Rationality and rhetoric

Higher education policy reform in Germany, 1992 – 2013

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Fergal Treanor

Universiteit
Antwerpen

Contact details:

fergal.treanor@eui.eu
https://uantwerpen.academia.edu/FergalTreanor

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to be defended by

Fergal Treanor

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Jef Verschueren

Doctoral jury:

Prof. Dr. Frank Brisard

Prof. Dr. Pol Cuvelier

Prof. Dr. Cornelia Gräsel

Prof. Dr. Tanja Mortelmans

Prof. Dr. Ingo Warnke

Dr. Jan Zienkowski

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Universiteit Antwerpen

Rationaliteit en retoriek

De hervorming van het hoger onderwijs in Duitsland, 1992-2013

Man studiert ja nicht, um lebenslänglich und stets dem Examen bereit das Erlernte in Worten wieder von sich zu geben, sondern um dasselbe auf die vorkommenden Fälle des Lebens anzuwenden, und so es in Werke zu verwandeln; es nicht bloß zu wiederholen, sondern etwas anderes daraus und damit zu machen; es ist demnach auch hier letzter Zweck keinesweges das Wissen, sondern vielmehr die Kunst, das Wissen zu gebrauchen.

- Johann Gottlieb Fichte, 1807

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Abstract

When ideologies clash, conflict ensues and discursive change occurs. How do texts, often at odds with each other, work together to instantiate this discursive change? And how does discursive change make texts be the way they are? This dissertation analyses 165 original texts, compiled from a variety of sources, all of which participate – or seek to participate – in the formulation and implementation of policies relating to the degree structure reform (*Studienstrukturreform*) in Germany, 1992 – 2013. The texts are stylistically diverse, and represent a wide spectrum of differing opinions, but their common goal of policy formulation unites them in a Community of Practice (CoP) engaged in coordinative discourse. Analysis is corpus-driven and multifactoral, focuses on textual and transtextual structures, and directs particular attention to indexical values. Ten theses on transtextual phenomena are developed, the most important of which is the conceptualization of "rational" argument in discourse as a rhetorical performance, which orients recipients to preferred aspects of tacitly held knowledge schemata – or ideology – present in discourse.

Samenvatting

Wanneer ideologieën botsen, volgt conflict en grijpen discursieve veranderingen plaats. Hoe werken teksten, die vaak onverenigbaar zijn, samen om dergelijke discursieve veranderingen tot stand te brengen? En hoe maakt discursieve verandering teksten tot wat ze zijn? Dit proefschrift analyseert 165 oorspronkelijke teksten, gecompileerd uit diverse bronnen, die allemaal deelnemen – of trachten deel te nemen – aan de formulering en implementering van beleid met betrekking tot de hervorming van de academische gradenstructuur (*Studienstrukturreform*) in Duitsland, van 1992 tot 2013. De teksten zijn stilistisch van uiteenlopende aard, en zij vertegenwoordigen een ruim spectrum van verschillende opinies, maar het gemeenschappelijk doel van beleidsvorming verenigt ze in een 'Community of Practice' (CoP) die volop betrokken is bij de ontwikkeling van gecoördineerd discours. De analyse is corpus-gestuurd en multifactorieel, concentreert zich op tekstuele en transtekstuele structuren, en vestigt de aandacht op indexicale waarden. Tien stellingen met betrekking tot transtekstuele fenomenen worden ontwikkeld. De belangrijkste is de conceptualisering van 'rationele' argumentatie in het discours als een retorische performance die de ontvangers stuurt naar gewenste aspecten van onuitgesproken kennisschema's – of ideologie – aanwezig in het discours.

Contents

1. Chapter one – Introduction

1.1. Starting points

In 2009, I was working as an English instructor at the University of Wuppertal. In the week of June 17th, Colleagues and I experienced the *Bildungsstreik* first hand. Students were unhappy, but their grievances were not always clear. Courses were overcrowded, but that had already been the case well before the new degree structures were brought in. Some zealously defended the picket lines; others seemed bemused by the whole affair. They were boycotting classes, but we were on the clock, so we showed up for work and spent our time chatting and listening. Alternative educational events were held, including a marathon reading of the erotic novel *Feuchtgebiete*, which was on loudspeaker outside my office window.

I was puzzled by two things: firstly, many of our professorial colleagues seemed to support the strike wholeheartedly, and spoke at length on the death of university education. Secondly, I was amazed when three students showed up for one of my classes, having broken the picket. It transpired that all three were members of the RCDS, a student political group associated with the governing CDU party. They were not participating in the strike. On television, large demonstrations were shown, and politicians argued over the meaning of the protests. It was around this time that I started taking an interest in Higher Education policy.

In 2011, when I was deciding on a dissertation topic, the German Higher Education reform was the obvious choice. I wanted to understand how language was making the changes happen, and how, if at all, the language of the protesters was changing the language of the authorities. It seemed that participants on all sides of the debate were doing something *together*, even if power was not shared equally between them. It was important to me that the analysis be *critical,* i.e. it should make premises and belief systems visible, but not be *normative*, so looking at a Community of Practice whose participants were arguing with each other was a good solution. Finally, the discourse was leaving a textual trace, and this suited me well, since this was to be as much a dissertation in text linguistics as in discourse analysis.

The map is not the territory, and the textual trace is not the Higher Education policy reform. In one early conversation, Siegfried Jäger asked: *Du willst also an der Realität vorbei promovieren?* He argued that without an ethnography of students' experience, I would never find out what the reform meant for them. Maybe textual analysis does not even tell us what

the reform means for the reformers: one anonymous insider told me quite forthrightly that wherever textual records are required, they are often just an ex post facto rationalization of decisions which have long since been taken elsewhere. This is also Flyvbjerg's view (1998). The empirical object, then, is not the reform itself: it is a set of representations which constitute the textual record of the activities of a Community of Practice within a historically situated process of change. What's more, the corpus to be analyzed is my own construct, and everything I have written about it here is my own construal of this construct. Even the exhaustive document search and the maximally inclusive corpus cannot change that.

The result is this dissertation. It analyses the texts related to the reform as a rhetorical performance, where rhetoric is defined as any linguistic strategy designed to maximize a text's knock-on effects in discourse. How conscious this performance may or may not be is immaterial. Text is the result of sociocognitive processes, and in this case, the social side of things has been the more interesting and the more analytically useful. What is being performed is, first and foremost, rationality, but also a range of other values such as empowerment, social justice, humanism, competitiveness, personal growth and economic utility.

The following section provides a working definition of discourse, addresses research goals and defines research questions. The remaining part of the chapter then summarizes further chapters. The dissertation includes an extended review chapter of literature on language, text and context (**Ch.2**), a background chapter with a corpus overview, a summary of research on HE reform, and an account of discourse-historical contexts (**Ch.3**). Three empirical chapters (**Ch. 4, 5 and 6**) then analyse the entextualization of the reform in broadly chronological order: from early advocacy and implementation, to the various forms of opposition, and finally to the management of opposition by the pro-reform side in the post-protest period.

1.2. Rainbows and shadows – ontologies of discourse

Discourse is a socio-cognitive semiotic construct that constrains subjects' knowledge and actions. Gee (2014: 177) distinguishes between *Big D Discourse*, a large, culturally and historically distributed set of beliefs and norms, and *small-d discourse*, coherent stretches of language in use. These related phenomena have much in common; it is mainly *small-d discourse* which will be in focus here. I assume, in agreement with Verschueren (2012), that analysis of language use in discourse can reveal the non-explicit meanings which constitute *ideology* – a pattern of tacit normative knowledge. No stretch of language can exist outside of discursive constraints. It is therefore assumed that the coming together of ideological meanings and prerogatives in discourse at a given moment is a major codeterminant in the emergence of any textual form.

Discourse research begins with observation of data, and is, to this extent, positivist. But discourse analysis is poorly suited to hypothesis testing (e.g. Popper, 2002). Rather, the aim is to describe the (re)production of ideological meanings in discourse, and to examine their role in entextualization processes. Verschueren states that *[i]deological phenomena and processes are usually too complex to be captured in straightforward statements, and research findings are themselves usually intricate narratives (2012: 23)*. However, while rejecting Popper's Critical Rationalism, Verschueren still problematizes *inadmissible subjectivity* (2012: 30) and insists on a method which will *provide sufficient grounds for interpretation (and for refuting certain interpretations)* (2012: 49). So, what kind of subjectivity *is* admissible? What are the validity criteria?

The first principle validating observations is *intersubjectivity*: it is easy enough for individuals to agree on the basic reality of empirical observation. Husserl called intersubjectivity a *fundamental dimension of human experience*, which *can provide an overall theoretical frame for thinking about the ways in which humans interpret, organize, and reproduce particular forms of social life and social cognition* (Duranti, 2010: 14). The setting for this is the *lifeworld*, i.e. the shared experience of physical and social reality, the *realm of intersubjectivity* (Macey: 230).

Intersubjectivity must also be reconciled with the cognitive-constructivist position, as put forward by von Glasersfeld (2005: 9-41) and by Luhmann (2009: 157). Luhmann argues that the human mind can observe only itself: our *Erfahrungswelt* is therefore a neural construct

based on incomplete perceptual data. It follows that discourse, text and social life need to be understood as networks of shared cognitive structures, and that any intersubjectively shared positions – even the most stable institutional facts – are products of distributed cognition. The role of cognition in the emergence of social and discursive structures has been addressed in detail by van Dijk (2006; 2008; 2009; 2014). His theories of context and knowledge are discussed in **chapter two**.

Van Fraassen (2001; 2007) proposes the *antirealist* position of *constructive empiricism.* As he points out, we treat rainbows and shadows as *things*, and use nouns to refer to them. They have no intrinsic ontology, but they are intersubjectively observable all the same. They are, in his idiom, *public hallucinations*. The same applies to data observation in this dissertation – the semiosis encoded in marks made of ink or pixels also only exists by common agreement; language encodes meaning by arbitrary convention, and this meaning varies greatly depending on the situation of the observer. Van Fraassen suggests that empirical adequacy (i.e. consistency with intersubjectively observable data) is sufficient grounds for a theory's validity, and for the interpretation of further observations using the same theory. This does not entail any belief that the theory is objectively correct. Constructive empiricism forms the basic epistemological starting point for this project.

1.3. Research goals & research questions

The goal of the textual analysis in this dissertation is to make visible the instantiation of discursive change. The *small-d* discourse of the corpus is a transtextual construct, ongoingly constituted by, and constraining the production of, textual meanings. It is the very constructedness of discourse, the instability of its ontology, which is of interest, because it is exactly this instability and malleability which makes discourse such a powerful force in the construction of social realities. It is discourse which allows people to think of the rainbows and shadows of the social world as *things* in their own right, and it is discourse which manages the changes which social realities periodically undergo. To reflect this, the analysis will be *diachronic*. This will make it possible to observe entextualization processes in their dynamic relation with historical context.

The analysis will take place in the tension-ridden space between *description* and *interpretation*: Discourse Analysis necessarily involves a hermeneutic circle, whereby data

can only be understood in terms of the whole, but the "whole" is accessible only through data and needs to be defined by the analyst (Wodak and Meyer: 22; Macey: 181). *Really* 'letting the data speak for itself' would entail saying nothing about it at all; even the act of compiling and presenting a corpus already counts as a matter of opinion. Therefore, a purely phenomenalistic or 'thin' description, as Ryle called it (Geertz, 1973), consisting, perhaps, of nothing but a list of every available text on the topic, with an inventory of linguistic forms used, would not count as analysis at all.

Interpretation is unavoidable. Indeed, given the immense body of work on German textual forms and the vast literature on text, discourse and context (see **chapter two**), there is likely to be quite a lot of interpretation. So, while the best possible approximation of actual discursive events is worked towards – this is the descriptive side of the coin – it is acknowledged that the dissertation itself is, like any other text, *situated* with respect to numerous subjectivities, both my own idiosyncratic ones and those of the historically bound secondary sources drawn on. It follows that the *thick description* of the meaning construct (Geertz, 1973) is, as much as anything else, an academic artefact, though it is hoped that this artefact, as far as is practically possible, will be not entirely dissimilar to whatever it was that 'really' happened in the process of discursive change under discussion – this is the interpretive side of the coin.

With this tension in mind, we can approach the central research question:

1. **How did the discourse of Higher Education reform in Germany change during the period 1992-2013?**

The first aim of the dissertation is to answer this question as thoroughly as possible, and in doing so to generate further statements which may contribute to the ongoing discussion of discursive change. No particular hypothesis is tested, though some broader theses about discursive change will be put forward in the conclusion. It is hoped that these theses can find a place in a bigger conversation, going beyond the present empirical occasion, and the methods used are at all times made transparent and retroductable.

A second and equally important research question came into focus during the research. It is accepted that language and social reality (one might also say *small-d discourse* and *big-D*

Discourse) are mutually constitutive, but more attention is usually focused on the way in which text constitutes social reality (Smith, 1984: 66-67) – let us call this the *semasiological* question – than to the way in which social reality constitutes text (Hanks, 1989: 99) – this is the *onomasiological* question. These two terms are borrowed from lexical semantics (Geeraerts, 2009: 199 - 203) and were further adapted for historical text linguistics (Nübling et al., 2013: 198). *Semasiology* asks how language makes the world; *onomasiology* asks how the world makes language. The onomasiological question here is:

2. **How did discursive change affect the texts realizing Higher Education reform in Germany, during the period 1992-2013?**

Both of these "how?" questions call for close analysis of textual and transtextual forms, the mechanisms of entextualization and their development over time. Because text deploys such a wide range of micro and macro level linguistic constructions, the analysis must be multifactoral. This will lead to an interpretative and essayistic style of presentation, since every text is different. What unifies all parts of the analysis is the pragmatic principle of *indexicality*.

1.4. Dissertation outline

Chapter two is an extended review of language, context and text. Language is defined as emerging from social and cognitive factors. The role of pragmatic phenomena, such as speech acts, presupposition and indexicality, are highlighted, and indexicality is proposed as the unifying factor in analysis. Context is approached in two ways, as a dynamic process taking place in language, but also as a sociohistorical resource from which factors must be retrieved and made salient. "Mid-range" models of participation and social cognition are adduced, with a focus on *coordinative discourse*. Text is a special form of socially situated language use, which arises at the intersection of its linguistic properties and its context of production. Particular attention is paid to the transtextual connections which realize a diachronically realized transtextual field. In particular, *register* is identified as an important analytical category for the identification of a rationalizing textual ideology with roots in the enlightenment period.

Chapter three presents the corpus and the discourse-historical background. The corpus consists of 165 texts, from the period 1992-2013, whose emittents all participate in the coordinative discourse realizing the *Studienstrukturreform* in Germany. Annotation was influenced by *grounded theory*, with the difference that theoretically attested linguistic descriptors, rather than purely intuitive categories, were used as codes. Annotation is essential (Archer, 2013) but in this project, it served mainly as a reading aid. In fact, the method of getting to grips with the corpus could simply be called *reading*. Further primary texts, such as parliamentary records and legal texts, are also used in the analysis. Additionally, eleven background interviews with discourse participants were carried out, some of whom were senior decision makers in the reform process. Some interviewees preferred to remain anonymous. These interviews are cited where appropriate. To do justice to the complex unfolding of discourse over time, a *corpus-driven* analytical method (Andersen, 2011) was chosen.

The inclusion of a discourse-historical background was a methodological choice. Many studies favour an "inside-out" contextualization as a dynamic process realized in the linguistic data as they occur. These often reject any form of "outside-in" context as a distorting imposition of preformulated ideas. Furthermore, where background contexts *have* been included, they have faced the serious charge of being poorly chosen and lazily executed (Verschueren, 1999b; Blommaert, 2001).

