. He sought to formulate a generalized commodity production model which characterised commodity production as a social relationship. Capitalist society would inevitably be beset by class struggle for social power gained via control of economic resources. Marx believed progress was a process of natural development, inherent in human history. Progress

itself was to be defined in terms of material and technological advance made possible by the exploitation, or 'humanizing', of nature.

4.3.4 Keynesian and Humanistic Economics

John Keynes (1883-1946) attempted to provide a method that was able to bridge the chasm between classical and socialist economics. The issue that Keynes addressed was not exploitation but unemployment. He argued that, contrary to the doctrine of the 'invisible hand' of Smith, it may not always be the case that the pursuit of individual interest is consonant with the general interest. In particular, Keynes argued that the failure of 'aggregate demand' is the fundamental cause of prolonged unemployment in the modern economy, and that governments should take upon themselves the responsibility for increasing aggregate demand and reducing unemployment.

Supporters of the minority humanistic economic paradigm reject the 'rational economic person' model and instead adopt a behavioural psychology approach which emphasises a hierarchy of needs in place of a flat plane of substitutable wants. Humanistic analysts emphasize that preferences are not static, independent, and determined by genetics. Instead they are interdependent and can and do change over time because they are at least partially learned via the culture.

4.3.5 Economics and Development

Hand in hand with the concept of economic growth is the concept of

development. The period of rebuilding immediately after the second world war saw the Western world alter the existing discourses to invent a new concept. In his inauguration speech before Congress, 20 January 1949, U.S. President Harry Truman defined the largest part of the world as 'underdeveloped areas', creating a new standard by which the 'rest' of the world was measured; "there it was, suddenly, a permanent feature of the landscape, a pivotal concept which crammed the immeasurable diversity of the globe's South into a single category - underdeveloped" [Sachs, 1992: p.4]. The goal of all countries was to become developed because, according to Truman, "greater production is the key to prosperity and peace" [Truman, quoted in Sachs, 1992: p.4]. Economic development became the primary aim of the state which beautifully suited the Western concept of the world as an economic arena. To increase production at a constant level, entire societies had to be overhauled. Leading the way was the country that has come to stand for all things Western, and in its own economic, military, and cultural interests "the United States remains the driving force behind GATT and the promotion of free-trade" [Wathen, 1992: p.21].

4.4 Free-Trade and the GATT

The GATT, initially a product of post world war two neoclassical/neo-Keynesian synthesis, has gained much stature in the last decade as a resurgence of neoclassical, free market, anti-statist discourses infiltrated and gained dominant positions in governments throughout the world. The penetration and subsequent prominence of the discourses of economics into society have historically been motivated by economic hardship

where economic solutions are held up as the only viable alternative to what are perceived as economic problems. Due to the economic upheavals of the 1980's, we are in the midst of the resurgence of neo-classical economic theories espousing the benefits of market led economies.

At other points during this century, economic crises have paved the way for the infiltration of hardline economic social policies. The necessary state regulation of the economy during periods of war is in direct contrast to the the non-interventionist policies espoused by free-market proponents. Therefore in times of relative security, governments may be able to consider decreasing the interventionist and regulatory functions they are obliged to do during periods of conflict and subsequent threats to the nation and state.

It was the depression of the 1930's that was held responsible for the origins of the second world war; "from the depression of the 1930s and the desperation of leaderless people, the twin tyrannies of our age, fascism and communism, gained momentum, culminating in the second world war" [Moore, 1994]. During the rebuilding period following the war, the institutions of the IMF, the World Bank, the United Nations and the GATT were established as a means to ensure future global economic and military security.

With all the other capitalist states greatly weakened by the war, the United States easily emerged as the economic leader of the West. As the dominant world economic power, the United States became the major

proponent of free-trade. During this period of U.S. world economic hegemony, "American corporations expanded their influence around the world by means of trade, investment and the manipulation of consumer tastes through advertising, always supported by the U.S. military presence" [Warnock, 1988: p.30].

Once again in the early 1980's, the world experienced the most severe economic downturn since the Great Depression of the 1930s. While stock markets and financial profits escalated until the October 1987 crash, creating the illusion of a 'boom' period, production stagnated throughout, and instability and uncertainty were never greater. This crisis has given the opportunity for economic discourse to infiltrate politics to an even greater degree; "the uncertainty and insecurity experienced by the owners of capital have led to an entire new agenda in the economic and political area" [Warnock, 1988: p.40]. In New Zealand, it has taken the form of the rise of the New Right in politics and economics. This ascendance to hegemonic status has enshrined in government and policy making, at both national and international levels, the discourses of neoclassical, free-trade, market led economics of which the GATT is a product. Vested interests ensure that the power structures in place perpetuate the dominant discourse which protects their position in society.

4.5 The Other Side of the Discursive Coin

As I mentioned earlier, although the discourse of free-trade and its wider origins may indeed be the dominant discourse operating within Western

economic and social circles, it is not exempt from challenge and resistance from competing discourses. Many resistant discourses exist in society. Those most relevant to this project may loosely be called environmentalist in nature. As outlined in chapter three, there exists much conflict between supporters of free-trade and those who place emphasis upon the environment. The discourses of environmentalism have manifested themselves in many spheres of society, challenging existing dominant discourses, sometimes successfully. At the international level, the greatest show of environmentalism has been the Agenda 21 document.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the 'Earth Summit' took place in June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The 175 nations gathered there acknowledged the need to address the growing amount of environmental degradation occurring over the globe, and the Earth Summit was "a manifestation of ongoing world-wide concern about what can be referred to as 'the environmental problematique'" [Bührs and Bartlett, 1993: p.1]. The first conference of this sort had been held in Stockholm twenty years earlier and represented the 'first wave' of environmentalism at international levels. The outcome of the conference in Rio was the conclusion of international negotiations on conventions on biological diversity and also climate change, and created the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. The most significant outcome of the conference was the Agenda 21 document.

"Agenda 21 addresses the pressing problems of today and also aims at preparing the world for the challenges of the next century. It reflects a

global consensus and political commitment at the highest level on development and environment cooperation. Its successful implementation is first and foremost the responsibility of Governments"
[Preamble (1.3) to Agenda 21].

The intention behind both the conference and Agenda 21 represents the culmination in the international sphere of the environmental movement, However, Agenda 21 does not have the same binding force as the GATT upon governments [see appendix two for a comparison of the GATT and Agenda 21]. The differences between the two documents in terms of the binding nature of the agreements upon governments, mean that Agenda 21 has been relegated to a more symbolic role. This partial marginalisation is directly attributable to the hegemonic power of the existing dominant discourses that constantly resist challenges with a variety of techniques. Thus although the Rio Earth Summit sought to place barriers on trade that is hazardous to the planet, GATT seeks to remove barriers to trade. In that sense, Agenda 21 and the GATT "are potentially on a collision course" [Campbell, 1994: p.15].