Contextualization happens in language use. This does not mean, however, that looking at factors outside the confines of the primary data should be taboo. The potential problems of this approach are addressed here in two ways. Firstly, all choices about what to include were based on corpus readings. The *semiotic arrow* (Silverstein, 1992) in primary texts determined which topics to research. The most important were the concepts of "Humboldtian" education and of "neoliberalism", as well as an ideology of textual rationality running through all German institutional discourse. The resulting discipline-external reading, much of which was in history and political economy, enabled me to develop informed ideas about these concepts, and to understand that they too are semiotic constructs at the level of *Big-D* Discourse. I also asked informants to comment on these concepts, and this often bore interesting fruit. Secondly, it is essential to make these choices fully transparent.

Chapters four, five and six are empirical. They trace the history of discursive change from its inception in the early 1990s to 2013, when the BMBF called the reform *eine europäische Erfolgsgeschichte*.

Chapter four analyses text and discourse produced by the pro-reform coalition from 1992-2008. There is a development from cautious reappraisal of existing HE structures and ideology, to open questioning of them, to direct criticism. They are replaced by an employment-oriented instrumental approach to Higher Education, supported by private-sector discourse participants, and implemented through legislation and other regulations. The process of discursive change is realized at various linguistic levels, by lexis, textual micro- and macrostructures, and transtextually realized patterns such as markedness reversal and a reordering of ideas and priorities. Dedicated sections identify transtextual patterns in register and paratext in early discourse: the condensed hypotactic register indexes rationality and obfuscates agency through frequent nominal presentation of processes, while paratext, in both titles and paratextual texts such as forewords and summaries, is a rich source of discourse-relevant propositions and topoi. It is argued that the lexicogrammatical potential of textuality to encode conflicting sets of premises, a network of inter- and metatextual reference and the anaphoric recurrence of propositions in a variety of different registers and text types are all necessary conditions for the emergence of discourse as a linguistic object.

Chapter five documents and analyses texts opposing the reforms. Opposition was present from the late 1990s, but only became prominent from the mid 00's onwards, and was particularly important in the year of protest from summer 2009 to summer 2010. This late mobilization meant that many opposition texts were necessarily a reaction to an already well-established reform agenda. One result of this is a concentration of resemblances to advocacy coalition texts, which reproduce the pro-reform side of the discourse, even as it is being opposed. I argue that this reproduction of aspects of the pro-reform discourse is inevitable in some types of opposition texts, and is part of what makes the reform hegemonic, and that resemblances, in the form of architextual and paratextual similarity, similarities of register and stylistic isotopy are indeed a prerequisite for participation in the decision-making structures of the CoP. Notably, those opposition texts which do *not* reproduce the hegemonic discourse also do not contribute to the ongoing formation of policy. As will be seen in chapter six, this leaves them open to charges of irrelevancy from pro-reform actors.

Chapter six deals with the advocacy coalition's response to criticism and opposition. It recapitulates the theoretical position, summarizes what has happened in the discourse so far, describes the task now facing pro-reform texts in the post-protest period, then describes their strategies and illustrates the strategies' entextualization using a series of examples. It is shown once again that paratext – here sometimes in its epitextual form as a press release & sometimes in peritextual form as an *Einleitung* or a *Grußwort*, when relating directly to a longer research publication – is a prime source of data for pro-reform representations designed with perlocution in mind, i.e. for rhetorical language use. The typological distinctions between paratextual forms and the bodies of research they represent enables actors to make unsubstantiated claims while indexing evidence elsewhere, knowing that full bodies of text are less likely to be read. It is also shown that the most vitriolic criticism is reserved for advocacy coalition members who are perceived to be 'out of line' by voicing fundamental doubts in public. In such cases, refutation form the advocacy coalition often has a social, rather than a propositional focus.

Chapter seven, the conclusion, will bring together the findings already discussed in the three empirical chapters, and put forward ten theses on the transtextual field, whose aim is to offer some explanation, from a social and discourse-historical perspective, of how knowledge is accessed and reproduced in discourse, but also of the onomasiological question – how texts in a coordinative discourse come to be the way they are. The theses relate specifically to the corpus examined here; their transferability is a matter for readers to decide. This is followed by a short statement about future research in text linguistics. Especially because this dissertation has primarily sought *social* explanations for textual phenomena, the importance of also addressing *cognitive* questions is mentioned.

2. Chapter two – Language and context

"Merkwürdig solche Vielfalt an ein und demselben Phänonmen der menschlichen Rede!" (Bühler, 1934: 33)

2.1. Summary

This chapter reviews theories of language, context, text and transtextuality, and develops the terms and methodological approach to be used in the remainder of the dissertation.

2.2. Language

Language is a social phenomenon which takes place in a community of users. It is, in the words of Vygotsky (1986), the *semiotic medium*, enabling individuals to engage in mutually intelligible communication. This medium is *non-neutral* (Duranti, 2011): Linguistic knowledge is always socioculturally situated. This remains true, even if we accept that *some* types of linguistic structure may be innate, e.g. phonology and morphosyntax. But these are just two of the many strands of knowledge enabling humans to use well-formed stretches of language in ways appropriate to given situations. Communicative competence, world knowledge, shared frames of reference; register competence and the ongoing orientation to historically contingent discourses are all part of the big picture too. Language is messy, not pure. It is at once in the head and in the world, and shaped by the contingencies of both. It does not reduce to any one of the heterogeneous factors bearing on its production. Rather, it is what emerges from these factors' complex interactions. Cognitive functions are of central importance. But no stretch of language use can be explained without due regard to what Bühler (1934) calls its *social moment*.

2.2.1. Vygotsky & Bühler

The human mind is equipped to interact with context and produce meaning (Verschueren, 1999a; Enfield, 2010: 5). This idea has its roots in Vygotsky's concept of *semiotic mediation*, (Vygotsky, 1978; 1986; Hasan, 2002; Wertsch, 2007). Vygotsky's insight was that language in the mind is constituted by language in the world (Duranti, 1997: 282-283). The *inner speech* of children and adults alike is a reflection of social and cultural relations (Vygotsky, 1986: 27-30, 94-95).

The idea of a mutually constitutive relationship between cognition and social life, with language as the intermediary, resonates in many later theories, such as the *constitutive*

circularity described by Gumperz and Levinson (1991), the *distributed cognition* put forward by Clark and Chalmers' (1998) and Millikan's *language-thought partnership* (2005). In linguistic anthropology, the *sociocentric component of mind* (Silverstein, 2006: 277) forms a basic assumption. The Vygotskian picture of cognitively realized and socially shared *knowledge schemata* is fundamental to the theories of knowledge and contextualization developed by Levinson (1992), Silverstein (2004) and van Dijk (2006; 2008; 2009; 2014). Vygotsky's work has also been highly influential in the literature on Communities of Practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; de Almeida Mattos, 2000; Mercer, 2002; Barton and Tusting, 2005; Eckert, 2006).

Bühler's *Sprachtheorie* (1934) is an innovative picture of linguistic plurifunctionality. For Bühler, *Ausdruck* and *Appell* are as central to language study as *Darstellung* (*representation*) (1934: 32)[1]. The *Organon* model of linguistic communication places these three functions on an equal footing. There follows a major study of demonstratives and deictic expressions in the *Zeigefeld (deictic field)*, which Bühler places on a par with the *Symbolfeld (symbolic/denotational field)* (1934: 33-48, 79-148). This account is foundational in the study of *indexicality*. Bühler's influence is apparent in the work of Jakobson on *duplex signs* (Nöth, 2000: 105), which was expanded on by Silverstein (1976).

Bühler dispenses with the dichotomies of Saussure's *langue/parole* and Humboldt's *energeia/ergon*. These categories, he argues, are not productive (1934: 48). His proposed division of labour among types of language phenomena uses a criterial cross-classification, giving the fourfold division shown in table 1:

	I. subjektbezogen	II. subjektentbunden
1.niedere Formalisierungsstufe	*Sprechhandlung*	*Sprachwerk*
2.hohe Formalisierungsstufe	*Sprechakt*	*Sprachgebilde*

Table 1 Bühler's language phenomena (1934: 49)

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[1] The *Symbolfeld* and the *Zeigefeld* are more closely linked than the clean division of labour in Bühler's model suggests. His further comments on the interactions between *Sprechakt* and *Sprachgebilde* appear to acknowledge that the given categories are fuzzy.

Each of the four areas is elaborated extensively (1934: 48-69). The discussion of *Sprechhandlung* and *Sprachwerk* defines *Werk* as language artefacts such as texts, but also as a defining factor in the activity of speech production, since an awareness of the end goal influences the nature of the activity. This implies an extended definition of *Sprachwerk* as an inventory of function- or situation-dependent usage conventions, which are slower to change than the idiosyncrasies of speech, but are still more mutable over time than the principles of *Sprechakte* or *Sprachgebilde*. Auer (1999: 29) criticises the exclusive identification of *Sprachwerk* with the symbolic field, since this neglects the deictic properties of grammar. It is not clear, though, that the "subject-independent" status means that *Sprachwerk* is absent from the deictic field; it is true that one key property of text is that it can become spatiotemporally independent of its emittent and its production process, but this just shifts its deictic centre from an individual author to the salient aspects of the text's historical situation.

Sprechakte, in Bühler's definition, encompass all properties of language which enable sense-making in interaction. A general theory of this kind is needed because Saussure's idea of meaning as originating in the composition of sign-concept pairings cannot adequately account for the real-world *Bedeutungserlebnis* (1934: 58). Bühler insists on equality between this type of knowledge and *Sprachgebilde*, since there is no other way to explain why language forms can remain so vague without resulting in communicative failure. Only on this basis can the *Detektivarbeit* required for sense-making take place (1934: 63). Bühler characterises the speech act as the *social moment of language* (1934: 69). The achievement of meaning, as reflected in the *Organon*, is dependent on shared knowledge. Today, this principle is reflected in all theories of pragmatic knowledge, not only Speech Act Theory.

His discussion of the *Sprachgebilde – Sprechakt* relationship is guided by the principle that language is always *embedded in reality* (1934: 36). Language forms, states Bühler, are comparable to mathematical forms such as numbers, in that they are abstractions which can be considered in their own terms. They are different from numbers, however, in that they are not Platonic. Anybody thinking of the *eternity and immutability* of Platonic ideas, he warns, should think again (1934: 60). Instead, he simply proposes that language forms display *suitability for intersubjective contact*. Bühler professes ontological agnosticism, and identifies consistency with empirical observation as the only validity criterion for axiomatic claims such as those presented in his theory (1934: 19-21). However, his rejection of Platonic idealism suggests that he sees even the more stable & abstract forms of linguistic

knowledge such as verb and case systems (1934: 62) as inferentially achieved and socially shared. This implies that even the most stable forms are susceptible to change from external factors (see e.g. Traugott, 2011). It also aligns Bühler with Vygotsky's outside-in ontology of language.

2.2.2.   Sociolinguistics

Studies of socially correlated language variation began with a focus on static categories (e.g. Labov, 1972a; Bernstein, 1971). Although Labov and Bernstein clashed over the interpretation of linguistic varieties/codes, their work shared the premises i.) that social groups inhabit shared linguistic worlds, and ii.) that language is not only the outcome of social structures, but also a factor in their ongoing reproduction (Collins, 1978: 576; Linke et al., 2004: 353). Holmes (2015) has suggested that when established knowledge of language varieties is applied to studies of meaning production, the discipline of *sociopragmatics* is the result. This is broadly true, though the definition of participant groups need not be limited to extralinguistic social "variables" such as class, gender, age, etc.: Interpretive research into situated language use can operationalize the socially reproductive linguistic function, rather than just correlate variables from related domains.

In his paper on *communicative competence*, Hymes (1972) calls for knowledge of linguistic variation to be applied to specific social situations, as this is the only way to capture the effect of what he calls *sociolinguistic interference* (1972: 68-69). He criticizes the Chomskyan reduction of language to a decontextualized "competence" and focuses instead on speakers' knowledge of appropriate conditions of language use. Hymes sees this sociocultural knowledge as integral to any account of linguistic ability:

> "We break irrevocably with the model that restricts the design of language to one face toward referential meaning, one toward sound, and that defines the organization of language as solely consisting of rules for linking the two. … A model of language must design it with a face toward communicative conduct and social life (1972: 60).

Communicative competence is not just a 'theory of performance'; it is a proposal for an inclusive theory of language which pays due regard to the prominence of its *social moment*.

While Hymes' idea still retains some notion of a division of labour between what is *known* and what is *done* in language, Halliday rejects the dichotomy outright, viewing language as *"a system of meanings that constitutes the reality of the culture"* (1978: 122). The starting point for this enterprise is Bernstein's system of social codes. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) (2004) is an elaborate project to map the *ideational, interpersonal* and *textual* linguistic metafunctions onto sociosemiotic categories of *field, tenor* and *mode*. He stridently rejects any internalist perspective on language, stating: *"Language is part of the social system, and there is no need to interpose a psychological level of interpretation"* (1978: 39).

SFG can be criticized as a self-contained system, in which researchers who venture beyond the main categories quickly become entangled in a web of opaque terminology. This makes it difficult to find common ground with other research programmes. Halliday insists on placing *as low a level of idealization on the facts as is compatible with a systematic enquiry* (1978: 52) and warns against arbitrary analytical categories (1978: 28). But his own subdivisions of linguistic function often seem stipulative and list-like (see e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 302, 520, 526-528, 541-543). It is also reasonable to ask why an author who calls for a *sociology of language* (1978: 35) only draws on the work of a single sociologist. A detailed critique of SFG can be found in van Dijk (2008: 28-55)

Despite these necessary criticisms, a lot can be said in favour of SFG. Halliday wanted to create a detailed picture of language as plurifunctional and intricately bound up with dynamic processes of social construction. His focus on process is innovative, even if the end result is imperfect. He has disarmed criticisms that his account of linguistic structure is simplistic by admitting that it is, and arguing for the value of *simplified tools for thinking with* (2010). This reveals a commitment to education which suggests that SFG is perhaps more valuable as a form of pedagogical grammar than as a theory of language: Butt et al. (2001) use SFG to present grammar as a resource for making meaning, rather than as a set of rules to be learned. The SFG account of textual function is empirically valuable, and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 524-579) remains an important source for the textual analysis in this dissertation.

2.2.3.   Pragmatics

Pragmatic theories of any colour assume that meaning emerges from a variety of interconnected factors. There are two directions in the discipline, sometimes called *Anglo-*

American and *Continental*. The geographical designations are something of a misnomer (Coesemans, 2012: 22), but the epistemological schism within Pragmatics is real. Generally, we can speak of *modular* and *non-modular* pragmatics.

Modular accounts, derived from the analytical and 'ordinary language' philosophy of Grice, Austin and Searle, (see e.g. Levinson, 1983; Huang, 2007) allow for reductive explanation of language. Levinson (1983: 32) calls this the *meaning minus semantics* view. In the same tradition, Ariel (2008; 2010) draws sharp distinctions between code and inference in order to shore up pragmatics' status as a 'component' of linguistics. Topics include *presupposition, speech acts, implicature, & deixis*. All of these areas are important in the study of *indexicality*. *Presupposition* is analysed in the empirical chapters, and there is some methodological borrowing from the principles of *speech act theory*, which has been widely applied in text linguistics (e.g. Gansel and Jürgens, 2007; Nübling et al., 2013).

Non-modular accounts of pragmatics favour a broader focus, use context-sensitive, interpretive forms of analysis, and apply pragmalinguistic categories to the interdisciplinary study of speech situations and linguistic discourse (Verschueren, 1995b; 1995a; 1999a; 2012; Wodak, 2007; Wodak and Reisigl, 2009; Blommaert, 2005; Silverstein, 1976; 1992; 2003; 2004; Silverstein and Urban, 1996; Hanks, 1989; 1996a; Irvine, 1996; 1999; 2005; Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011).

Verschueren (1999a: 10) sees pragmatics as a *perspective* on language study, rather than a component of it, arguing that choices made by language users at any level of description are pragmatic in that they reflect the demands of the *cognitive, social and cultural* factors influencing language use (1995a: 1). Meaning, argues Verschueren, is *variable, adaptable, and negotiable* (1999a: 58) and jointly constructed by discourse participants. From stretches of language, context, i.e. orientations to salient aspects of the social and cultural world, can be inferred. It follows *that the nature of the data to be gathered and the methodologies to be adopted can only be decided as a function of the specific question to be addressed* (1999a: 219).

2.2.3.1. Indexicality

Indexicality is a significant property of language, which drives the semiotic achievement of *contextualization*. Its definition and use in this dissertation is based on the plurifunctional,

socioculturally integrated linguistic ontologies proposed by Vygotsky (1986) Bühler (1934), Jakobson (1960b; 1971 [1957]), Silverstein (1976; 2003; 2004), Hanks (1989; 1996b; 1999) and Verschueren (1995a; 1995b; 1999a; 2012). An indexical analysis is essential in any attempt to operationalize the mutually constitutive relationship between language and the social world.

Peirce identified three types of sign, *symbolic, iconic* and *indexical* (Ponzio, 2009: 379). These three sign types *refer, show* and *point* respectively. *Symbolic* or *referring* signs denote by convention, e.g. lexical items referring to objects in the world. *Iconic* or *showing* signs bear a relationship of similarity to the object represented, such as a photograph denoting a person. *Indexical* or *pointing* signs stand in a relation of contiguity to their referents (Hanks, 1999: 124), e.g. an arrow directing the recipient's gaze in a preferred direction. Silverstein (1992) extends this definition to include a *semiotic arrow*, by means of which stretches of language direct the recipient's metaphorical gaze towards ideological types available in culture.

In language, indexical signs are often realized in terms of the other two, i.e. lexical meanings, grammatical presuppositions, arguments, narratives, registers and other textual forms always have an indexical value which aligns denotational content with similar instances of use. A text conforming to recognizable patterns of register and macrostructure resembles others of similar type (see below), and, by being a token of that type, indexes its status as representative of a category, and takes on the indexical meanings which membership of that category entails. At the same time, every instance of a token *amends* the type, thereby driving processes of change in the broader discourse. In this project, indexicality will be analyzed at all levels (lexicogrammatical, textual, transtextual), as it is primarily this type of sign which achieves contextualization, i.e. produces and reproduces salient knowledge schemata available in discourse, in a non-deterministic but traceable manner.

Silverstein (1976: 15-20) identifies the *semantico-referential* function of language as just one of many; the very choice of language and topic, for example, has the non-referential function of addressing itself to a chosen audience. He criticizes speech act theory as overly formalized, and prefers the term *speech events*, associated with Hymes and the ethnography of communication, as this approach makes it easier to observe *pragmatic meanings* − the indexical meanings of linguistic signs relative to their communicative function in a given

context. These are always dependent on language use in real situations, and a speech event is seen as the accomplishment of a linguistic task (1976: 44). Silverstein's position allows for the coming-into-being of (non-compositional) meanings not predictable from lexical-denotative or morphosyntactic properties of words and sentences.

The clearest examples of indexicality are context dependent deictics and pronominals such as *here/there, this/that, I /you* (Hanks, 1999: 124). Silverstein examines *shifters* or *duplex signs*, expanding on Jakobson's work on the referential-indexical dual functionality of sign vehicles. Honorifics exemplify this, since they both refer to an addressee *and* index a perceived social relationship. Auer (1995: 4) makes similar observations about encoded evidentiality in Turkish. Grammar also has indexical properties: past tense verbs both denote an action *and* place it in a temporal relationship with the present. The choice between grammatical forms, such as active vs. passive, is a *pragmatic unit* (Silverstein, 1976: 35) with an indexical value. Auer (1995: 4) reaffirms this; choices involving tense, voice, mood, and subordination all have an indexical side. For Silverstein,

> …duplex signs … are pervasive categories, which anchor … [the] pure propositional capabilities of language in the actual speech event … by making the propositional reference dependent on the suitable indexing of the speech situation (1976: 24).

Furthermore, he argues, even lexical choices are indexical, since they presuppose the existence of the entity, process or concept being referred to. *Context-creating* and *context-dependent* indexicals (1976: 35) are united by the fact that

> …every symbol token is an index of the symbol type, since its use in context depends upon cognitive "existence" of that part of the semantico-referential grammar which explains its referential value (1976: 27).

This last statement throws indexical meaning wide open, since the same principle must apply to sign vehicles of all shapes and sizes. Markedness, presupposition, modality, textual structures and registers all have analytically significant indexical values. The upshot for analysis is that the further we venture from lexicogrammatically marked indexicals, the more indeterminate the indexical value becomes. With this in mind, this project uses Silverstein's *broader, more generally semiotic* concept of indexicality (1992: 56), which treats language use as a series of *interactions that constantly call up culture (and its deployability and*

realization in them) and reinvest it with their historicity (1992: 57). He describes indexical structure as a *meaningful patterning of signs / pattern as sign, relative to a culturally meaningful type* (1992: 58). The indexical structure acts as a *semiotic arrow* (Silverstein, 1992: 55) which makes visible the mutually constitutive dynamics of language and discourse.

Every speech event is part of a larger transtextual field. Silverstein's later, uncompromising stance reaffirms this: language use is *indexical all the way down* (2006: 276), always invoking and simultaneously reproducing culturally anchored *knowledge schemata* (2004; 2005). This involves a range of phenomena. One such is *markedness reversal*, i.e. shifts in naming conventions. In the Tenejapa Tzeltel language of Mexico, the word *cih* originally referenced a kind of deer. When sheep were introduced by the Spanish, they were first referenced using a marked form meaning "*cotton deer*". But as sheep came to dominate, *cih* on its own was used to refer to them, while deer became marked and known as *"wild sheep"* (Battistella, 1990: 58). The change in the meanings of *cih* happened over time in a group of language users; this observation is consistent with a sociocultural ontology of language as a medium of intersubjectively shared meanings. Markedness is a form of *indexicality* (see below), since the choice between unmarked and marked forms to realize reference indexes what is considered normal. In the case of *cih*, the deictic centre is the shared world knowledge of a community of speakers, rather than any one individual.

Another important carrier of indexicality is the use of *metapragmatic shifters* (1976: 51), which index the perceived identity of texts. The texts in the present corpus are laced with reflexive self-characterizations, such as nouns indexing text type and priming for expected register norms *(Plädoyer, Streitschrift, Beschluß, Entwurf, Zwischenbilanz)*, adjectives describing textual properties *(objektiv, wissenschaftlich),* and verbs describing what the text is supposedly doing in relation to political positions *(begrüßen, befürworten, aufrufen, kritisieren, wilkommen heissen, mahnen, argumentieren, beweisen, zeigen, belegen)*. The transtextual functions of these "claim-making" words are treated in detail throughout the analysis. They also serve a contextualizing role by indexing knowledge types which bring frames of interpretation into focus; Silverstein calls this the *emblematic power of indexed positionalities* (2004: 632).

2.2.3.2. Presupposition

A presupposition is a nonasserted but logically recoverable proposition. It refers to assumed shared knowledge, realizes discourse anaphora or nominates new knowledge as part of common ground. Levinson (1983: 217) calls presuppositions *a heterogeneous collection of quite distinct and different phenomena*. Typologies, usually defined grammatically, always include *definite descriptions, factive verbs, changes of state, iteratives* and *inchoatives, clefts and pseudo clefts, implicative verbs, verbs of accusing,* and *counterfactual conditionals* (Soames, 1982; Levinson, 1983; Huang, 2007; Verschueren, 1999a; Wodak, 2007; Saarinen, 2008a). One problem with this kind of typology is that it mixes grammatical and pragmatic principles, and therefore can never account for every possible presupposition trigger. Further candidates abound: Constructions such as *let alone* (Fillmore et al., 1988), *N-be-that* (Schmid, 2001), and *What's X doing Y* (Fillmore and Kay, 1997; Aitchinson, 2003: 92-94) can also be seen as presupposition triggers, depending on how far you want to stretch the definition of logic. A pragmatic perspective on presupposition has to accept this indeterminacy, because the question of what is being presupposed depends on which proposition is really at issue. It follows that accounts of presuppositional function will be most successful as part of a larger textual and intertextual analysis.

The original exchange between Russell (1905; 1957) and Strawson (1950) revolved around the truth value of: *"The present king of France is bald",* which existentially presupposes $\exists X: X =$ *the present king of France*, thereby making claims about attributes of a nonexistent referent. The idea of presuppositional function took second place to logico-semantic arguments about the scope of negation. It was not until Stalnaker (1973; 1974) and Karttunen (1974) that presuppositions were taken to relate to speakers and context rather than propositions alone.

For Karttunen, (1974: 181) presuppositions *determine the class of contexts in which the sentence could be felicitously uttered*, and Stalnaker (1973; 1974) makes presupposition part of the *propositional attitude* of a speaker:

> A proposition P is a pragmatic presupposition of a speaker in a given context just in case the speaker assumes or believes that P, assumes or believes that his addressee assumes or believes that P, and assumes or believes that his addressee recognizes that he is making these assumptions, or has these beliefs. (1974: 473)

He cautions however:

> …it is far from clear what it is to believe or assume something (1974: 473),

and importantly, acknowledges that:

> Presupposing is thus not a mental attitude like believing, but is rather a **linguistic disposition** – a disposition to behave in one's use of language as if one had certain beliefs. (1974: 474 (emphasis added))

This distinction is illuminating, as it brings a kind of 'slippery slope' into view. A linguistic disposition to facilitate communication by accepting certain forms of knowledge as 'given' allows propositions to be *incremented into the Common Ground* as part of a *dynamic process which takes place constantly while reading or talking* (Hidalgo, 2000: 323). The extent to which individuals' inner worlds are really changed by this process is less central here than the idea that presupposition is one of the linguistic forces which propels the emergence of shared knowledge schemata in discourse.

Stalnaker later allows for the possibility of *informative* presupposition, which conveys new information consistent with the possible worlds permitted by current context. He broadens his definition (2002), including even presuppositions which may be *known by addressees to be false*, but which are *accommodated* so that efficient communication may proceed:

> …there may be various reasons to ignore the possible situations in which some proposition is false even when one realizes that one of those possible situations may be the actual one. …we need a notion of common ground based on a notion of acceptance that may diverge from belief. (Stalnaker, 2002: 716)

Accommodation may also take place when presuppositions concern subjective evaluation, and cannot conflict flagrantly with factual knowledge, as must the idea of a present-day French king. This is why presupposition is often seen as a way to *smuggle* information (Abbott, 2000: 1422) or even *dis*information which is to be *shielded from challenge* (Givon, cited in Caffi, 2009: 759). There are costs, cognitive and social, associated with bringing presuppositions into the scope of negation. Brown and Yule (1983: 30) characterize it as a dispreferred and *aggressive* choice. Werth even refers to the *sledgehammer tactics of cancellation* (1993: 53).

Presupposition as a discourse strategy has observable perlocutionary effects: The deontic imperative to accommodate presuppositions is a known pragmatic phenomenon, and tends to occur in addressees, regardless of whether there is a rhetorical intention or not. Brown and Yule (1983: 30-31) describe a psycholinguistic experiment to this effect. Domaneschi claims that the felicitous use of presuppositions is a *mind-transcendent* question of epistemic context (2011: 3824). Domaneschi's examples are epistemic in the sense of factual objectivity, but the argument might equally well be applied to ideologically evaluative epistemic contexts. This principle also applies to documents produced by an advocacy coalition, which are invariably drafted in conformity with the sedimented cognitions of a prevailing discourse. The indexical value of a presupposition goes beyond the recovery of the proposition: the analysis must also ask why the proposition was presupposed on a given occasion, and whether this is part of a transtextual pattern.

This does not mean, however, that every instance of a presupposition should be treated as manipulative: Abbott (2000) fears that functional and grammatical definitions of presupposition have become conflated, leading to flawed analyses. She presents a weaker definition of grammatical presupposition, as being simply that which is not actively asserted. She argues that it is chiefly formal sentence structure which constrains linguistic behaviour; it is normal for a sentence to contain both asserted and non-asserted propositions, but this need not correspond in any stable way to the functional discourse categories. This implies that no list of grammatical presupposition triggers can fully do justice to presupposition when seen from the pragmatic perspective. As one problem category, Abbot lists *announcements embedded under factives* (Abbott, 2000: 1419) and uses Karttunen's example (Karttunen, 1974: 191)

> We regret that children cannot accompany their parents to commencement exercises.

Abbott argues that the speaker has chosen to *go on record* as expressing an appropriate emotional attitude to the information which follows (2000: 1431). However, the information realized as part of the complement is no less explicitly informative. The example can also be read as a modally modified sentence, where *we regret* realizes functional modality without recourse to a modal finite construction, with the grammatical result that what is functionally the sentence's main propositional meaning takes the complement position. It is therefore

doubtful that it really contains a presupposition in the pragmatic sense. Grammatical convention dictates that only one proposition per sentence may be explicitly asserted (Abbott, 2000: 1431). Where clauses have a non-conjunctive relationship, further propositions *must* have grammatically presuppositional form: consider how unusual a conjunction would be:

> *Children cannot accompany their parents to commencement exercises, and we regret this.

Similarly, the following sentence from the introduction to a document of the German University Rectors' Conference can be read in different ways:

> [Ich] freue [] mich sehr, dass wir den Hochschulen [] ein Forum bieten können, in dem das Wissen aus den Hochschulen zusammenläuft[.] (**Text 77**)

Although a factive presupposition has been grammatically triggered, the subsequent information is expressed plainly, and *embedded under a verb of regretting or delight* (Abbott, 2000: 1430). Abbott (2008: 14) criticizes *"[t]he failure of common ground theorists to pay attention to grammatical structure"*. This insight has already been expressed in broader terms: There is no stable relationship between linguistic form and function (Levinson, 1983: 15-18; Verschueren, 1999a: 2-11). In functional terms, the grammatically triggered factive presupposition from **text 77** is hardly presuppositional at all. The question of whether a nonasserted proposition is *functionally* presuppositional requires a case-by-case reading and context-sensitive analysis. The identification of grammatical presupposition is therefore just the first discourse-analytical step among many.