4.6 Summary

Using Fairclough's first dimension of discourse as social practice this chapter has Traced the development of the GATT so that it can be seen that although a product of one type of economic discourse, it has found favour and support from a recent resurgence in popularity of neoclassical economic theories. Economics in turn traces its origins to the scientific modes of thought which secured their position of power in society by claiming the correct means of legitimacy through defining and controlling

the only acceptable forms of knowledge. Scientific method is a cornerstone of 'Western' discourses which in turn found their seeds of germination in the eighteenth century philosophical questioning of the Enlightenment period in Europe. Therefore, the GATT is a product of the same discourses responsible for the separation of humanity from the natural environment which ultimately led to the degradation of the environment we now experience. Following Fairclough's framework the next chapter, chapter five, goes on to examine one particular manifestation of this discourse as discursive practice produced, distributed, and perpetuated by the media.

5.0 Media and Discourse

There exist many forms of distributing discourses in society. Perhaps the most effective and powerful is the mass media. In this chapter I shall examine and outline both the role of and the methods by which the media, specifically newspapers, is responsible for perpetuating the dominant discourses in society. Fairclough's framework presents us with part of the means for doing this. His focus upon the three dimensions, social practice, discursive practice, and discourse as text, of discourse practice mentioned above focuses upon many textual attributes of discourse practice. What is required for this project is a wider acknowledgement of the roles that those mechanisms for distributing discourse, particularly the media, have.

Therefore, as well as using Fairclough's method of discourse examination I have included a broader examination of the role of the media as a medium of discourse practice, with specific and particular reference to newspapers in New Zealand. In this way it is possible to tread the path between examining both the presentation of the GATT both generally and more specifically, in the form of printed text, within the media.

5.1 An Introduction to the Media

The incredible pace at which technology has advanced, particularly over the last century, has played a large part in an undeniable rise in the popularity of all forms of media. This meteoric rise in popularity also means that media in all its forms has pervaded all facets of our twentieth

century lives. The production and circulation of discourses in modern societies is inseparable from the activities of the media industries. The role of media institutions is so fundamental, and their products are such pervasive features of everyday life, that it is difficult today to imagine what it would be like to live in a world without books and newspapers, without radio and television, and without the countless other media through which discourses are routinely and continuously presented to us. Day by day, week by week, newspapers, radio and television present us with a steady flow or words and images, information and ideas, concerning events that take place beyond our immediate social milieu.

The media industries have not always played such a fundamental role. The emergence and development of these industries was a specific historical process that accompanied the rise of modern western societies. These processes are constitutive of the modern industrial societies of the West. They are also processes that have profoundly affected the development of societies elsewhere in the world, societies that in the past have been interwoven to varying degrees with one another, which are becoming increasingly interwoven today.

5.1.1 Newspapers

Newspapers are a particular form of media with their own unique means of production, reproduction, manufacture, and distribution of news. The newspaper is merely an 'extreme form' of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephermal popularity, 'one-day best-sellers'. It is for immediate consumption as it has a built in obsolescence the day after it is

printed, "newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayers" [Anderson, 1983: p.39].

Newspapers are the oldest forms of mass media in New Zealand, with the first newspaper being published in 1840, and the country's oldest newspaper, *The New Zealand Herald*, commencing publication in 1841.

5.2 The Power of the Media

We live in societies where traditional methods of information gathering and dispersion have been superseded. No longer is the information we have limited to our immediate environs. We can now share in knowledge accumulated from all parts of the globe and brought to us via forms of media. There are many forms of media that exist throughout the world. They bring to us fact and fiction, news and gossip, information and propaganda, all with the lines increasingly blurred and distinction harder to make between different styles.

The news media is but one facet of the network of media. Within this one facet there are different styles, demands, and expectations. However, in a quite real sense it is possible to speak of the news media of the world as a single unit. Altschull [1984] uses the analogy of a symphony to describe the news media.

"A symphony is a single unit but one composed of a variety of themes and melodies. A symphony does not have to be harmonious. In fact, it can be anything but - filled with dissonance and discordant notes"

[Altschull, 1984: p.279].

Within this press symphony there exist three distinct roles; market, Marxist, and advancing. The unifying element is agreement on the role of the media as educator and their job is to educate the people so that they can carry out their individual roles in society. As the common coinage of contemporary culture, the media are the pervasive, taken-for-granted environment in which learning now occurs. The way in which this role of educator is handled is immensely important because of the influence media can have upon a particular issue by the language, tone, and style used to report it.

Compounding the potential impact of the media fulfilling this role is the decision as to exactly what constitutes 'news'. When asking 'what is news?', many answers can be given. Each answer implies a philosophy about the nature of news that rarely gets fleshed out in the newsroom. Journalists do not have the time to get philosophical and "no self-respecting managing editor would hire Bertrand Russell if he could steal a sportswriter instead" [Manoff, 1986: p.38]. What remains is 'news' as a vague word existing "on the cusp between the undefined and the self-contradictory" [ibid.].

More important in defining what becomes news are the values of the particular form of media reporting it. Which has immediate repercussions for the style of education the media is using and the bias upon certain issues as "neutrality and objectivity are thrown to the winds, news is no longer merely news - it is good news or bad news, happy news or sad news" [Brian Edwards, New Zealand Listener and TV Times, May 27, 1991, p.7]. What does come from the media is idea that what is reported

as news is the truth. The distinction between fact, news, and truth becomes increasingly blurred. Foucault argues that 'truth' is "produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, *media*) . . ." [Foucault, 1982: p.131]. This responsibility becomes even more acute when it is realised that a large factor in deciding what is news/truth is controlled by the ownership of the media.

5.3 The Power Behind the Media

Although the media is commonly thought of as independent and objective in its decisions about what events get covered and how they get covered, the actual process by which news is reported reflects the way in which the media is owned. As with other Western industrial sectors in western societies, productive resources in the media industries have become increasingly concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of large corporations. New Zealand is not exempt from these processes. During the 1980's the changing structure of New Zealand's political economy was reflected in the corporate concentration of media ownership. By 1981, 31 of the 33 daily papers were owned by major news conglomerates and 70 per cent of all individual papers were owned by Independent Newspapers Ltd., New Zealand News, and Wilson and Horton, "the rise of entrepreneurial capital outside of state influence had nurtured a new media bourgeoisie" [Hope, 1994: p.8]. In the 1984-86 period, concentration of print media seemed to have reached a maximum. New Zealand News, Independent Newspapers Ltd, and Wilson and Horton achieved almost total control of the newspaper

market. However, the long term trend was towards duopoly.

After the stock market crash of October 1987, media within the group were either closed down or sold to Independent Newspapers Ltd or to Wilson and Horton. The resulting duopolistic situation meant that across all media corporate ownership together with the commercial imperatives of management represented a "comprehensive assault upon the conventions of public broadcasting, the principles of political journalism and, by implication, the nationally constituted public sphere" [Hope, 1994: p.31]. This duopoly newspaper ownership, public broadcasting retrenchment, the Americanization of TV1 news, the tabloid takeover of current affairs programming, and state-corporate advertising have seriously damaged the practice of journalism. More recently, Brierley Investments has once gained entered the media industries with an attempt to gain control of Wilson and Horton [The Press, 18.11.1994].