2.2.3.3.   Speech acts

Speech Act Theory is a typology of linguistic action originating in Austin's attempt to systematize statements for which the question of truth values did not seem to make sense (1962). A key discovery here was the category of performative verbs. In the statement:

> ... der Wissenschaftsrat [] empfiehlt die Einführung einer klaren und flexiblen Grundstruktur für Studium und Lehre (**text 21**).

it is not at issue whether or not it is true that the Wissenschaftsrat has made this recommendation, because the act of stating that one recommends something already

constitutes the recommendation itself. In an *indirect* speech act, the action need not be explicitly named:

- Wissenschaft in gesellschaftlicher Verantwortung statt Elfenbeinturm
- Kritischer Praxisbezug statt Arbeitsmarktorientierung (**text 103**)

In this case, pragmalinguistic knowledge allows recipients to identify the two noun phrases as a demand for the first part and a rejection of the second, despite the absence of any explicit statement such as *we hereby demand ….*

Austin concluded that any utterance could be seen from three related perspectives: *locution*, *illocution* and *perlocution*. Locution is the lexicogrammatical and phonological realisation of the utterance, illocution is the act achieved by the utterance (recommendation, demand, etc.) and perlocution is the result of the utterance. This third category is essential in this dissertation, as it drives transtextual processes, especially where the perlocutionary effect of one text is to stimulate the production of others. Austin's ideas were expanded and systematised by Searle (1969), who identified five types of illocution: *assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declarative*. Silverstein (1976) has criticised Speech Act Theory for being too abstract and neglectful of real-world variation. However, it is a descriptively powerful model of linguistic function, rooted in a shifting middle ground, whose terms have sufficient heuristic value to be used as part of the vocabulary of empirical analysis. In this project, the concepts of illocution and perlocution will be applied to texts and to transtextual units, as illocutions and perlocutions can be realized at different levels. Speech act theory has also been widely adapted for use in text linguistics (Gansel and Jürgens, 2007; Brinker, 2010; Kuße, 2012a; Nübling et al., 2013)

2.2.4.   Rhetoric

Rhetoric is the effective use of language. I define as rhetorical here any type of language use which adds to the perlocutionary force of an utterance. This can involve the targeted use of rhetorical figures (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969 give an extensive account; Bußmann, 2002 also serves as a useful resource here), but also includes the deployment of any forms suited to purpose, be it presupposition, logical argumentation, various culturally rooted argumentative topoi, narrative, register, etc. For example, there is a high occurrence in the corpus of forms signalling authority and rationality, which would not be considered

"rhetorical" in the everyday understanding of the word, but which qualify as such because they have the desired effect. It will be investigated whether some texts indexing rationality are in fact better understood as a rhetorical performance of rationality.

2.3. Contextualization

> *"[Context] eliminates from consideration the meanings possible to the form other than those the context can support"* (Hymes, 1962).

2.3.1.   Inside out or outside in?

Context is a dynamic semiotic construct, produced and ongoingly updated, primarily by indexical means. It is not a static, externally given structure, whose horizon can be fixed by analysts, and within which language use takes place autonomously. The principle that context is *actualized in discourse* is named by Verschueren as key to productive empirical work (2012: 66). An indexical analysis allows a picture of the dynamic, mutually constitutive language-context relationship or *contextualization* (Auer, 1995) to emerge from the corpus. However, this does not mean that there are no salient social and material facts influencing linguistic choices. Contextualisation is the means by which participants nominate and retrieve relevant aspects of the lifeworld from within the totality of their shared knowledge. Even if this shared knowledge is based on the constructs of 'Big-D' Discourse, it is often methodologically prudent to treat this knowledge as existing in its own right, and having a 'downward' effect on language use. This does not imply a traditional structuralist ontology; it is simply a recognition that non-permanent social constructs, such as institutions, are often *sticky*, i.e. they seem very real, change very slowly, and can influence linguistic choices made by individual discourse participants. Any piece of language can therefore be treated as primarily *context dependent* or *context creating* (Silverstein, 1976: 35).

Every stretch of language use is to some extent both *context dependent* and *context creating*, as every linguistic sign both refers to existent common ground of some sort and creates a new extension of that common ground, which connects in a unique way with a new piece of discourse. Silverstein's distinction can be clarified by asking to what extent and in what way contextualization is being used creatively: on any given occasion, contextualization could be simply a question of discourse anaphora, and thus be mainly context dependent. Or it could be a more productive activity, in which language refers to admittedly pre-existent aspects of context in its widest sense, but where these are invoked, brought together and appraised in such a manner as to give rise to new, irreducible contextual objects. Silverstein calls this a

process of essentializing (2004: 632). Thus, context creation selects from within *potentially infinite* (Blommaert, 2005: 40) contextual resources as a means of arriving at states of knowledge suitable to the discursive activity at hand.

The very idea of text and context as separate from each other is stipulative. No single type of communication can claim primacy as a *focal semiotic event* (Auer, 1995). The reason linguistic forms are treated here as primary is simply that linguistic data, and the means to analyse them, are readily available to linguists. The implication for analysis is that the relationship may be viewed from 'either' perspective – context can help us understand linguistic data, and vice versa. Verschueren (2012: 61) notes the overlap between contextual understanding and analysis of linguistic expression, calling both *building blocks of an overall act of interpretation* (2012: 59).

In the light of these considerations, context will be treated here in two ways: Firstly, using the concept of the *semiotic arrow* (Silverstein, 1992) to analyse the indexical achievement of contextualization, and secondly, by applying empirically attested models of discourse and participation (reviewed below). The first of these is an 'inside-out' method which aims to let the data 'speak for itself', and the second a set of 'outside-in' categories, imposed by the analyst. These two perspectives go hand in hand. Both are semiotic constructs, and both are theory-driven. The contextual objects emerging from data are unavoidably theory dependent, because even the most low-level observational vocabulary has a theoretical value; except in the most grammatically unambiguous cases, the 'inside-out' analysis of indexicality is always subjective. Conversely, even where constructs are imposed from outside of the linguistic data, the choices of categories are based on observations about salient participant constructs of authorship, history, forms of contact, etc., which shape the corpus, and which should also be traceable in the linguistic analysis. The two perspectives, then, are complementary, as they both apply the principle that the mutually constitutive language-lifeworld relationship can be (re)constructed through systematic observation of data. I argue that both need to be applied.

2.3.2. Construction as context

Researchers in the *ethnomethodological* tradition (Garfinkel, 1967; Rawls, 2011) may object that the imposition of external theoretical frameworks stands in the way of an analysis of the constructional process. Ethnomethodology, in common with conversation analysis (CA), rejects excessive reference to data-external backgrounds, preferring to treat context as the

semiotic common ground which is interactively constructed by participants. From the study of *"speech exchange systems"* (Sacks et al., 1974: 696), inferences are drawn about the construction of social facticity (Levinson, 1992: 75). Schegloff's focus on the constitutive role of sequentiality in establishing meaning (Schegloff, 1987; Norrick, 2003: 84-85; Levinson, 2005) is a valuable perspective, and can also be applied to the study of textual sequences in institutional settings (see Smith, 1984). However, if the rejection of external context becomes an orthodoxy, it is counterproductive[2]. If, as is assumed here, some indexed social facts are not so much constructed in discourse as accessed and drawn on from a pool of shared knowledge – often quite obliquely – then some way of modelling this without exclusive reference to primary data will be needed. Hanks (1996a: 170-171) expands on this point, as does Reisigl (2011: 461).

2.3.3. Social theory as context

Some scholars follow the 'grand narratives' of theorists such as Marx, Gramsci, Bernstein or Foucault (see Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Blommaert, 2005), for whom discourse is an overarching pattern of meanings, of which linguistic units form just part. This type of approach has given rise to *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). Fairclough uses Marxian and Foucauldian theory to interpret linguistic data in an SFG framework (2003; 2009). Wodak (2007; Wodak and Reisigl, 2009) advocates a *discourse-historical approach*, and applies aspects of critical theory, e.g. Habermas' concept of the *colonization* of the lifeworld (Wodak, 2009). Jäger (2004; Jäger and Jäger, 2007; Jäger and Maier, 2009) develops a theory of interdiscursivity, and uses detailed analysis of linguistic utterances to approach Foucauldian *statements* and *discursive formations* (Foucault, 2007).

Much has been made of the failure of CDA to link findings systematically with data (Verschueren, 2001; Widdowson, 2004; Blommaert, 2005; Breeze, 2011). Criticisms usually identify a theoretical bias on the part of the researchers in question. Widdowson (2004: 103) accuses CDA practitioners of being *pretextually positioned*. Fairclough and Chouliaraki come in for very harsh criticism for selecting and analysing data in such a way as to best suit orthodox Marxian readings. Fairclough's interpretations of news reports and doctor-patient interactions are taken to task by Verschueren (2001: 78), who characterises some of

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[2] In some strands of CA research, a less orthodox approach has been taken to the inclusion of external context. See e.g. the thorough discussion of this issue in Goodwin, C, Heritage, J, *Conversation Anlaysis*, Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol.19 (1990), 283-307, as well as later work by John Heritage.

Fairclough's analyses as a distortion of data for the purposes of social critique. Such extrapolations from specific cases to universal social structures are a case of what Antaki et al. (2003) have called *false survey*. This is an analytical shortcoming. It is difficult to use linguistic data to make strong, intersubjective claims based on 'grand theories'. To address this difficulty, some intervening level of description is required.

Not all CDA research is the same – Reisigl (2011) draws clear distinctions between the discourse historical approach (DHA) and other strands of research. Wodak & Meyer (2009) also emphasize that CDA is not unified by any single methodological orthodoxy. Breeze (2011: 515) calls Wodak's DHA an "honourable exception", owing to its empirical and methodological rigour. Wodak's application of pragmalinguistic categories to rhetorical analysis (2007) is an example of this. Wodak & Meyer (2009: 23-32) emphasize the need for more careful operationalization of results and the use of "mid-range" models of language use in discourse. This is echoed by Reisigl (2011: 460-462), who identifies detailed empirical work as the main distinguishing factor between discourse *analysis* and discourse *theory*.

It remains problematic, however, that the DHA advocates argumentative engagement with the data under analysis. If argumentation strategies are found to be flawed or fallacious, then the analyst may go beyond a reconstruction of the origin of these fallacies, and 'answer back' with superior arguments of their own (Wodak and Reisigl, 2009; Reisigl, 2011). Here again, I agree with Antaki et al. (2003) that *taking sides* is disruptive to the analysis itself. Therefore, while this dissertation pursues a critical analysis of the linguistic strategies deployed in the discursive construction of German HE reform, in the sense of a making-visible of premises and underlying ideology, it does not take any normative stance on the reform itself.

2.3.4. Shared knowledge as context

Van Dijk (2006; 2008; 2009; 2014) presents a *sociocognitive* perspective on discourse, context and knowledge. He criticizes traditional sociolinguistic accounts of the language-context relationship, especially SFG, as being superficial (2008: 28-55), and argues that the relationship is most usefully analyzed in terms of the subjective cognitive representations or *context models* which discourse participants have of salient contextual knowledge. These involve episodic and semantic memories, personal and sociocultural knowledge, and procedural competencies that make interaction possible. He postulates a *"K-device"* – a special knowledge-management function, which as a theoretical concept can help analysts

account for idiosyncratic variation in discourse production: if there were a deterministic causal relationship between participant-external contextual factors and discourse production, language users in identical circumstances would produce identical utterances, but this is manifestly not the case.

The idea of context as a subjective participant construct rests on a constructivist assumption already present in van Dijk and Kintsch's theory of discourse comprehension strategies (1983). The ubiquity of construction – and not least the co-constructive role of the analyst – is widely problematized in the study of language use (Duranti, 2005; Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Verschueren, 2001; 2012). Van Dijk also acknowledges this issue (2006: 164). To study context, he argues, we should

> systematically study its 'consequences', that is, discourse variations, in different situations, as we do more generally in the study of unobservable phenomena in any science (2008: 107).

This amounts to a programmatic call for indexical analysis, insofar as indexicality is taken to be the property of language most centrally involved in its contextualizing functions.

Van Dijk makes no claims about biological reality. He makes it clear (2008: 65) that context models and the K-device are psychological, not neurological objects:

> "… our analysis of the internal organization of mental models is framed in terms of schemas and their categories, and not in terms of network structures, links, and the strength of such links – a representation that might be closer to the neurological basis of mental models."

Presumably there is a structural correspondence between the lifeworld experience of psychological phenomena and the 'real' world of electrochemical synaptic processes, but if cognition is taken to be emergent, then 'reductive contact' with phenomena in the purely biological domain is not needed in order to understand the knowledge schemata which correlate with linguistic activity. In other words, *that which makes no perceptible difference by its presence or absence is no real part of the whole* (Aristotle, cited in Givón, 2005: 179). So van Dijk's decision to "bottom out" at the level of mental representations is unproblematic. His theory successfully models *a plausible mental interface between discourse and social situations*. (2008: 57)

In case studies such as this one, involving highly-constrained institutionally framed linguistic activity, it is likely that many details of the relevant knowledge schemata will be socially distributed, as a result of what Levinson calls *the long-term sedimentation of interaction patterns* (2006: 92) and will not vary in a significant way between individuals. As all the texts analyzed in this project are the products of institutions, or, where individual authorship is given, by representatives of institutions, we can assume that the content of the texts carries the approval of the institution-as-actor (Saarinen, 2008a). Van Dijk acknowledges this explicitly:

> We may assume that the more situations are formal, normative and institutional, the more the context models of participants will be similar and overlapping, whereas those in informal situations may be much more idiosyncratic (van Dijk, 2006: 172-173).

When any given individual is trained in advanced practices of literacy, and is using this knowledge within the tradition of German rational textuality, it is assumed that textual production is sufficiently normed that the semiotic product will be minimally idiosyncratic. Given this, it makes sense to treat the resulting texts as a form of sedimented social cognition. Importantly, a number of different sedimentation processes are at play: In this corpus, what is being said, and how it is being said are often the result of quite separate factors, indexing a diverse range of historically transmitted discourses. The inclusion of externally given social constraints as a factor in language production does not imply the *nonsense proposition* (Levinson, 2006: 89) that individual cognition plays no role in language use; but the specific mental states of individuals ultimately remain indeterminate (see Verschueren, 1999a: 90 for a discussion of this problem). Therefore, when analyzing corpus data, I will assume that the knowledge schemata involved, while certainly cognitively realized, can be treated as properties of groups rather than individuals, and that the resultant texts primarily reflect socially distributed forms of sedimented cognition[3].

2.3.5.   Participation as context

This section surveys some perspectives on linguistic participation and combines the *Community of Practice* approach with Schmidt's model of *coordinative discourse* as an empirical framework for the "external" approach to context applied in this dissertation.

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[3] Of course, almost no form of language use is completely free of variation, since even the influence of highly institutionalized constraints is never simply deterministic. While the analysis here will focus on shared knowledge schemata, it cannot be denied that idiosyncrasy persists as a constant feature, both within and across languages.

Duranti (1997: 281-287) names Vygotsky & Bühler as the originators of the idea that language use is constitutive of shared activities, involving *speakers* and *hearers*. Jakobson's Speech Event model (Jakobson, 1960a) introduced the four constitutive factors: *context[4], message, contact* and *code*, which realized the *referential, poetic, phatic* and *metalingual* functions respectively. Hymes' *Ethnography of Communication* (1962) was the first system to go beyond the idealized speaker-hearer dyad, and developed the "SPEAKING" model. This was more than a taxonomy of salient contextual features of speech situations; it also sought to account for the dynamic connection between language and society, defining communities as *systems of communicative events* and speech as *an instrument for sustaining or defining that particular type of situation* (Duranti, 1997: 288-293).

Goffman's *participation framework* (1981 [1979]) has also been highly influential (see Hanks, 1996a: 163-170; 1996b: 208-209). Using the notion of *footing*, Goffman subdivides the traditional speaker and hearer categories into more specific roles, based on the relation between participant and what is being said. A speaker may be

- *animator* (the one presenting the content),
- *author* (the one who worded the message) or
- *principal* (the one who is ultimately responsible for the content).

These roles may or may not coincide. Hearers may be *ratified participants* or non-ratified *overhearers*. These empirically powerful categories are a reminder that content passes through many iterations, and that meaning construction processes and the people participating in them are always in a dynamic relationship. The fact that participants can readily switch roles and know how to act appropriately is testimony to the capacity of social cognition to manage intersubjectively shared semiotic processes. Goffman's categories are also applicable to studies of transtextuality (see below), where the question of who or what constitutes the *principal* is highly complex. Levinson (1987) proposes a more detailed classification of participant roles, based on a range of empirical factors. However, this proposal is refuted by Hanks (1996a: 167) and Irvine (1996: 134). For Irvine, Levinson's decompositional approach reifies the roles themselves, and neglects their diachronic context, and Hanks finds it crucial not to *flatten sociohistorical processes into a synchronous structure*. This echoes

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[4] Hanks calls Jakobson's conflation of the term context with reference "unfortunate" Hanks WF. (1996b) *Language and Communicative Practices*: Westview Press.

MacWhinney's perspective (see below) that every utterance is the outcome of diverse histories, each simultaneously making its final impact on the resultant linguistic product.

The term *Communities of Practice* (CoP) was introduced by Lave and Wenger (1991) and has since been developed and applied in various disciplines (Mercer, 2002; Eckert, 2006; Wenger, 2009; 2010; Verschueren, 2014). The defining feature of a Community of Practice is that it is not bound to static notions of class, occupation, gender, job title etc. It can include diverse actors, as long as they are jointly engaged in the production of discourse. This foregrounds the salience of shared meaning production. The CoP approach does not require co-presence, and so is suitable for the analysis of diachronic change in textual communication. Participants can be included for consideration based on their places within the overall practice of signification, rather than solely on their institutional affiliation. To describe the internal structures of communities of practice in policymaking, Schmidt's concept of *coordinative discourse* (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004; Schmidt, 2005; 2008; 2010) is used.

Schmidt's *coordinative discourse* is an alternative to the more established approaches used in political economy to explain institutional change (see Hall and Taylor, 1996). She defines coordinative discourse as communication between institutions, which *encompasses the wide range of policy actors engaged in the construction of policy ideas* (2010: 3). Participants in coordinative discourse can form *advocacy coalitions*, whose goal is to formulate shared policy positions (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004: 195; Schmidt, 2010: 3). The term *advocacy coalition* is used here to cover various other characterizations cited by Schmidt, notably *epistemic community*, which highlights another important type of common ground: coalition members seek agreement not only on preferred positions, but on the legitimate means of arriving at those positions. This aspect of coordinative discourse frequently shows up in the corpus in the form of discussions of what constitutes valid argumentation (see esp. **chapter six**). This aligns with the *commitment to shared understanding* (Eckert, 2006) in a community of practice. In Schmidt's model, coordinative discourse contrasts with *communicative discourse,* in which elites *bring the ideas developed in the context of the coordinative discourse to the public for deliberation and legitimation* (2010: 3).

Schmidt's concept helps research overcome what Hay and Wincott (1998: 953) call the *unhelpful dualism of institution and intention, context and conduct, structure and agency.* Coordinative discourse is at once a social fact and a dynamic participant framework. It

identifies structured joint action as the driving force behind policy formulation, and thereby unites language use and its extralinguistic contexts. So when Wolff (2010: 505) characterises policy documents as an *institutional display*, the institutional view being presented can be understood to have emerged from processes based on shared knowledge. This "mid-range" descriptive tool allows us to meet the analytical demands presented by the corpus. Although it is not identical to the CoP approach, there is sufficient common ground for participants in coordinative discourse to be treated as comprising communities of practice. The CoP approach allows for much internal conflict and disagreement (Wenger, 2010: 8), so while the more strident opponents of the degree structure reform would probably not be included in the more narrowly defined pro-reform advocacy coalitions and epistemic communities, they are still part of the overall CoP.

Coordinative discourse takes place within the broader framework of deliberative democracy (see e.g. Bohman, 1998) and is particularly developed in polities such as Germany, with distributed decision-making structures (Schmidt, 2008: 303). Flyvbjerg (1998) criticizes the concept of public deliberation, calling it a form of rationalization by vested interests: when advocacy coalitions set epistemic standards, they do so in order to legitimize already existing policy positions. They define what counts as legitimate knowledge, hence Flyvbjerg's reversal of the Baconian maxim "knowledge is power" to the more cynical "power is knowledge".

2.4. Text

Text is the linguistic realization of a sociohistorically situated event. As a unit of meaning, it can be co-extensive with a lexeme *(Feuer!, Hilfe!)* or a sentence *(Das Betreten der Baustelle ist verboten!)* (Brinker, 2010: 17), but it is generally understood as a longer stretch of written language. Text is *sociocentric*: It cannot exist in a semiotic vacuum. For a text to fulfill its communicative purpose, both production and reception are required. Even when these are spatiotemporally disjoined, text is always a form of coordinated joint action, with real-world implications for emittent and recipient.

Text is a repository of *sedimented cognitions* (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Levinson, 2006). While textual production is certainly a cognitive matter, the analysis here focuses more on the deployment and reproduction of socially distributed knowledge schemata than on the mental

process (Brinker, 2010: 10). Once released into the lifeworld, text becomes separated from the emittent, and is stored, digitally or in print, until it serves as a template for interpretation by the recipient. Central to this process is the linguistic code: texts represent things and states-of-affairs in the World, and in doing so, simultaneously generate indexical meanings. The textual properties of *cohesion* and *coherence* allow sentences to combine into new, irreducible meanings. Therefore, analysis needs to engage both with the propositional meanings contained in *microstructures*, and with the larger *macrostructures* such as arguments and stories (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983: 15-17). It is these that have the strongest knock-on effects in the transtextual field, and make text constitutive of other aspects of social life (see e.g. Smith, 1984). Textual meaning, then, is what emerges at the meeting point of the social and the cognitive worlds.

The *autonomy* of text distinguishes it from spoken language. Ricoeur (1973: 102) suggests that text is *emancipat[ed] from the situational context*. But while this may be an important property of literary or scriptural texts, it does not fully apply to the non-literary *Gebrauchstexte* (Brinker, 2010: 19) examined here: Although they are separable from the immediate particulars of their production in a way that talk is not, their situatedness is still pronounced. In a historically unique coordinative discourse, entextualization does not remove the deictic origo, but simply shifts it to a new footing: the *author* is less important, and the discursive *principal* is more strongly foregrounded. The indexical achievement of contextualization therefore becomes decisive for analysis. The impact of discourse is non-deterministic, but text can be treated as a representation of sociohistorically situated knowledge. The present corpus represents the entextualization of a particular political process. This means the texts are likely to have strong and observable effects on each other within the ongoing 'small-d' discourse.

Texts are connected to each other and to the world. Producing or understanding any text requires knowledge of previous texts, and every text conforms at least partly to some typological norm (Dressler and De Beaugrande, 1981). Conflict can disrupt norms and make texts combine pre-existing structures in new ways. Frequently, a process of hybridization takes place, whereby texts come to display aspects of various different types in different ways (Slembrouck, 2013). The lexicogrammar might realize a register which indexes one recognizable type, while the macrostructures might be associated with text types not normally considered harmonious with the register. Where linguistic evidence is disharmonious or

unclear, contextual analysis becomes crucial (Brinker, 2010: 93). Of course, ideas of 'hybrid' and 'disharmonious' texts seem to imply that canonical text types are somehow immutably given. This is not the case, but categories of register and macrostructure are sticky, i.e. slow to change, and 'hybrids' tend to be combinations of relatively stable text-typological templates.

2.4.1.   Cohesion and coherence

In the following, some key descriptive terms will be presented, drawing on Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Martin, 2001; Bublitz, 2011), key works in text linguistics (Dressler and De Beaugrande, 1981; van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983), and the German tradition of *Textlinguistik* (von Polenz, 2008; Vater, 2001; Linke et al., 2004; Brinker, 2010; Janich, 2008b; Gansel and Jürgens, 2007).

The distinction between cohesion and coherence is notionally similar to that between syntax and semantics; cohesion is structural – the grammatical 'stickiness' which holds texts together, while coherence is an overall harmony of meaning which is less lexicogrammatically explicit and more dependent for its (re)construction on recipient cognition (van Dijk, 2008: 58-59). However, cohesive connections across sentences also contribute to overall meaning by placing propositions in various conceptual relationships to each other, and semantic coherence often has structurating effects, even if they are technically non-explicit[5]. This pervasive plurifunctionality limits the usefulness of a purely technical or 'thin' analysis.

Cohesion can be realized by *reference, substitution, ellipsis,* and *conjunction* (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 524-555). Similar categories are outlined by Brinker (2010: 26-39) and Gansel & Jürgens (2007: 35-47). Reference can be *exophoric* or *endophoric*, the latter further divisible into *anaphoric* and *cataphoric* reference. It can be realized by recurrent tokens of identical type, or more usually by *pro-forms*, whose *minimally specified meaning* (Matthews, 2007: 297) makes them referentially flexible. Pronominal adverbs such as *daraus, dadurch,* and *deswegen*, simultaneously refer to antecedents *and*

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[5] Brinker uses the term *Kohärenz* as a catch-all, but this hardly makes things easier for students or researchers.

establish causal or spatiotemporal relations between propositions. These forms are common in German text (von Polenz, 2008: 280; Brinker, 2010: 30), and the above examples all occur frequently in the present corpus. Lexical cohesion might more aptly be deemed a form of coherence, and is related to the concepts of *isotopy* & *semantic contiguity*.

Substitution can function to introduce or reinforce existential presuppositions by effecting identity claims between types. Especially where these presuppositions function to define evaluative terms, e.g. 'success' in Higher Education, substitution is constitutive of ideological meaning, since occurrences of tokens both "call up" a historically meaningful type and *reinvest it with their historicity* (Silverstein, 1992). In other words, when a text presents the implementation of short degree times as a 'success', it not only identifies this as a success (token indexes type), but also expands the definition of 'success' (token changes type). This has knock-on effects within the coordinative discourse.

Coherence in its simplest sense uses *lexical* means, such as *polysemy, metonymy, co-hyponymy* and broader patterns of *semantic contiguity* (Brinker, 2010: 34-35; Bußmann, 2002: 376) to establish *isotopic fields* and also patterns of *tense* and *aspect*, to establish relationships between parts of a text where no formal cohesive device is used. An isotopic field, realised through patterns of recurrence and substitution, can carry ideological meaning by triggering and redefining assumptions about evaluative categories, but there is no identifiable proposition which might incontrovertibly be reconstructed by means of grammatical reasoning (Linke et al., 2004: 260-261; Roelcke, 2010: 105-106). The *default assumption* of recipients is that adjacent sentences are related to each other (Bublitz, 2011: 44-47). This recipient assumption is so strong as to be a *social obligation*. Readers do *text work*, and construct causal relationships even where none are explicitly present (Linke et al., 2004: 256). Inferred relations can be causal as in: *Hans kommt nicht zur Konferenz. Er ist krank* (Linke et al., 2004: 255), or can express socioculturally normative *membership categories*, as in *The baby cried. The mommy picked it up* (Sacks, 2006). It is easy to tell a text from an incoherent assemblage of sentences, and readers can usually give brief summaries of what a coherent text is 'about' (Linke et al., 2004: 267).

What this tells us is that text is inextricably bound up with its social surroundings. Coherence is an observable feature of texts, but is functionally dependent on receptive behaviour within common ground, and so often serves to index the ideological assumptions in discourse, i.e. to

foreground preferred patterns of salient contextual knowledge of participants. Of particular interest here are patterns of evaluation and stance, as realized e.g. by *modality* and by *attribution*. The use of depersonalized *modal infinitives*, which enable the text to omit all agentivity (von Polenz, 2008: 185), and of *attributively subordinated predication (Partizipialattribute)*, which has similar functions (von Polenz, 2008: 34), is prevalent in the present corpus.

Modality represents the relationship between emittent and proposition. It can be epistemic or deontic, and there is usually a combination of both. Modality has a wide range of potential lexicogrammatical realizations which go beyond modal finites (Matthews, 2007: 228; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 613-635; Hoye, 2005a; Hoye, 2005b; Eisenberg et al., 1998). Modality is frequently expressed in this corpus by the use of the modal infinitive with *sein* (see e.g. Eisenberg et al., 1998: 104-105), e.g. *dies ist zu tun* etc. This form depersonalizes the communication (von Polenz, 2008: 37), thereby shifting from an interpersonal relationship to the relationship: institution → individual or between institutions. The modal infinitive as a means of encoding deontic modality in German is probably of pragmatic origin: pragmatic meanings derived from inference can become encoded over time, in *bridging contexts* which lead to lexicalization, grammaticalization and idiomaticization (Norrick, 1979; Brinton and Traugott, 2005; Ariel, 2008) Brinton & Traugott chart the transition from a yet-to-be-completed action in Latin to a statement of deontic necessity and later to a future tense in French and Sardinian (2005: 25-26).

2.4.2. Register

Register is one of the strongest markers of text type. It is realized through lexicogrammatical patterns which determine modes of representation and index the text's social identity. Register patterns change slowly, but are less stable than formal *Sprachgebilde*. Eggers (1969: 13) points out that while the repertoire of possible morphosyntactic combinations has been largely identical in contemporary German for over 150 years, usage patterns have changed radically. Formal structures, register norms and hybridization all change at different speeds (see MacWhinney, 2005: 191-196). The factors behind these changes are different too: Roelcke (2010: 179) documents that the established periods of German linguistic history do not correlate with changes in textual stylistic norms. The implication for analysis is that care

must be taken to identify the factors to which different aspects of language use are primarily attributable.

When recognizable registers develop as a result of social pressures, they frequently express ideological norms and group identities (Roelcke, 2010: 27) and *constitute and stabilize* institutional traditions (Nübling et al., 2013: 197). In the German-speaking world, until the enlightenment, less value was placed on a clear differentiation between fictional, religious and non-fictional texts. In the new age of rationality, however, *Fachtexte* became more important, and these needed to be marked by new registers.

The register most closely associated with state institutions is known as *condensed hypotaxis*. During the 18th century, the recursively subordinating or *hypotactic* style became the standard in many state chanceries. The resulting growth in sentence length was compensated for during the Prussian and imperial periods by the gradual replacement of finite verb phrases with strings of deverbal nouns joined by case relationships (von Polenz, 2008: 33). *Nebensatzhypotaxe* became *komprimierte Hypotaxe*. Today's iteration of this institutional style is marked by a high frequency of *Partizipialattribute* and *Funktionsverbgefüge* (Roelcke, 2010: 87). The effect of this *rigorose Ausnutzung von Unterordnungsmöglichkeiten innerhalb von Nominalgruppen* (von Polenz, 2008: 34) is to present as much factual information as possible in a concise form, but this has also resulted in an *Entpersönlichung* which reflects *[die] weitgehend[e] Indirektheit der Institutionalisierung des öffentlichen Handelns* (von Polenz, 2008: 34-36).

The condensed hypotactic register has a number of important implications: firstly, it is associated with a now centuries-old tradition in the German-speaking world of rationality in public discourse. This makes it a highly ritualized form of language use, reserved for particular emittents in particular circumstances. When this register occurs in what Silverstein (2004: 632) terms its *privileged social sites of text-making-in context*, it indexes an exclusive epistemic identity, thereby functioning as an exercise of power, in Silverstein's words the *emblematic power of indexed positionalities*. The positionality indexed here is that of authoritative actors speaking with the voice of rationality. Much more effective than the well-known rhetorical device of 'arguing by appeal to authority', the condensed hypotactic register, when used felicitously by those with a sociocultural license to do so, *is* the voice of authority. This can have the perlocutionary effect of *naturalizing social reality* (Hanks, 1989: 118). It

also has at its disposal the linguistic means to do this very effectively: The combination of nominally represented processes, participle attributes, case marking and delexical verb constructions leads to high frequencies of existential presupposition and obfuscated agency. At this level of structural complexity, the subjectivity of the deictic origo cannot be reliably reconstructed. The result is a greatly increased 'thingy-ness' of events and processes. An awareness of the potent perlocutionary potential of texts using this register type will remain in play throughout the textual analyses in the empirical chapters[6].