Commodification is the process by which social domains and institutions, whose concern is not producing commodities in the narrower sense of goods for sale, come nevertheless to be organized and conceptualized in terms of commodity production, distribution, and consumption. Commodification is not a particularly new process, but it has recently gained new vigour and intensity as an aspect of the 'New Right'. In terms of orders of discourse, commodification can be conceived of as "the colonization of institutional orders of discourse, and more broadly of the societal order of discourse, by discourse types associated with commodity production" [Fairclough, 1992: p.207]. The election of the National Government in 1990 saw the continued commodification of New

Zealand society and this use of language infiltrated and was perpetuated by the media, which itself had taken on board many aspects of commodification, such as the focus on 'news' as a marketable product and as a commodity. Behind the scenes government and business elites began to "'manage' news events. They were primary sources for news and were coming to know their power" [Hide, 1994: p.9]. The shift from a Keynesian to a neo-liberal political economy rearranged the mediated public sphere and economic discourse. Economy, polity, media, and language changed simultaneously, but the outcome was not predetermined.

Those business interests obtaining increasing amounts of control over the media have been closely aligned with the political change in the New Zealand landscape. This alignment of economic and political ideologies has greatly influenced the perceptions held by the media and subsequently by those educated by them, the public. As well as promoting the economic interests of the controllers of the media, the media, by mouthing the platitudes of "the pro-development dominant ideology, was partly responsible for repressing the environment movement by its negative treatment of environmental issues" [Doyle, 1992: p.47].

The role played by editorial staff within the media domain is a complex one. On one hand it is built upon claims of 'editorial independence', yet the media must continue its survival by depending on financial returns. Beyond this financial relationship the role of editor within a newspaper does not exist as some sort of objective commentator upon society. As

Altschull [1984] points out; "the notion that news has a kind of independent character or that stories tell themselves is simply wrong, just as it is incorrect to think that reporters and editors somehow stand apart from the political, economic, social, and cultural system that has shaped them" [p.xi].

The diverse modes of power available to those who control the media range from complete ignorance, to limiting and setting the agenda, to creating more subtle methods of affecting consumers responses. By using these techniques associated with the power that is inherent in control of the media the controlling interests have ensured a smooth passage for the language of economics to enter the media and further legitimate their bias as truth.

5.3.1 The Change of the Economy in the New Zealand Media

Central to the way the GATT has been reported in the media has been the way the 'playing field' for discussing the agreement has been defined by the discourse, and more specifically, the language, of free-trade economics. Hope [1994] describes the way in which the central concepts of free trade economics have pervaded political speech via the media in New Zealand. Beginning in the mid 1970's 'the economy' as an abstract expression supplanted traditional representations of economic life. Political language and news journalism were punctuated by technical disputes over economic performance. The underlying rules of macro-economic discourse began to shift. Central to this shift was the way in which the New Zealand political landscape reflected the global

resurgence of neo-classical market determinist economics that in turn gained prominence through the recession being experienced by most countries.

5.4 The Changing Face of Media

In recent times the media industries have undergone major changes that have had a significant impact on the nature of media products and the modes of their production and diffusion. These changes are the outcomes of developments occurring at two levels: at the level of political economy, and at the level of technology. The media industries in Western societies are, usually, commercial or quasi-commercial organizations operating in a competitive marketplace and subject to financial pressures and incentives of various kinds.

Thus, changes in the media industries are, to some extent, responses to the economic imperatives and political constraints affecting these industries because of commercial concerns. But the media industries are also heavily dependent on technology and technological innovation. Recent developments in telecommunications and computing have created new possibilities for the transmission, storage, and recall of information, developments that are transforming the media industries and increasingly integrating them into a broader range of industries concerned with the diffusion and control of information and communication.

Partly as a response to the changing technological bases of the media

industries, many Western governments have sought to deregulate the activities of media organization and to remove legislation that was perceived as restrictive. This trend towards deregulation has been particularly pronounced in the sphere of broadcasting, which generally developed within a framework of strong government controls.

5.5 Media as Text Producer

Recalling Fairclough's distinction between the production, consumption/interpretation, and distribution roles within this second dimension of discourse analysis it is important to elaborate further. Within the role of text producer, several separate roles may be discerned. The role of the 'animator', the person who puts the words together and is responsible for the wording, and the 'principal', the one whose position is represented by the words are the two most easily distinguishable. Yet in newspaper articles there is often some ambiguity about the relationship between these positions. The principal is often a source outside the newspaper, but some reports do not make that clear and give the impression that the principal is the newspaper (its editor, or a journalist). Also, texts that are collectively authored are often written as if they were authored by an individual journalist, who may at best be the animator.

The GATT is essentially an economic document. Yet in the production of texts concerning the GATT, several different genres are drawn upon which reach across a broad spectrum of discourse practice in society. These choices of description in the process of production are designed to enable to sometimes obscure discourses of economics to enter into other

spheres of social discourse. For example the rise of commodification in many areas of social policy outside the traditional economic arenas demonstrates the means by which the discourses of economics, particularly, those of free trade economics, have managed to infiltrate both media production and government policy making processes[1].

5.6 Consuming the Media

Texts are also consumed differently in different social contexts. This is partly a matter of the sort of interpretative work that is applied to them, e.g., close scrutiny or semi-focussed attention. It is also partly due to the modes of interpretation that are available to the interpreter, "recipes for instance, are not usually read as aesthetic texts, or academic articles as rhetorical texts, though both kinds of readings are possible" [Fairclough, 1992: p.79]. Also texts have variable outcomes of an extra-discursive as well as a discursive sort. Some texts "lead to wars or to the destruction of nuclear weapons; others to people losing or gaining jobs; others again change people's attitudes, beliefs or practices" [Fairclough, 1992: p.79].

Anderson [1983] offers an account of how the mundane daily ritual of reading, or consumption of, the paper plays a crucial role in reproducing the social order:

> "It is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest

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At this point I can not help but be reminded, somewhat cynically, about another famous piece of fiction. This time a fairy tale about the wolf in sheeps clothing.

notion. Furthermore, this ceremony is incessantly repeated at daily or
half-daily intervals . . . At the same time, the newspaper reader,
observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his
subway, barbershop or residential neighbours is continually reassured
that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life . . . fiction seeps
quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence
of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations"
[Anderson, 1983: pp.39-40]

Through this relatively ubiquitous means of discursive consumption by the public, confidence in the media endows the texts being consumed with a legitimisation. Thus, reports of the GATT are consumed and interpreted by readers from the assumption of legitimacy and credibility of factual knowledge.

5.7 Distributing the News

The distribution of the text presented in the mass media are intended for wide distribution to fulfil the profit motive driving the business. Producers within the media produce texts in ways that anticipate their distribution, transformation, and consumption, and have multiple audiences built into them. For example, they may anticipate not only those directly addressed, but also those not addressed but assumed to be party of the audience, and those *de facto* consumers who may 'overhear' the text.