The textual properties outlined above – cohesion and coherence, modality, and register – are on a cline from formal to functional; a search for sharp categorial boundaries will always remain fruitless. Along with many other factors, they interact to form irreducible meaning-carrying constructions, which rely on both code and inference, as they simultaneously refer to intersubjectively identifiable things and states-of-affairs in the world *and*, in doing so, index discursively constituted sociohistorical and ideological perspectives, not least through the *generic question* (Schegloff, 1990: 55) of why a piece of language use exists in the way it does at the time and place at which it does. 'Downward causation' is always at play, as macropropositions (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983: 15-17), themselves a product and propellant of ongoing discourse, are often the main motivating factor behind the specifics of the textual 'ground game'. Analysis must therefore remain aware of the irreducible illocutions produced by the text as a whole. Text takes meaning from language, but also gives language its form. With Silverstein, this project views texts as instantiations of *collective sociocultural phenomena that are ... centrally and essentially relevant to how languages work in their individual, personal, organizational, and wider institutional contexts* (2006: 276).

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[6] A more detailed analysis of the historical development of register types in German and other languages could potentially contribute to the study of syntactic complexity in written forms. Nir & Berman (Nir, B, Berman, R.A., *Complex Syntax as a window on contrastive Rhetoric*, Journal of Pragmatics, vol.42 (2010), 744-765) adduce evidence from graduate essays in English, French, Hebrew and Spanish to analyze what they call the: *complex interplay between the repertoire of linguistic constructions in a given target language, on the one hand, and rhetorical preferences governing how speaker–writers of the language select to deploy and alternate these structures to meet particular discourse functions, on the other* (p.758). It is conceivable that further study could reveal a greater role for the historical development of textuality as a complementary factor to type-specific morphosyntactic requirements. Nir & Berman posit, for example, that *agency downgrading* poses less of a challenge to speakers of Hebrew and Spanish, as opposed to speakers of English & French, which require a *surface subject*. This perspective offers a potential explanation for the development and frequent occurrence of de-verbalization / nominal presentation of processes in German, which, unlike Spanish or Italian, has no "se/si"-like particle which could do the same job.

2.5. Transtextuality

This section briefly reviews the theories of Bakhtin and the poststructuralist authors, then adopts Genette's model for use in the dissertation. The terms can be confusing: while most authors group all forms of contact between texts as *intertextuality*, Genette's umbrella term is *transtextuality*; intertextuality is one of his subcategories.

2.5.1.   Bakhtin & poststructuralism

Bakhtin's principle of dialogism sees language as a pre-formed semiotic tool, whose every instantiation has already been invested with meaning by countless previous usages (Allen, 2011: 19-20). For Bakhtin, language is *overpopulated ... with the intentions of others* (Bakhtin, 1981: 294), and it is impossible to remove these intentions from one's own utterances. The first use of the term *intertextuality* is usually attributed to Kristeva, who adapted Bakhtin's idea (Slembrouck, 2011: 158), but omitted any specific definition of context. Her account saw text as the locus of productivity in an open semiotic space (Janich, 2008: 179-180; Allen, 2011: 30-55). However, Bakhtin had never proposed the radical removal of boundaries as Kristeva did: he saw language use as historically rooted rather than completely open (Nünning, 1998: 300).

The poststructuralist movement associated with Kristeva, Barthes, Derrida and others can be understood as a critique from within of classical Saussurean structuralism (Macey, 2000: 309). By the 1960s, structuralism was the dominant paradigm in the humanities. Its central idea posited an objective and immutable structure underlying semiotic systems. What the poststructuralist authors achieved was to destabilize this ahistorical assumption, and place meaning on a less secure footing: every utterance is seen as part of an *infinite regression or mise en abîme of signification* (Allen, 2011: 94) with no ontologically anterior *signifié*. Barthes denies the possibility of any truly original signification, calling the text a *space of many dimensions, in which are wedded and contested various kinds of writing, no one of which is original ... a tissue of citations, resulting from the thousand sources of culture* (Barthes, 1967: 4).

While poststructuralism has had enormous influence on literary and cultural disciplines, reception in discourse studies and text linguistics has often been less enthusiastic. The calling into question of structuralist assumptions was an important shift in the humanities. However,

poststructuralist thinking de-emphasizes too strongly the relationship between meaning production and its sociohistorical context: Derrida, Barthes and Kristeva saw context as just another form of subjective reception, happening independently of the ephemeral textual universe (Allen, 2011: 59-74). Despite attempts to develop a new methodological framework (Zienkowski, 2012), poststructuralism remains essentially at odds with the very idea of method. Linke and Nussbaumer (cited in Janich, 2008a: 181) justly comment that it does not bring us any closer to the social and linguistic structures behind textual production. Even if we must accept the mutable and indeterminate nature of these structures, we still need to account for their effects on language use. A notable exception among scholars associated with poststructuralism is Foucault, who does much more to identify social and historical power relations as they manifest in discourse (Allen, 2011: 89; Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 20-27; Jäger, 2004: 120-129).

2.5.2. Genette's model of Transtextuality

Genette's work is closely associated with structuralism. He places himself in the tradition of Propp and Jakobson in the development of what he calls *translinguistics* (Genette, 1982: 10), a structural analysis of sign systems going beyond the sentential and even the textual level. He cautions, however, against the excesses of a structuralist ideology, which may tend to *value structures at the expense of substances, and which may therefore overestimate their explanatory value* (1982: 11). Acknowledging the poststructuralist critique, he writes:

> *A priori,* of course, structuralism as a method is based on the study of structures wherever they occur; but to begin with, structures are not directly encountered objects – far from it; they are systems of latent relations, conceived rather than perceived, which analysis constructs as it uncovers them, and which it runs the risk of inventing while believing that it is discovering them (1982: 11).

This ontological shift towards *open structuralism* (Allen, 2011: 97) makes systematic study of the indexical *pattern as sign* (Silverstein, 1992) all the more useful. Nobody can deny that the system we are looking at is constructed by discourse participants and reconstructed by analysts, but it constitutes nonetheless a relatively stable form of knowledge, unavailable in poststructuralism (Allen, 2011: 94).

Transtextuality is the umbrella term Genette uses to cover his five categories of intertextual relations. They are: ***intertextuality, paratext, metatextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality***. The clearest typology of these *neither exhaustive nor definitive* categories is given in the introduction to *Palimpsests – Literature in the Second Degree* (Genette, 1997a: 1-6). A short summary of Genette's own definitions is presented and commented on below, after which the three categories of intertextuality, paratext and architextuality are discussed in more detail.

Intertextuality is a *relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts* (1997a: 2). Genette names quotation, plagiarism and allusion. I take this to include any patterned recurrence of lexicogrammatically realized representations, e.g. *Hochschule* or *Beschäftigungsfähigkeit* in the present corpus. Genette distinguishes this specific and practical use of the term from the less restrictive definitions offered by other authors such as Kristeva, Riffaterre or Bloom (1997a: 1-3).

Paratext is everything which surrounds the main body of text and also has textual form: *a title, a subtitle, intertitles; prefaces, postfaces, notices forewords, etc.; ... and many other kinds of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic* (1997a: 3). Genette calls paratext *one of the privileged fields of operation of the pragmatic dimension of the work* (1997a: 3). *Register* arguably also belongs to this category as it is the indexical side of a *duplex* in the original sense of Jakobson (1960b), realized at the textual level, signifying a text's social and functional identity. Genette asserts that paratextual value might permeate the entire text, and this leads to questions about the difficult-to-define *scope* of paratext (see discussion below).

Metatextuality corresponds simply to *commentary* (1997a: 4). When an intertextual relation has the character of exegesis or criticism, or when it cites another text to strengthen its own argument, this is metatextual.

Hypertextuality or the *palimpsest* is a special relationship of close correspondence between two texts. Genette's chief example is the basing of James Joyce's "Ulysses" on Homer's "Odyssey". Hypertextuality can be seen as a particular type of architextuality, common enough in literary texts, but seldom found in policy documents. Genette comments that architextuality in the broader sense is constituted by many instances of hypertextuality, which is always a detailed reworking of prototypical forms, never a simple copy (1997a: 83-85). This phenomenon can be observed to a limited extent in the repeated use of the *Zehn Thesen* text type in the corpus.

Architextuality, the *most abstract and implicit of all* (1997a: 4) is the set of correspondences between textual structures, realized at the level of *modes of enunciation* ("narrative" or "discourse") (Allen, 2011: 96). Textual architecture has high indexical value, and will be of ongoing significance in analysis of the present corpus.

Genette emphasizes that the categories cannot be sharply defined, and that there is much overlap between them. This overlap is often crucial, since hypertext can act as (metatextual) commentary, architext can be signalled by paratext, and so on (1997a: 7). In relation to policy formulation, the question of whether intertext can ever *not* be metatextual has to be asked, since even the act of naming another text casts that text in a certain light, for example as an authoritative source. In this project, the analysis will be centred mainly on the three most

salient and frequently observable categories: inter-, para- and architextuality, but the entire functional vocabulary of transtextuality may be used throughout where appropriate.

The categories, their fluidity notwithstanding, are built on sound empirical foundations. It is unsurprising that other models apply broadly similar typological criteria. A brief look at three authors presented in Janich (2008a: 181-184) shows this: Holthuis names four types of "intertextual dispositions": *explicit marking, explicit presence, implicit presence* and *structural similarity*. The first three of these correspond clearly with the "quotation, plagiarism and allusion" of Genette's intertextuality, and the last with architextuality. Testmeyer divides commentary into *quality, evaluativeness, clarity and modality*; these can be seen as subdivisions of metatextuality. Pfister's *communicativity, selectivity, referentiality* and *dialogicity* also seem like forms of metatextuality, while his *structurality* is the architext and his *autoreflexivity* shares properties of paratext. What emerges here is that while fuzzy edges abound, and different authors emphasize different aspects of transtextual relations, linguistically oriented approaches share plenty of common ground.

2.5.2.1. Intertextuality

The *relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts* is taken here to include any recurrent pattern of lexicogrammatical choices specific to a given transtextual field. In the case of the present corpus, which is non-literary, intertextuality is arguably the most important category. Riffaterre comments: *Because of their practical, pragmatic, utilitarian aims, non-literary texts rely on referentiality to carry meaning and on explanatory features to clarify it* (1994: 781). Where lexicogrammatical patterns develop into recurring patterns of argumentation or narrative, the analysis becomes architextual, but terminological issues should not distract from the more important question of what we can learn from detailed intertextual analysis. The following example illustrates one text's attempt to mediate between traditional and market-liberal conceptions of the purpose of HE:

> *So sehr einerseits Wissenschaftlichkeit das grundlegende Ausbildungsprinzip der Universität ist, so wenig können andererseits Bedürfnisse der Berufswelt vernachlässigt werden.* (HRK 1997)

That the text presents two competing principles in HE: the academic[7] and the economic, rather than treating them as complementary, points to an agonic discourse. The contrasting lexical representations also reveal discursive contours – the reference to the "needs" of the professional world rather than its wishes or demands seems to *naturalize social reality* (Hanks, 1989: 118). The choice of *Berufswelt* has been preferred over any more specific reference to economic structures or employers' groups. A single instance of this choice could just be stylistic; however, if intertextual patterns of similar usages occur throughout the corpus or relevant parts of the corpus, we could be observing a positive bias relating to employers. The order of presentation is also interesting; here we must ask whether the mentioning-first of academic standards assigns these priority, or whether it prepares the ground for an easy refutation. The latter seems more plausible here, since the "needs" of the "professional world" are presented in a rhetorically negated antonym or *litotes*, a rhetorical figure often used to raise the spectre of its opposite (van Dijk, 2008: 5). Van Dijk's theory of context models precludes any deterministic prediction of receptive behaviour, but the litotes here does suggest that employers' needs are in danger of being neglected. The question of why this idea is repeated in policy documents throughout the corpus is examined throughout the empirical sections.

Intertextuality can also include grammatical categories and lexically underspecified particles such as determiners and pronouns; in isolation, these particles tell us little about the discourse. The corpus-wide patterns they form, however, are interesting, and a survey of the distribution of indexical markers in the corpus such as tense, deixis and definiteness can bring the semiotic arrow more clearly into view. One example of a diachronic development of indexical patterns is outlined in brief here: the shift from the indefinite to the definite determiner to refer to a given idea or point of policy. This move can be understood as signalling an incrementally growing common ground:

> „**Eine Neuorganisation des Studiums** ist angesichts der großen Zahl an Studierenden unvermeidlich und wird vielfach von diesen auch gefordert. (**Text 5** WR 1993)

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[7] "Wissenschaftlich" can be translated as "scientific" or "academic". The first is the more usual translation, but perhaps misleading, since the English word relates more closely to natural and perhaps social sciences, while "academic" shares the broader meaning of the German word, which implies sound standards of research and education, including in the humanities or "Geisteswissenschaften" ("Mind-sciences").

„**Eine Studienreform**, die auf eine Stärkung der Beschäftigungsfähigkeit der Studierenden zielt, darf die Studieninhalte und die Formen der Vermittlung und des Lernens nicht vernachlässigen." (**text 16** WR 1999)

„Aus diesen Gründen spricht sich der Wissenschaftsrat dafür aus, die unter internationalen Aspekten begonnene Reform der Studienabschlüsse zum Anlaß für **eine grundlegende Studienreform** an Universitäten und Fachhochschulen zu nehmen;" (**text 19** WR 2000)

„**Eine inhaltliche Studienreform** ist wichtig und notwendig. Die Debatte derzeit beherrscht allerdings **die strukturelle Studienreform**, die Einführung von BA und MA Studiengängen, über **eine inhaltliche Reform** wird leider wesentlich weniger heftig debattiert." (**text 101** DGB 2004)

„**Die Studienreform** sollte besser studierbare Studiengänge hervorbringen und die Studierenden in den Mittelpunkt von Lehre und Studium rücken." (**Text 111** GEW 2009)

„WAS **DIE STUDIENREFORM** ERREICHT HAT UND WAS NOCH VOR UNS LIEGT" (**text 59** BDA 2010)

In the above examples, the *Studienreform* changes from something being suggested to something which has been decided, and finally to something which has already happened. This shift from indefinite to definite reference in a corpus over time is distinct from similar shifts within a single text.

2.5.2.2. Paratext

Paratext contextualizes text. It is usually associated with titles, subtitles, headlines, bylines, sub headers, forewords, prefaces, introductions, conclusions and marks of authorship. Brinker calls these *Textbegrenzungssignale* (2010: 18) and *Präsignale* (2010: 90). These framing elements (Genette, 1997b: xviii) include *peritext*, which is always within or at the periphery of the main text, and *epitext*, which is outside the main text, e.g. reviews and summaries. Genette provides the simple formula: *paratext=peritext+epitext* (1997b: 5). The epitext may be within the same document as the main text, e.g. a cover blurb or a guest foreword. Paratext can be *autographic* or *allographic*, i.e. produced by the author or by somebody else. Paratexts are themselves texts with textual properties; their relationship with the main text can be seen as metatextual or intertextual.

Genette distinguishes between formal and functional significance (1997b: 12). He describes paratextual function as *a highly empirical and highly diversified object that must be brought into focus inductively* (1997b: 13). Paratext is a sort of "contract", which tells the reader what to expect from the text (1997a: 3) and provides instructions on how to read and interpret the text.

> *... it can involve a commitment: some genre indications (autobiography, history, memoir) have, as we know, a more binding contractual force ("I commit myself to telling the truth") than do others (novel, essay)...* **a paratextual element can give a word of advice or, indeed, even issue a command** *...* (1997b: 11 emphasis added)

Genette distinguishes between prefaces, which situate texts with respect to their wider environment, and introductions which usually summarize the main text or argument (1997b: 161). Prefaces often overstate the importance of the topic at hand, a move Genette calls *auxesis* (1997b: 198). This can prime readers to assign high value to a preferred world view or policy position, be it an appeal to tradition or to reform. Prefaces also serve a *unifying* function, often encouraging readers to view a diverse collection of essays or research papers as sharing a common agenda.

In the present corpus, most documents are authored by an organization, and bear its logo or imprint. This raises the central question of who is speaking. Frequently, empirical studies containing quantitative results are prefaced by an epitextual *Grußwort* praising HE reform, or by an *executive summary* presenting selected results. Some publications are also accompanied by a separate press release. This has the effect of turning impartial empirical scholarship into discursive ammunition or *Argumentationshilfe* as one interviewee has termed it (Bartz, 2014), thereby altering the function of the text overall. It may even function to discourage detailed reading of the studies themselves. This *peremptory potential of the paratext* gives it a special role in policy discourses. Genette's model helps us to grasp just how it works. He is not alone in recognizing its significance: Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983: 193-194) also nominate *titles, thematic sentences ... summaries* as places where macropropositions are often expressed most explicitly, and Saarinen extends this to encompass introductions (2008a: 346). It is attested that titles, prefaces and introductions are always or frequently read (nearly every interviewee confirmed this), but it cannot be said for certain that entire texts are read in full.

Titles also have special significance. They take their special status from the fact that they are more frequently read and discussed than other parts of the text. The title is *an object to be circulated ... a subject of conversation* (Genette, 1997b: 75). Titles can be *formal* (referring to text type) or *thematic* (referring to content) (1997b: 78). These can co-occur, e.g. in the title:

Empfehlungen zur Einführung neuer Studienstrukturen und –abschlüsse (Bakkalaureus/Bachelor – Magister/Master) in Deutschland (text 19 WR 2000)

which tells readers what *type* of text to expect *and* names the subject matter. The formal title or subtitle is important because of its contractual force; it acts as a *genre indication* (1997b: 94), claiming specific attributes for the text.

As well as naming spatially bound features of text, Genette allows for the *paratextual value that may be vested in other types of manifestation*. He mentions typography[8], graphics, layout and "factual" paratext, i.e. contextual factors (1997b: 7). *Register* should arguably appear on this list as well, as it is a form of language use which primarily signals textual identity and is not central to the text's denoting function. This conforms to the definition of paratext as

> … a heterogeneous group of practices and discourses of all kinds … a convergence of effects, that seems to me more important than their diversity of aspect … The ways and means of the paratext change continually, depending on period, culture, genre, author, work, and edition, with varying degrees of pressure, sometimes widely varying (1997b: 2-3).

(Martin, 2001) describes register as a "parasite", since it seems to be getting a free ride on the back of a range of smaller linguistic constructions. But this characterization can be inverted; what if reference is the stowaway in the social vehicle of indexical meaning? If pragmatics begins with Schegloff's *Why this now?*, then the very *fact* that such-and-such an organization is weighing in on a certain issue at a given time, drawing on one pattern of argumentation in particular, can be more significant than the denotational content. For example, in figure 1,

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[8] The paratextual value of typography was illustrated by the media reaction when CERN scientists used *comic sans* to announce the discovery of the Higgs Boson:

Figure 1: Paratext of DSW press release

the DSW is effectively nominating itself for membership of the CoP. Their cautious, not-saying-very-much appraisal of the Berlin communiqué is a pro-forma necessity, while the *fact* that they are participating is the indexically achieved main message.

Paratext is always indexical. It always shows us something about a text's relationships with other texts and with the wider discourse. It therefore makes sense to give primacy to functional definitions. To visualize this, we can think of a Venn diagram of two sets. One is limited to the empirical formula *peritext+epitext*, while the other contains everything with functional paratextual value. The formal set is a subset of the larger, functional set. This is depicted in figure 2.
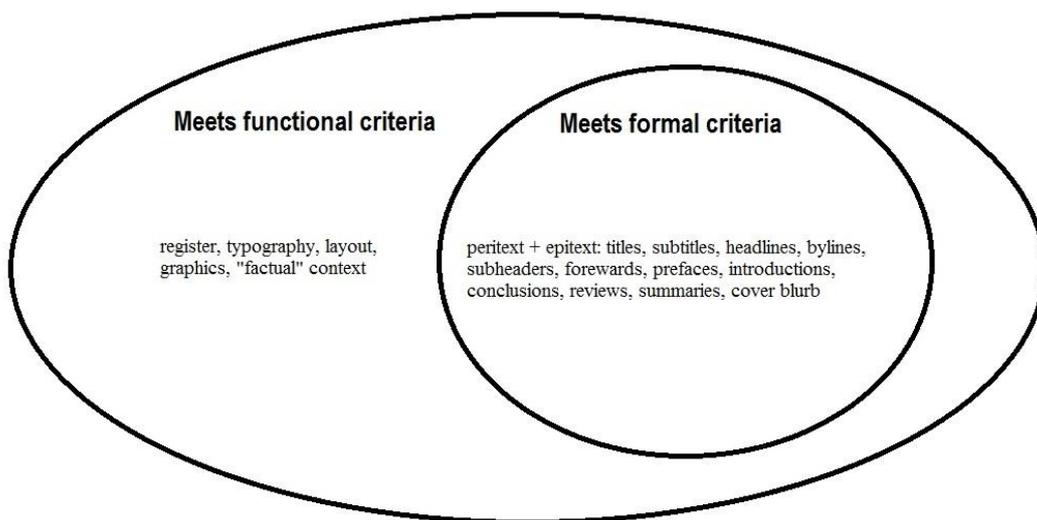
Figure 2: Formal and functional definitions of paratext, with formal as a subset of functional

Genette's open functional definition has found criticism in some quarters, but this is usually misguided. Rockenberger and Röcken's attempt to draw a clear formal boundary around

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paratextuality (2009: 299) misses the point that paratext is a fuzzy category. It is part of an *operational typology*, which *can be contravened, for functional distinctions are less watertight and rigourous* (Genette, 1997b: 196-197). Paratext *can* be spatially coextensive with other aspects of a text. Typography and register are spatially coextensive with denotation / representation, while functionally distinct. There is no reason why separate functions need occupy separate spaces; on the contrary, it makes sense from an evolutionary perspective for as many aspects of meaning to occur simultaneously as cognition can manage. Rockenberger and Roecken's analysis is flawed in this respect, and will not lead to any greater understanding of the role of paratext in the emergence of meaning. Paratext, then, can be any indexical signal emerging from the text, whether its location be peritextual, epitextual or text internal, as long as it indexes a claim about a text's typological and functional identity.

2.5.2.3. Architextuality

The architext, or basic structural template, establishes the temporal and causal relationship between propositions in a text, and is similar in this way to the macropropositions proposed by van Dijk & Kintsch. This makes it the most stable of Genette's categories, since it is less exposed to change over time than transtextual categories with a primarily lexicogrammatical realization. These structures are relatively stable and cognitively anchored (Bruner, 1991); certainly, all categories are fluid, but textual structure is *stickier* than lexical choices. Prototypical architexts are *slowly evolving* (Allen, 2011: 96).

Conformity to a recognizable type is part of a text's indexical meaning. Types overlap, and every text is to some degree a hybrid (see discussion of register, above). This term does not imply the existence of "thoroughbred" texts, but rather highlights ubiquitous variation. As Slembrouck puts it: *It is not uncommon for a single text to incorporate parts which fall under different functional headings* (Slembrouck, 2011). Genette calls the architext an *unspoken relationship* between texts (1997a: 13).

Genette's analysis is centred on *narrative*. Labov (1972b) even proposes a *narrative syntax*. To a certain extent, some texts in this corpus make more use of storytelling or of commonplace *topoi* than of sound standards of *argumentation* (e.g. Toulmin, 1956: claim - evidence - warrant), although they exhibit register norms usually associated with more rational text types. This shows up in a dissonance between the paratextual contracts and architextual realities. In later empirical chapters, I will explore the hypothesis that a text can

persuade using false credentials, i.e. rely on its institutional status and its register-based identity as a bearer of sensible arguments, but in fact be driven forward by cognitively powerful narrative schemata. If this is true, there is a good reason for it. As noble as rational, evidence-based arguments may be, they do not share the cognitively anchored mnemonic and persuasive properties of a good story. If a situation can be convincingly represented as a problem, the need for a solution becomes all the more urgent. Bruner's term for this power is *narrative necessity* (Bruner, 1991).

2.6. Conclusion: Language, text and context

Language is the intersubjective semiotic medium which links mind and world. The relative stability of grammatical structure has made it an attractive object of study, and this has resulted in dichotomous linguistic ontologies, such as Saussure's langue/parole or Chomsky's competence/performance. The problem with the dichotomous view is not just that it is an ideological quest for Platonic perfection, but also that it is scientifically problematic, as it blocks the development of a comprehensive theory of language as a multifaceted phenomenon. This is counterproductive, because while grammatical building blocks may be the *stickiest* part of language, they are not necessarily the *oldest*. The indexical orientation to salient aspects of communicative situations may be more variable than grammar, but it is just as ancient, and no less intrinsic to language.

Meaning is always pragmatic, or as Verschueren (1999a) puts it, meaning is always *variable, adaptable and negotiable*. This is an inevitable consequence of the fact that language makes choice-making not only possible, but obligatory: The arbitrariness of the sign-signified relationship, together with the availability of vast lexicogrammatical resources, mean that Silverstein's *pragmatic units* (1976) are produced in great numbers every time language is used. *Reference* is always *representation*. And because choices must be made, the fact of a given linguistic choice's having been made may be as significant as the representation realized in the choice itself: When a cohesive marker is chosen – or omitted – to establish a relation between propositions, when a proposition is grammatically presupposed, when a register is chosen as the vehicle of expression for a series of propositions, or when propositions are reproduced in a variety of ways in a diachronic transtextual space, the fact of these choices' having been made constitutes a clue for use by analysts in search of indexical meanings. Every sign is – at least partly – indexical, and speakers' and addressees'

understanding of what is being said always involves an awareness of language as choice-making, just as proposed in Bühler's definition of speech acts.

In this project, the transtextual field achieving HE Reform policy in Germany over a twenty-year period is treated as the largest available linguistic unit of observation. In whole and in part, it points the semiotic arrow towards discursive objects occupying larger timeframes, and whose semiotic instantiations are not limited to language. These include the myth of the 'Humboldtian' university, the market-liberal ideology which has been prevalent since the late twentieth-century, and the ideological tradition of rational textuality which has been constitutive of German institutions since the late eighteenth century.

One could stretch the temporal horizon even further here, by pointing out that every text indexes literacy, a development with roots in ancient Mesopotamia, and that every instance of language use indexes our status as articulate mammals, which we have been for tens of thousands of years. MacWhinney (2005: 191-196) points out that while language emerges from processes covering a diverse range of timelines, each of these processes makes its final impact at the moment of articulation. Any comprehensive theory of language must place equal value on each of the processes contributing to language emergence.

In a dissertation concerned with political discourse in twenty-first century Germany, however, it is doubtful whether understanding the origins of speech and literacy will help us find out anything useful. The analysis needs to specify *what* contextual factors are salient to the stated goal of the investigation, and *how* the transtextual field draws on and ongoingly amends these factors in the course of its coming into being.

2.7. Methodological implications

The research questions asked in this dissertation are:

1. **How did the discourse of Higher Education reform in Germany change during the period 1992-2013?**

2. **How did discursive change affect the texts realizing Higher Education reform in Germany, during the period 1992-2013?**

The two questions are empirically coextensive but present two complementary perspectives – the *semasiological/discourse-analytical* perspective and the *onomasiological/text-analytical* perspective.

These questions are approached using a ***corpus-driven*** analysis. Textual analysis can be *corpus-based* or *corpus-driven* (Biber and Conrad, 2009; Andersen, 2011; Archer, 2013). Corpus-*based* approaches take specific lexical items or predetermined linguistic constructions as their starting point, and examine the range of functions these perform. In other words, *the researcher approaches the data equipped with a set of assumptions as to its linguistic structure and expected findings* (Andersen, 2011: 588). Corpus-*driven* research, by contrast, takes a *function-based approach, which takes as its basis a particular pragmatic function and describes its possible realizations in actual discourse* (Andersen, 2011: 589). This is the approach taken here. Just as with the selection criteria for inclusion in the corpus, the criteria for units of analysis are entirely functional. It is assumed that every document in the corpus promotes a preferred position on the *Studienstrukturreform* with the goal of influencing policy outcomes. The analysis asks how the activity of influencing policy outcomes is achieved linguistically. This approach is also in part *ethnographic* in the sense that the focus is on participant meaning construction rather than predetermined formal structures. Though researcher subjectivity can never be factored out, 'allowing the corpus to speak', to the extent that this is possible, is one way of getting closer to the participant perspective.

Many linguistic structures have already been described in this chapter. These choices were based on preliminary readings of primary data, not selected in advance. Moreover, the final choice to focus on one or another type of construction will only happen during the analysis itself, where each text, and the transtextual field as a whole, will be analysed in terms of its

constitution in and contribution to the discourse. It is expected, however, that patterns of *register*, *presupposition* and *argument* will be essential, both in the realization of textuality and in the indexical achievement of contextualization.

Education systems always reflect the requirements of prevalent power structures (Von Friedeburg, 1992a: 15-28). Flyvbjerg (1998) claims that instrumental rationality is the norm in discursive processes, and reverses the Baconian maxim of *knowledge is power*, claiming instead that: *power is knowledge*. Arguments in favour of the reform usually presuppose a need to recognize the 'realities' of globalization and the knowledge economy and to harmonize HE within Europe. This rationale reflects a *market-liberal* or *neoliberal* ideology. Opposing arguments can be divided into *Humboldtian* and various leftwing camps. Also salient is the *ideology of rational textuality*. Arguments are indexical in that they either presuppose existing positions as a premise (context dependent strategies) or construct new positions which later become premises (context creating strategies). Textual analysis will chart these indexical achievements, and in doing so, attempt to make visible what Flyvbjerg calls *Rationalization presented as rationality* (1998: 2). Two hypotheses used in the textual analysis are: **Presupposition indexes the ideological starting points of argumentation** and: **Instrumental argumentation frequently displays rhetorical and/or narrative properties.** The analysis is not designed to 'falsify' or 'confirm' these hypotheses; they are guiding principles which are available for critical assessment and/or reformulation if necessary.