Where some texts have a simple distribution, the reports of the GATT in the newspaper are subject to both intended and unintended complex networks of distribution. Newspaper readers receive a transformed version of speeches given and comments made about the GATT, which are consumed in accordance with particular reading habits and routines.

5.8 Summary

Once again following the framework set out by Fairclough this chapter has examined the way in which the discourses identified in chapter four have been distributed, produced, and perpetuated by the media as discursive practice. The media is a very powerful institution whose overall domain is greater than the sum of its parts. Itself a product of the same discourses that shaped the GATT, it plays an important role in distributing, interpreting, and producing discourses in society. News stories about economic and other issues are played out across different media such that there are connecting patterns of language and imagery.

There has been an increasing concentration of ownership and control of the media by business interests. This control of the media is closely aligned with changes in the political landscape that has allowed elements of the discourse of free-trade economics to penetrate into the media reporting language and thus both define the agenda for methods for debating the GATT, and normalising arguments in favour of the agreement. The press discourse is mainly about words that condense into certain formations. Those formations have their own history for us and their own associative powers to influence, promote and prejudice. The way in which the three elements of discursive practice have functioned has ensured a particular and specific means of text production, consumption, and distribution of the GATT that has ensured that any challenges to it have been marginalised. The next chapter goes on to examine in more detail the ways in which the text transmitted by newspapers successfully reproduces existing social orders.

6.0 Newspaper Reports of the GATT

As mentioned in chapter three of this project, this chapter analyses discourse as text, focussing upon the headings of grammar and vocabulary. This chapter of the research project will use two complementary methods to examine the way in which the print media reported the GATT negotiations. First, I shall complete a preliminary statistical analysis of the number, size and bias of articles and editorials published in both *The Press*, a Christchurch based daily newspaper (average daily circulation 102 200), and *The New Zealand Herald*, an Auckland based daily newspaper (average daily circulation 238 409), in the twelve months immediately preceding the signing of the GATT agreement in April 1994. Through this analysis what will be shown is the amount of overt bias in the reporting by the two examples of print media. The second method will involve an examination of the language used in the texts by analysing linguistic tools such as metaphor, rhetoric and emotive language. The use of different tools can be very powerful means of promoting a particular view and also of marginalising dissenting voices. This analysis is particularly important and will offer some valuable insights into the means by which the public of New Zealand were presented with the GATT.

To begin with it is necessary to elaborate upon, in order to clarify, the distinction between discourse and text. Discourse is a category that belongs to and derives from the social domain, and text is a category that belongs to and derives from the linguistic domain. The relationship between the two is one of realization, discourse finds its expression in

text. However, this is never a straight forward relation as any one text may be the expression or realization of a number of sometimes competing and contradictory discourses.

6.1 Methodology

For this project I chose two daily newspapers widely available throughout New Zealand. *The New Zealand Herald*, published in Auckland, and *The Press*, published in Christchurch, were selected because of the wide circulation that each has in their regions of the country. I extracted all articles that appeared in these newspapers over the previous twelve months that referred to the GATT and that were published in any section of the newspaper except the international pages [see appendix three for a complete list of all articles used]. This limitation was practical rather than for any theoretical reason, although I am sure there could be may. The research database I was using at the University of Canterbury did not list articles appearing on the international pages.

I selected the twelve months up until the signing of the GATT in April of 1994 because this period would reflect the escalating and heightened potential of the agreement over the last stages of what was an extremely protracted period of negotiation. As a result of its tangible, written form, the newspaper coverage of a continuing event builds up over time into a discrete corpus that shows distinct evolutionary features not found in most other forms of the media. The newspaper coverage therefore affords particular oppurtunities for mapping, annotating and analysing the development of a news story, or in this case the GATT negotiations.

The articles ranged in size from a few lines to full page features and were kept sorted according to which newspaper they originated from. There are many ways of evaluating bias within newspaper reporting and I have chosen to follow the lead of Doyle [1992] in using the quantitative method of measuring area devoted to the article. Text size is the same throughout the newspaper and thus comparison of articles by their size presents one indication of the reporting bias of the newspaper.

An article was deemed to be 'pro-GATT' if it was explicit in its use of language about the benefits of the GATT, or conversely if it offered a critique of those who opposed the agreement. 'Anti-GATT' articles were those that demonstrated a clear argument against either the GATT or its proponents. There were cases were it was difficult to place an article in either of these categories because it covered both sides or reported on events surrounding the GATT with no apparent bias.

In addition to the articles reporting events surrounding the negotiation of the GATT I also examined seven editorials from *The Press* that mentioned the GATT. The editorial in any newspaper occupies a different space, both physically and in terms of authority, than other articles and features in the newspaper. All were in favour of the GATT and the only concerns raised were that the agreement would not be finalized, e.g., "If the GATT round failed it would be very bad for practically the whole world and very bad for countries like New Zealand and Australia" [20.10.93], or that the 'sovereign rights' [26.8.93] of consumers would not be acknowledged.

6.2 Reporting the GATT

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 present the results of this analysis. The tables are fairly self-explanatory and do not require much additional analysis.

Table 6.1
The New Zealand Herald

	No. of articles	%	Area (cm^2)	%
'Pro'-GATT	41	91.2	7465	89.2
'Anti'-GATT	3	6.6	304	3.6
Undetermined	1	2.2	600	7.2
Total	45	100	8369	100

Table 6.2
The Press

	No. of articles	%	Area (cm^2)	%
'Pro'-GATT	22	84.6	4629	87.2
'Anti'-GATT	3	11.5	585	11
Undetermined	1	3.8	96	1.8
Total	26	100	5310	100

What is demonstrated in these tables is that both *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Press* gave much more coverage to articles that presented a positive image of the GATT and its benefits than was given to opinions that challenged this dominant distribution of ideas. There is a slight

difference in bias between the two newspapers, more noticeable in their coverage given to 'anti-GATT' articles. *The Press* gives 11 per cent of its GATT coverage to those opinions opposed to the GATT, as opposed to *The New Zealand Herald* giving 3.6 per cent. What does stand out in these tables is the amount of bias given to 'pro-GATT' articles. In both newspapers nearly 90 per cent of the coverage of the GATT could be defined as promoting the agreement.

The impact of this bias is put into perspective when we recall the role of media as educator of the public mentioned in the previous chapter. Clearly if the media is reporting an issue with this much bias any process of education is going to reflect this bias.

6.3 Linguistic Techniques

Fairclough [1992] advocates an analysis of discourse as text as an essential part of his three dimensional framework for discourse analysis. Accordingly, this second section of this chapter focuses upon the texts presented in the articles used for the statistical analysis presented above. There are many linguistic techniques that could be examined in these texts. I have chosen to focus upon three of the most easily identifiable - grammar, vocabulary, and metaphor.

6.3.1 Grammar

The main unit of grammar is the clause, or 'simple sentence', for example the newspaper headline *'French bullying the world on GATT deal,*

Burdon says'. The main elements of clauses are usually called 'groups' or 'phases', for example *'French bullying'*, or *'Burdon says'.* Clauses combine to make up complex sentences. Every clause is multifunctional, and so every clause is a combination of ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings. People make choices about the design and structure of their clauses "which amount to choices about how to signify (and construct) social identities, social relationships, and knowledge and belief" [Fairclough, 1992: p.76].

The use of different forms of structure particular phrases can have, influences the tone of the article in several ways. The grammar used can be explicitly in favour of the GATT, such as *"the Prime Minister, Mr Bolger, said it was a 'very good deal' for New Zealand."* [The Press, 16.12.93], and also, *"there is no doubt that it is a good settlement"* [The New Zealand herald, 27.1.94].

Another popular grammatical technique is to construct the clauses with numbers instead of words thereby imbuing the statement with a form of legitimation and credibility usually reserved for more scientific language, for example, *"Farm incomes rising 10 to 15 per cent and an extra 20,000 to 30,000 jobs over the next 10 years are forecast in the first full study of the benefits for New Zealand from the Uruguay round"* [The Press, 8.4.94], or, *"The Uruguay Rounds seven predecessors have had a profound effect on the world economy. Between 1950 and 1975 the volume of world trade expanded five-fold and the world economy more than doubled in size"* [The New Zealand Herald, 9.12.93], and also, *"The Gatt settlement is expected to add $300 billion to world trade*

and to net New Zealand billions of dollars, according to the Minister for Trade Negotiations, Mr. Burdon" [The New Zealand Herald, 18.12.93]. What is misleading about these statements is that they are presented in isolation and lack perspective as to their true impact. A statement like *"Experts were predicting another 20,000 to 30,000 jobs arising from the agreement"* [The Press, 14.4.94] raises more questions than are answered. We are not informed who these 'experts are, nor are we informed whether the figures quoted are nett or gross, and we are not told what would the employment rate be without the influence of the GATT.

A third grammatical construction technique involves the construction of credible speakers within the text. Expert speakers with credibility include Philip Burdon, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mike Moore, the head of federated farmers, *The Economist*, Business editor and general editor of the newspaper. What these people or organisations say has more weight and legitimacy because of their links with authority. It is their opinions that are allocated the 'high ground' in a debate. They present the norm that other, opposing opinions are measured against. For example *"The Minister for Trade Negotiations, Mr Burdon, speaking yesterday from Marrakesh, where he was to sign the treaty on New Zealand's behalf early today, said he was <u>astounded</u> and <u>appalled</u> at the <u>allegations</u> still being made by some New Zealanders"* [The Press, 14.4.94].

The use of a particular grammatical style in this case sets the tone as very paternal and patronising. Mr. Burdon, as a credible speaker, does not have to justify his somewhat emotive dismissal of opposing arguments.

Because he occupies a position of credibility the paternalistic and patronising tone in his remarks are reported and accepted without question or modification. His other technique is to bring in feelings of national sentiment by using the term *'some New Zealanders'*. By doing this he suggests an 'us vs. them' dichotomy implying that most New Zealanders agree with the GATT and would also undoubtedly be *'astounded and appalled at the allegations'*.

The image of national pride is also utilized in other ways to evoke public support. By appealing to and associating with nationalistic feelings about the role of agriculture as the backbone of New Zealand, and any subsequent threats to agriculture must be taken as a threat to the New Zealand way of life. For example, *"never again will a New Zealand Minister have to go to Europe to plead for butter and sheep meat access"* [The Press, 16.12.93], and also, *"Each year we had to go cap in hand to the Europeans and plead for a retention of an access quota for our products. That annual plea is now over"* [The New Zealand Herald, 27.1.94].

6.3.2 Vocabulary

In analysing vocabulary the focus is upon the individual words chosen. The choice of words used within a text, whether spoken or written, has great impact on the construction of identity and the interpretation of the text. The whole purpose of the language used, or not used, is to protect and perpetuate the dominant discourse from challenge and resistant strategies. One focus for analysis is upon 'alternative wording' and the

political and ideological significance of the chosen words, or those not chosen. The best example of alternative wordings can be found in the use of 'terrorists' as opposed to 'freedom fighters'. Another focus for analysis is 'word meaning', and particularly how the meanings of words come into contention within wider struggles. Fairclough suggests that "particular structuring of the relationship between words and the relationships between the meanings of a word are forms of hegemony" [Fairclough, 1992: p.77].

In all the newspaper reports the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade gets granted its own sense of identity by being referred to as a noun, "any class of words naming or denoting a person, thing, action, quality, etc." [Collins Concise English Dictionary], i.e., "Enormous opportunities and economic prospects had opened up as a result of Gatt." [The Press, 6.1.94], or, "Gatt has gradually moved into other areas too" [The New Zealand Herald, 9.12.94]. No longer is it referred to as the acronym that it truly is, "a word formed from the first (or first few) letters of a series of words" [Collins Concise English Dictionary]. It is now a proper word, spelt with both upper case and lower case letters. No longer is it simply an abbreviation but a proper naming word that creates for the GATT an identity and an image reminiscent of the creation of characters in a fictional story. Meaning has been instilled upon a once abstract concept. Through this change the GATT shifts from being an abstract concept steered by experts and politicians to that of a self-operating process that out to be left alone. Through association with 'free' trade, promises of greater material wealth, and greater social prosperity the GATT is imbued with meaning of significance to the public.

The other way that the choice of vocabulary is able to establish images can be seen with the use of emotive language, such as *"It would be devastating for agriculture in the developing world. For them to make progress they need new trade opportunities more than New Zealand. Trade, not aid, will be their salvation"* [The Press 8.9.94]. Even more powerful are the choice of words used to describe scenes such as *"French farmers have been accused of committing a 'crime against humanity' in their attempts to get agriculture pulled out of the Gatt talks."* [The Press, 15.10.93], and *"Failure of the GATT would have unimaginable economic, political and security consequences, the full dimensions of which would only become apparent when it actually happened, he [Mr Sutherland] said . . . 'This is not just a vicious circle, it is a downward spiral to extinction', Mr Sutherland said."* [The Press, 2.9.93]. The use of very strong emotive words used in these articles creates images that reinforce the legitimacy of the GATT.

6.3.3 Metaphor

Metaphor has traditionally been thought of as a feature of literary language with little relevance to other sorts of language, "metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish - a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language" [Lee, 1992: p.66]. However, metaphors are pervasive in al sorts of language and in all sorts of discourse, even the most unexpected situations, such as scientific and technical discourse. Metaphors are not just "superficial stylistic adornments of discourse" [Fairclough, 1992: p.194]. By choosing to signify things through one metaphor rather than another, reality is

constructed in one way rather than another, "metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way" [*ibid.*]. Thus the metaphoric militarization of discourse is also a militarization of thought and social practice. The headline that proclaims *"Gatt deal under attack"* [The New Zealand Herald, 15.4.94] immediately sets the stage for the construction of images about the GATT. It is not criticized, or debated, or argued about. Instead it is under attack, and subsequently must be defended. Other examples of the use of metaphor, particularly military metaphor are:

"The United States and France sparring over agricultural differences, risking failure of the Gatt negotiations" [The Press, 15.10.93].

"Mr Falloon said the failure of the round would be likely to spark retaliatory dumping of produce against the French" [The Press, 15.10.93].

"Speaking about the causes of the delays in reaching a conclusion, [Mr Bolger] said that in country after country there had been domestic battles over trade policies" [The Press, 8.9.94].

"He said that if the Gatt talks failed, there would be a strong temptation for countries to get into different regional fortresses, such as a European fortress and an Asian fortress" [The New Zealand Herald, 18.9.93].

"If there is a single principle at the heart of Gatt, it is that discrimination poisons trade" [The New Zealand Herald, 9.12.93].

How a particular domain of experience is metaphorized is one of the stakes in the struggle within and over discourse practices. Some metaphors are so profoundly naturalized within a particular culture that people are not only quite unaware of them most of the time, but find it extremely difficult, even when their attention is drawn to them, to escape from them in their communication, thinking or action.

6.4 Summary

The press coverage of the GATT constitutes an excellent example of how the news institutions can be influenced by their structural links to political institutions. By examining the bias in the media by the two methods I have used in this chapter it can be seen that not only does the press give greater coverage to articles in favour of the GATT, but that also the language used in these articles provides an even greater reinforcement of the endorsement by the media institution of the GATT. By the same techniques used to promote the GATT, opposing voices are marginalised. This transmission of a particular set of opinions through the media has extremely large implications when the way in which the media acts as educator of the public is considered.

7.0 So What?

I remember reading somewhere, I think it may have been an anecdote from the 'Reader's Digest', about a professor who taught his students that the most important question to ask anyone about anything they had just said was "So What?". For me it emphasized the need to put things in perspective and justify them, and not assume statements carry their own inherent validity. So that is why I have chosen to title this chapter 'So What?'. Throughout the course of this project a lot of ground has been covered. This final chapter will attempt to provide an element of cohesion to a seemingly eclectic range of subjects and to also both deal with, and raise some, issues highlighted in this project.

To begin with though, I find the words of another author particularly meaningful at this point. Luke [1989] begins his book with the statement; "This book is only a beginning. It is imperfect and incomplete. Given the ground that it covers, it cannot be otherwise" [p.1]. I wish to echo this sentiment and acknowledge that what I have attempted to do in this project is not only to continue where others have left off but also to provide a starting point for further research and questioning. What I have done is also certainly not the definitive or final statement about this topic. I say this not through any sense of false modesty but a realization of the limits of the work I have done.

An important point to make as this juncture is that, as Fairclough points out, "analysts are not above the social practice they analyse; they are inside it" [1992: p.199]. Analysis leads to production of texts that are socially

distributed and consumed like other texts, and the discourse of analysis is, like any other discourse, a mode of social practice and as such it is dialectically related to social structures. It is positioned in relation to hegemonic struggles, and it is open to being ideologically and politically invested. What becomes of the work I have done may be to some extent unforeseeable. It may play a part in supporting challenges to dominant discourses or, perhaps more likely, it will disappear completely.

7.1 So What Have I Done?

I began by outlining the confusion and ambivalence I had experienced observing the apparent contradiction between free-trade and environmental interests. This bewilderment was to inspire the formulation of this project. Thus, I began with the hypothesis that dominant discourses that promote messages emphasizing and favouring free-trade are doing so at the expense of pro-environmental discourses. One way of examining this domination is to examine the way in which the GATT has developed historically as social practice, discursive practice, and how it is presented as text. I first introduced the history of the GATT and a brief introduction to the way in which it operates. At the time of going to print there was some concern whether the recent political changes in the United States would have an effect upon ratification of the GATT. Other countries throughout the world were waiting to see if the U.S.A. would ratify the agreement before committing themselves. South Korean President Kim Young Sam has already stated that his Government was unlikely to ratify the GATT until the United States approved the legislation. Although much of the hold up in ratifying the GATT seems a

result of political 'horse-trading', it does emphasize the way in which one country, particularly the U.S.A., can influence the new world trade order.

In chapter three I outlined a theoretical framework based upon the work of Fairclough, who in turn relied upon elements of the theories of Foucault. I have used this framework to examine the development, distribution, and presentation of discourses surrounding the GATT from a broad historical perspective through to a more specific manifestation of 'Gattspeak' in the media. Central to this framework are the concepts of knowledge and power, and the way in which they interact with discourse. By participating in and having control over the distribution of a dominant discourse, the concept of knowledge is altered to suit the participants. Through claims of truth and fact, knowledge is controlled, and through this control comes power.

Chapter four traced the development of economic discourses to a specific set of historical occurrences rooted in the Enlightenment project that was to first shape and then reshape the Western world as we know it today. The development of rational, anthropocentric, and 'scientific' modes of thought and inquiry were to give a sense of separation of humans from the natural world. A concept that humans were somehow exempt from the consequences of their impacts upon the environment. The subsequent rise of economics and methods of quantifiable social assessment have assisted in entrenching this world view. The GATT as a product of these discourses gets much of its support from and perpetuates the dominant discourses that have formed the foundations for a hegemony that legitimates its power from claims to knowledge and truth.

One method of distributing the social practices as discursive practices is via the medium of the media in all its many forms. The power of the media to transmit discursive elements to the wider population is almost omnipotent, as is their role as public educator. Therefore, any discourse that the media chooses to present, or for that matter those that they also chose to ignore, are presented as legitimate and credible. The way the media chooses to present different discourses can be traced back to those who control the media. Recently we have witnessed an increasing commodification of both society and the media as economic discourses have gained a strong foothold in society. This position owes it strength in part to national and international economic crises. Ownership of the media has also become increasingly centralised in businesses and institutions who gain directly from promoting free market discourses. This control of the media affects its role as text producer. From this the consumption and distribution of the media products plays a crucial role in reproducing the existing hegemony.

Chapter six focussed upon Fairclough's third dimension of discourse, discourse as text. By examining the way in which the media transmitted text about the GATT it is possible to verify the means by which the media perpetuates dominant discourses via its structural links to political institutions. Both quantifiable and linguistic methods are used by the media to present the GATT in such as way as to marginalise any resistance or challenges from competing discourses. The result is a means of perpetuating the dominant discourse as the only legitimate source of knowledge.

7.1.1 Yes, That's All Very Well . . . But So What?

The GATT, and the newly formed WTO, will have immense potential impact upon many aspects of societies throughout the world. It is therefore imperative that they are subject to as many forms of analysis as possible to more fully understand the role they will play in the complex network of interactions between trade and the environment. What I have attempted throughout the course of this project is one form of analysis that demonstrates the ability of the discourses surrounding the GATT to reproduce and legitimate hegemonies through the media. Considering the way these particular discourses have secured for themselves a dominant position in society, seemingly against the grain of other more environmentally sound global discourses, there is undoubtedly many challenges ahead for resistant discourses.

The discourses surrounding the GATT do occupy a dominant position in society. Yet they do not exist free of resistance and challenge at individual, institutional, and social levels. The tension that develops from the challenges will manifest itself in many ways. In my area of interest, natural resource management, the tension between discourses manifests itself in ways that require resolution. Implementing concepts of sustainability will require challenging many tenets of the dominant discourses.

At an institutional level, there has already appeared conflict between government agencies attempting to resolve allegiances to differing discourses. For example the role of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and

Trade as proponent of free-trade for New Zealand occasional conflicts with the role played by the Ministry for the Environment. This tension between discourses has implications within the policy making process that in the short-term will hamper efforts to resolve conflict between, on one hand, proponents of free-trade and on the other hand, proponents of environmental protection. Thus, managing the natural resources of the environment becomes a case of balancing conflicting demands originating in different discourses. What is apparent is that the New Zealand government is in the rather extraordinary position of neither knowing, nor seeking to find out, the likely effects the GATT will have upon many of our environment, cost of living, and social issues that the GATT's transformation of the global trading system will bring about. At an international level, the concentration and institutionalization of the GATT within the WTO, still without an environmental division, will only serve to greater empower that particular discourse and cause greater conflict as more environmental sound discourses make challenges.

What is of concern is that many environmental problems we are now faced with may become irreversible while conflict and tension is being resolved. This tension will have its own impact upon policies for natural resource management and along with discursive struggles will have to be resolved to adequately manage the resources of the Earth. There is in fact still much uncertainty surrounding the exact nature and extent of the interdependencies between economics, trade, and growth and the supporting environmental systems. No matter how potentially severe these ecological problems are, economic growth is continuing and the basic values and institutions of Western society have not been

challenged to any significant degree.

7.2 So What Can Be Done?

Considering that this discourse is obviously firmly entrenched, despite constant challenges from discourses of environmentalism and sustainable development, the future of resource management looks set to continue in much the same way. Ongoing challenges presented by individuals, groups, and institutions are required. As this project has emphasized, access to the media is an important element in successfully challenging free-trade discourses.

The media are an important resource for green pressure groups. For example, from early on in their campaigning, Greenpeace activists saw the virtues of taking filming equipment with them on their ocean protests in order both to document what took place and to ensure that their story was given maximum publicity at home since their footage made very exciting television news. However, if the newsworthiness of their actions potentially favours environmental groups, it is also a constraint on them. They have to bear the needs of the media in mind. Issues which are perceived as 'newsworthy' are likely to receive more attention than other issues, even if the latter are regarded by environmentalists as of equal importance.

7.3 So What Now?

As I mentioned earlier this piece of work is not an end in itself and is

intended to serve as a starting point for further research. An important aspect of investigating ways to successfully challenge existing dominant discourses will come from further research and analysis. This project has focussed on the way in which one set of discourses has obtained and maintained a position of power in society. Further research could concentrate on a wider investigation of competing discourses and a comparative analysis of them. Other areas of research include questioning the public via survey to examine how the GATT has been perceived. There are many challenges in the area of research that need to be taken up to be as prepared as possible to answer the questions raised by human impact upon the environment.

"Our search for solutions to global problems begins, rather less in science, and rather more in the search for a new ethic - an ethic which recognises the indivisibility of the spiritual, the human and the natural."
- John Hayward, 1987 Lister Address at Otago University

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Appendix One

Chronology of GATT

1944   Allied leaders agree to set up an International Trade organization (ITO).

1947   Twenty-five countries meet in the 'Geneva Round' to discuss trade issues, inscribing their agreement to lower tariffs on goods in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Tariffs are cut an average of 20 percent.

1948   President Truman decides not to seek Senate approval for the ITO because of strong Congressional opposition.

1949   More countries join GATT during the 'Annecy (France) Round.' Modest cuts are made in tariffs

1951   Additional countries join GATT during the 'Torquay (England) Round'. Modest cuts are made in Tariffs.

1955   U.S. demands and receives an exemption for agricultural products. other countries follow suit, retaining high import controls on agricultural products.

1957   GATT's basic agreement is amended after a second 'Geneva Round' to facilitate its expanding role in overseeing international trade. Modest cuts are made in tariffs.

1961   The 'Dillon Round' accepts the formation of trading blocs like the EEC. Modest reductions in tariffs are made.

1967 The 'Kennedy Round' adopts an anti-dumping side agreement, addressing 'non-tariff barriers' for the first time. U.S. Congress rejects the side agreement, but joins in later. The basic agreement is amended to add a section to promote trade with developing countries. Tariffs are reduced an average of 36 percent.

1979   The 'Tokyo Round' expands GATT further into non-tariff barriers to include rules on government subsidies, countervailing duties, government procurement practices, customs valuations, technical standards, and import licensing. tariffs are cut an average of 30 percent.

1986   The Uruguay Round begins in Punta del Este. the agenda seeks to expand GATT to include agricultural products, tropical and natural resource products, and services. The Round also seeks to establish universal intellectual property rights; remove barriers to foreign investment; harmonize consumer, environmental and safety regulations

affecting businesses; strengthen GATT enforcement procedures; and eliminate exemptions for developing countries.

1990   Agreements are made in most areas of the agenda but talks deadlock over issues of European Agricultural subsidies.

1991   GATT Panel issues ruling that declares the U.S. Marine Mammal Protection Act in violation of GATT when the law is used to block imports of tuna from countries using nets that kill dolphins.

1991   GATT Secretariat proposes agreement to break deadlock. Draft agreement accepts tuna-dolphin decision. ITO proposal revived in the form of a new 'Multilateral Trade Organization' (MTO). Talks deadlock again on agriculture.

1992   GATT panel rules that liquor laws in 38 U.S. states violate GATT

1993   Decisions made to slowly reduce agricultural subsidies over period of time to lessen impact.

1994   The 'Uruguay Round' ends with the signing of the GATT in Morocco on 14th April 1994.

[adapted from Wathen, 1992]
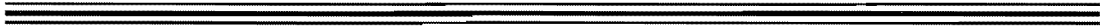
Appendix Two

Comparison Between the UNCED Rio Declaration and the

GATT

Protecting the Environment

Rio Principle: Nations shall cooperate in a spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect, and restore the health and integrity of the earth's ecosystem. (Principle 7)

GATT: Environmental protection is not a stated basis for trade rules

Sustainable Development

Rio Principle: Nations should reduce and eliminate unsustainable patterns of production and consumption. (Principle 8)

GATT: Trade and economic policy should be conducted to develop the full use of resources and to expand the production and exchanges of goods. (Preamble)

Economic Growth

Rio Principle: To better address the problems of environmental degradation, nations should cooperate to promote an open international economic system that will lead to economic growth and sustainable development in all countries. (Principle 12)

Sovereignty

Rio Principle: Nations have the sovereign right to exploit their own resources according to their own environmental and developmental policies (Principle 2). Environmental standards, management objectives and priorities should reflect the environmental and developmental context to which they apply (Principle 11).

GATT: No country should be prevented from taking measures necessary to protect the environment, unless these measures unduly restrict trade; as determined by GATT.

Environmental Standards

Rio Principle: Environmental standards applied by some western countries may be inappropriate and too costly for some developing

countries (Principle 11)

GATT: Environmental Standards should be harmonized between nations on as wide a basis as possible

Trade Discrimination

Rio Principle: Trade Policy measures for environmental purposes should not constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination or a disguised restriction on international trade (Principle 12). Policies to promote internalization of environmental costs should not distort international trade and investment (Principle 16)

GATT: Measures to protect the environment should not be applied in an manner which would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination of a disguised restriction on international trade.

Protecting The Environment Outside One's Country

Rio Principle: Unilateral actions to deal with environmental challenges outside the jurisdiction of the importing country should be avoided (Principle 12)

GATT: Application of environmental production standards to products coming from outside the jurisdiction of an importing country should be prohibited (GATT tuna-dolphin panel ruling)

Technology Transfers

Rio Principle: Scientific and technical knowledge should be exchanged through the development, adaption, diffusion and transfer of existing and new technologies (Principle 9)

GATT: Technology should be protected through patents and copyrights

Citizen Participation

Rio Principle: Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens

GATT: There is no provision in GATT for public participation. All GATT proceedings are held in secret and there is no recognized public right to information

Appendix Three

The New Zealand Herald

'Pro'-GATT

Date	Page No.	Title	Size (cm²)
19 Apr 1994	s3/p2	Anchor brand built to $500m business in Britain	96
8 Apr 1994	9	'In best interests of NZ'	80
8 Apr 1994	9	Agreement opens up trade opportunities	480
8 Apr 1994	1	Gatt trade deal could bring 30,000 more jobs	224
4 Apr 1994	5	Burdon off to sign Gatt	80
25 Mar 1994	s2/p4	Gatt bounty for dairy farmers	70
24 Mar 1994	2	Gatt fear mistaken - Burdon	36
22 Mar 1994	s3/p3	3.5pc advantage from Gatt predicted	135
9 Mar 1994	s3/p5	Gatt gain possible say economists	150
27 Jan 1994	8	Gatt agreement holds promises for farmers	300
8 Jan 1994	s3/p1	Tasman Ag see better outlook	135
7 Jan 1994	5	Gatt watchdog irks Burdon	135
4 Jan 1994	s3/p6	Review '93 - Gatt: key to what?	180
27 Dec 1993	s2/p5	Dairy growth rests on tried strategy	175
20 Dec 1993	5	EC agrees to butter and meat rollover	180
18 Dec 1993	4	Burdon elated at Gatt deal	220
17 Dec 1993	s2/p6	Do not let up farmers told	48
17 Dec 1993	1	Gatt: good deal that may cost $500m	224
16 Dec 1993	9	The Gatt crunch - good and bad news from the number crunchers	600
16 Dec 1993	5	Gatt critics told they do not understand	140
15 Dec 1993	9	Reflecting on cycles of hope and despair	195
15 Dec 1993	2	Gatt will benefit NZ in time	69
13 Dec 1993	1	Trade talks in crisis: negotiator	360
9 Dec 1993	9	Deal intended as antidote to trading 'poison'	336
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23 Oct 1993	s4/p6	Long struggle to remove world trade	400
18 Oct 1993	20	Burdon hammers home message	120
4 Oct 1993	14	Land price pressures if trade talks succeed	156
20 Sep 1993	5	Tough words on Gatt	90
18 Sep 1993	5	Hurd ambivalent on trade deal chances	120
13 Sep 1993	5	Study defines growth benefits from Gatt	120
11 Sep 1993	8	Bolger's Gatt growl carries little weight	400
10 Sep 1993	5	NZ trade move predicted against Japan	120
9 Sep 1993	s4/p4	Asian Alternative	140
7 Sep 1993	9	Painfully slow Gatt shows signs of making progress	108

7 Sep 1993	3	Gatt round running out of time	104
8 Jul 1993	1	Pact lifts hopes for Gatt	136
24 Jun 1993	5	NZ reserving Gatt rights says Burdon	156
22 Jun 1993	s3/p6	Gatt prospects cited for dairy farm price rise	256
21 Jun 1993	3	Tokyo crisis may hit talks	160

'Anti'-Gatt

Date	Page No.	Title	Size (cm^2)
15 Apr 1994	5	Gatt deal under attack	160
3 Feb 1994	s3/p1	Gatt deal down side possible	60
30 Dec 1993	5	CTU sees risks in Gatt	84

Undetermined

Date	Page No.	Title	Size (cm^2)
20 Oct 1993	s2/p1	Why French Farmers burn our exports - fiery opposition	600

The Press

'Pro'-GATT

Date	Page No.	Title	Size (cm^2)
14 Apr 1994	10	Gatt misgivings astound Burdon	160
15 Apr 1994	43	Varsities fear Gatt lets foreign firms in	156
8 Apr 1994	20	Gatt agreement historic step forward	600
8 Apr 1994	1	Govt predicts job surge under Gatt	210
21 Mar 1994	2	Burdon tells of Gatt Benefits	144
9 Feb 1994	11	The errors and faults in criticism of the Gatt trade agreement	528
28 Jan 1994	32	Farmers to reap long-term gains from Gatt deal	360
6 Jan 1994	4	Burdon condemns Ch-Ch groups Gatt statement	144
18 Dec 1993	4	Farmers await accord details	166
18 Dec 1993	4	Gatt signals colossal benefits, Burdon says	166
17 Dec 1993	3	Successful Gatt package to benefit all New Zealanders	240

16 Dec 1993	11	Gatt will benefit economy but don't expect miracles at once	450
16 Dec 1993	1	Gatt windfall may take as long as talks	270
10 Dec 1993	8	Burdon sets terms for accepting Gatt deal	175
26 Oct 1993	7	Group seeks end to trade round	72
16 Oct 1993	12	EC 'frustrated over French'	84
15 Oct 1993	6	Fallon says French trade stance an 'absolute disgrace'	108
25 Sept 1993	10	French bullying the world on Gatt deal, Burdon says	60
8 Sept 1993	4	P.M. calls on nations to settle Gatt	192
2 Sept 1993	28	Burdon backs Gatt deadline	50
9 Jul 1993	4	Burdon hails trade move	150
4 Jun 1993	2	Watering-down of Gatt 'unacceptable'	144

'Anti'-Gatt

Date	Page No.	Title	Size (cm^2)
27 Jan 1994	10	Effect of Gatt deal on NZs economy	450
17 Dec 1993	4	Ch-Ch coalition to hold anti-Gatt protest today	60
17 Nov 1993	25	Dinosaur star of protest against Gatt	75

Undetermined

Date	Page No.	Title	Size (cm^2)
9 Apr 1994	9	Church criticism of Gatt incomprehensible - Moore	96