The role of rhetoric will also be questioned: Why, in an arena where rational argumentation has the highest value, do contributions to discourse take the form of stories resting on unexplained assumptions? The likely explanation is: If the common perlocutionary goal of all corpus documents is to promote their own position, then it would be irrational for them to use linguistic resources which illuminate the situation without prejudice, then impartially compare the merits of each policy option. On the contrary, the rational choice is to depart from rationality. It is expected that each document will reflect participants' use of the resources considered most effective in promoting their own position. None of this makes any claim about individual agency or intentions. Even when individual authors are named, the production of policy documents is a multi-level, multi-stage and often multi-organization process (Hensel, 2014; Lange, 2015). It is assumed here that within organizations and within the core advocacy coalition, positions are sociocognitively aligned between individuals, from

powerful actors to the unnamed bureaucrats whom one informant has called the *sherpas* of policy formulation (Lange, 2015).

The textual analysis focuses on both micro- and macrostructures, e.g. lexical representation, modality, presupposition, cohesion markers, coherence relations, propositional structure, argument structure, textual organisation, macropropositions and textual illocutions. Textuality is treated *both* as a linguistic product resulting from the weaving together of these phenomena *and* as a constitutive step in the larger discursive process. It is assumed that the text – discourse relationship is realised at different scales, so each extract analysed can also be treated as a discourse fragment in its own right, though the textual artefact remains the primary carrier of the illocutions and perlocutionary goals driving the discourse. The constitutive relationship is mutual – this means that while texts are 'made of' language, and discourses 'made of' texts, the smaller steps are always also guided by shared knowledge of what functions are required of texts and their components (*Sprachwerk* → *Sprechhandlungen*). Contextualization is realised by indexical signs, and these are considered throughout. The analysis takes the form of a discussion, itself textually realised, which is by necessity selective and interpretive.

3. Chapter three – Higher Education Reform in Germany

3.1. Summary

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first records the selection and annotation process, and presents a first overview of the corpus as a whole. The second section presents the external context for the corpus; a short review of Higher Education research on the reform process is followed by an account of the ideological background to the reform. Sources used are secondary readings, statistical data and interviews with discourse participants. It is argued that both the Humboldt myth and the neoliberal ideology are semiotic constructs, which are indexed in discourse to strengthen the argumentation of the various interest groups involved in the reform.

3.2. Corpus overview

The corpus consists of 165 texts from the period 1992-2013, all of which advocate or presuppose clear policy positions relating to the *Studienstrukturreform* (degree structure reform) in Germany. The texts are listed and numbered in **appendix 2**, by position and date.

3.2.1. Topic

The chosen topic was Higher Education (HE) policy reform in Germany. This was narrowed down to focus on the degree structure reform (*Studienstrukturreform*), its purpose and its ramifications. Degree structure reform was the reorganization of tertiary qualifications in Germany, specifically the replacement of traditional German degree titles (*Magister, Diplom, and Staatsexamen*) with anglophone / internationally recognizable Bachelor's and Master's degrees (often simply *Bachelor* and *Master*). This was the most significant and controversial element of the wide ranging HE reforms. Before the reform, students had no option to leave third-level education after three or four years, and usually spent at least five years in HE. The question of access to postgraduate studies did not arise, as the older German degrees were considered equivalent to a postgraduate qualification in the anglophone system (though anglophone universities and employers did not always see it this way).

Some discussion of related issues is unavoidable, but the main focus remains on the *Studienstrukturreform*, which triggered questions such as:

- What is the purpose of Higher Education?

- What is the best balance between personal development and the attainment of qualifications?

- For how long should students study?

- What do graduates need to know / be able to do?

- Is graduation with the new degree titles more likely to result in employment?

- What is the effect on students of HE becoming increasingly employment-focused?

- Should Bachelor graduates have automatic access to Master programmes?

- What are the implications for the status and purpose of university degrees as opposed to degrees awarded by *Fachochschulen* (universities of applied sciences)?

Teichler (2008) identifies the *Studienstrukturreform* as the central issue within the wide-ranging reforms, and this is reflected in several corpus texts, which characterize other changes as *flankierende Massnahmen*, some of which are instrumental to the *Strukturreform*. Consequently, numerous other topics are also mentioned in the corpus, such as:

- student fees (*Studiengebühren*)

- international student mobility (*Mobilität*)

- governance & funding of HE institutions

- Quality assurance and accreditation (*Qualität / Akkreditierung*)

These are also important issues, but are not the central focus of this project. It is impossible to draw a cordon around a single topic, because all aspects of the reforms are interrelated. For example, student groups whose protests originated in the rejection of *Studiengebühren* often conflated this issue with the *Studienstrukturreform*, and this is reflected in primary sources to such an extent that the issue will frequently be salient to linguistic analysis. Similarly, changing forms of *Mobilität* are often discussed in relation to the *Studienstrukturreform*. Data analysis cannot and does not fully exclude these other questions.

The texts in the corpus were produced between 1992 and 2013, with the vast majority coming from later years (see **figure 3**). This period covers the policy reform process from its inception to its proclamation by the Education and Science ministry (BMBF) as a *European Success Story* (**text 98**).

3.2.2. Discourse Type

This final selection criterion asks what the texts in the corpus are *doing*. Taxonomies of discourse type are plentiful (e.g. Wodak and Reisigl, 2009: 91; Jäger, 2004: 158-169; Kuße, 2012b: 118-125) but although they all cite functional principles, there is a tendency to divide discourse into domain-based categories, e.g. politics, religion, law, academics, etc. By contrast, the *coordinative discourse* analyzed here is not limited by domain or genre. Instead, selection was based on the types of activities and goals unifying the texts in the corpus. Schmidt (2008; 2010) sees coordinative discourse as the practice of policy elites formulating policy positions. This is achieved within a Community of Practice, from which distributed agency and shared knowledge schemata can be observed to emerge. I have stretched the definition to include all participants in policy formulation, even those who might be considered outsiders from a purely institutional perspective. This decision follows from the preliminary finding that in a democratic public sphere, policy elites will attempt to co-opt and thereby dilute or redefine certain positions advocated by some opponents, while discrediting others or ignoring them completely (see chapter six).

Coordinative discourse as a functional category makes visible the transtextual networks which exist regardless of formal differences in text type. The major practical implication of this is that authorship, register, style and text type vary much more than they would if, for example, only official policy documents were chosen. These factors are also unsuitable as selection criteria for corpus inclusion. Instead, the topic and function of each text was considered. This means many texts have been included whose authorship or register would have excluded them from consideration under more formal selection criteria. Any text was eligible as long as it was programmatic and part of (or trying to be part of) the debate taking place between participants in policymaking. What results is a corpus containing both official policy documents and other text types, produced by:

- Government and public-sector policymaking bodies (BMBF, KMK, HRK, WR)
- education sector trade unions (GEW, DHV)
- student groups (DSW, fzs)
- employers' groups (BDA, BDI, KFBT)
- think tanks & foundations (CHE, FES)
- a "long tail" of various other groupings of students, activists, academics and HE managers, and also some individuals pursuing specific agendas

A full list of discourse participants is given in **appendix 1.**

3.2.3. Collection procedure

The Corpus was compiled between 2012 and late 2016. As a general rule, data always came first, i.e. decisions about theory and method were based on ongoing readings of the corpus. A mix of conversations and web searches led me to the websites of the main discourse participants. Having experienced the *Bildungsstreik* of 2009 as a language teacher, I valued the inclusion of alternative positions from the beginning. This led me to the websites of the *Bildungsstreik* and *Antifa* organizations, other protest groups and trade unions. Many of these contained further links, and this resulted in a longer list of potential sources. Several visits to the library of the *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* in Bonn and requests to the archives of the HRK, KMK, BMBF and Deutscher Bundestag led to more primary sources. Further texts were made available by the *Projektgruppe Hochschulforschung* in Berlin and INCHER Kassel. Prof. Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers kindly provided copies of his 1996 policy paper and subsequent related speeches. Additionally, eleven background interviews with informants were conducted, some of whom referred to further primary sources. In late 2016, a final exhaustive search was carried out for any more potential candidate texts, sourced from a wide range of discourse participants. After this final search, over 500 documents had been collected.

The next step was to make a decision about each individual document, based on its salience to the coordinative discourse. The questions applied were:

- Does this text advocate or presuppose a clear policy position on the *Studienstrukturreform*?
- Is this text primarily part of the *coordinative* rather than the *communicative* discourse, i.e. is it addressed mainly to the participants in policy formulation and implementation?

The inclusion of *presupposed* policy positions was important as it allowed for the inclusion of quasi academic texts which take the policy reform for granted and discuss technical questions of implementation deriving from the presupposed position. It also allows for analysis of the transition between context-creating and context-dependent indexicality as some positions attain 'taken-for-granted' status over time. All texts were then removed which did not pertain primarily to the *Studienstrukturreform*. Texts tended to be included which made extensive use of the following keywords:

Bachelor   *Beschäftigung*

Beruf   *Durchlässigkeit.*

Internationalisierung	*Studienstrukturreform*
Master	*Zugang zum Masterstudium*
Studiengänge	

Some of the excluded topics, such as labour regulation, gender issues and academic employment are central to HE policy and even instrumental to the *Studienstrukturreform*. The interconnectedness of all aspects of HE reform will figure in the analysis. However, the changing degree structures themselves provide the main focus at all times.

The final result is a corpus containing 165 texts, from the period 1992-2013, all advocating or presupposing positions on the Studienstrukturreform, some of which are extracts, and which form a dense transtextual network, but which vary by position, register, style and text type. The corpus was annotated using MAXQDA coding software. The coding procedure was influenced by the principles of *grounded theory* (Böhm, 2005; Saldaña, 2009), but departed from it in that theoretical categories were applied. Decisions about the categories to be used in coding, and to be featured in the previous chapter, were, as far as this was possible, derived from a first close reading of primary corpus data. A full, numbered list of texts in the corpus is provided in **Appendix 2**.

3.2.4.   Use of extracts

Some texts were long reports or edited volumes of research of up to 450 pages. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) argue that introductory sections reflect the tone and content of the entire document. Saarinen (2008a) applies this principle in her analysis of presupposed policy positions. Informants have also testified that they are much more likely only to read introductory sections and executive summaries, and refer to the results of research as an *Argumentationshilfe* (Bartz, 2014). This is in keeping with Genette's idea of paratext as a contract, defining what the text is doing, and as an instruction to readers on how to read a given text. Therefore, in the case of long research documents, all of which have in this case been commissioned and/or carried out by actors close to the advocacy coalition in favour of the reforms, only forewords, summaries and introductions have been included.

3.2.5.   Availability

Most of the texts were available on the websites of policymaking organizations, and very often epitextually linked to each other (see **figures 4, 5 & 6**). These connections make visible the emergence of an advocacy coalition, even before any document has been read. Online sources were searched as thoroughly as possible, and as many critical and anti-Bologna texts as possible were included, though these are greatly outnumbered by the pro-Bologna texts produced by the groups in favour of policy reform. The fact that most texts were available to the public suggests that the *overhearer / eavesdropper* role (Goffman, 1981 [1979]; Hanks, 2006: 126) has become so ubiquitous that there is no clear dividing line between *coordinative* and *communicative* discourse, though a distinction can still be drawn between online *availability* of coordinative discourse in a public sphere, and active *dissemination* of communicative discourse in the media.

3.2.6.   Subjectivity and representation

The corpus is designed to represent the transtextual process from which the formulation and implementation of one specific area of policy emerges. The criteria of topic, country and timeframe were intended to ensure that this project be data driven. The application of *coordinative discourse* has led to a functionally coherent corpus, rather than one limited by arbitrary formal categories. The result is a corpus too large to analyze in every last detail. This confronts researchers with the *philologist's dilemma* (Archer, 2012): A quantitative overview can help us get our bearings, but quantitative analysis cannot replace reading and understanding. The need to select texts from within the corpus for in-depth analysis remains part of the analytical procedure in further empirical chapters. This makes it unavoidable that the researcher's own subjectivity is present from the outset; each choice to include a text follows from a qualified 'judgment call' rather than from easily replicable criteria. This makes it difficult to test or falsify hypotheses in the conventional sense associated with Popper (2002). This does not mean interpretation cannot be scientific; on the contrary, the theoretically grounded analytical categories outlined in the previous chapter must be applied rigorously if intersubjectively tenable results are to be achieved. In the present case, it is difficult to see how anything except close reading and a detailed linguistic analysis of data at many levels could make visible the transtextual construction of policy positions in coordinative discourse. This approach is also advocated by Verschueren (2012: 31).

Whether the corpus is representative of anything beyond the single empirical occasion under investigation is impossible to say, but I agree with Flyvbjerg (2006; 1998) who argues forcefully for the value of case studies. It is hoped that this project will also provide insights which prove useful to future research on change in policy discourse.

3.2.7. Policy Positions

Every text constructs its own position in this complex policy process, but it was possible to ask, for each document, where it stands with respect to the Studienstrukturreform, and to produce a broad classification as an orientation aid. This classification reveals three positions:

- **Pro-reform** – the text advocates or accepts the reforms
- **Opposition** – the text accepts the reality of the reforms, but criticizes their implementation and calls for improvements
- **Antihegemonic** – the text rejects the reforms outright and often calls for their reversal or criticizes those who have compromised by calling for improved implementation

The list of corpus documents in **appendix 2** is numbered first by position and then by year: all pro-reform documents are listed first, then all oppositional, then all antihegemonic.

3.2.8. Participants

The **165** documents in the corpus come from 44 sources. Authorship is predominantly institutional; in some cases, there is a named author. **98** documents are **pro-reform**. Of these, **72** documents come from the core pro-reform advocacy coalition consisting of BMBF, HRK, KMK, BDA, WR and CHE. Of these participants, BMBF, KMK and WR are state or state-funded bodies, HRK is the national association of tertiary institutions, BDA is an employers' group and CHE is a market-liberal think-tank, jointly funded by the BMBF and the Bertelsmann Foundation. The pro-Bologna positions are centred on a consensus that inefficient degree structures, lacking international comparability or quality control, should be modernized in the interests of the economy, research and *Studierende*.

67 documents represent **opposition (44)** or **antihegemonic (23)** positions. The sources of these texts are more diverse: Groups producing them are not nearly as coordinated as the pro-reform groups, but their positions reveal clear transtextual links nevertheless. **Opposition** positions, calling for improved implementation and better conditions, come mainly from trade unions and mainstream student groups. Between them, DGB, GEW, fzs and DSW are

the source of **27** documents. Outright rejection of the reforms is expressed by two separate camps: the traditionalists of the DHV and elsewhere, guided by Humboldtian idealism, and leftwing groups who criticize the growing power of capitalism, in which students' freedom to develop is being replaced by a dehumanizing technocratic training in the service of corporate power. These two fundamental positions co-occur in some texts, and are held with varying intensity.

3.2.9.   Development over time

The texts selected come from between 1992 and 2013, but are heavily weighted towards the end of this period. There are 25 texts from between 1992 and 2002, which is less than the 32 texts from 2009 alone. For the earliest documents, availability is an issue. But assuming that documents since the early 2000s are available online, major shifts in discursive activity can be observed: There is relatively low activity with almost no criticism or opposition until 2002. This suggests that key actors had mobilized to formulate their positions and arguments well before the involvement of any dissenting voices. From 2003 (when the KMK *Strukturvorgaben* were published) to 2008, there is more activity, including criticism of the reforms. In 2009, the year of protest, there is another jump, and this high level of discursive activity was maintained until the end of the period examined. A look at the distribution of positions by year (figure 3) shows a swell of criticism in 2008-2010. In these years, the number of texts with **opposition** or **antihegemonic** positions greatly exceeds the number of texts with **pro-reform** positions. From 2011, there is another jump in the level of pro-reform activity, and opposition appears to have grown silent. This is most likely due to the *co-option* strategy explored in chapter six.
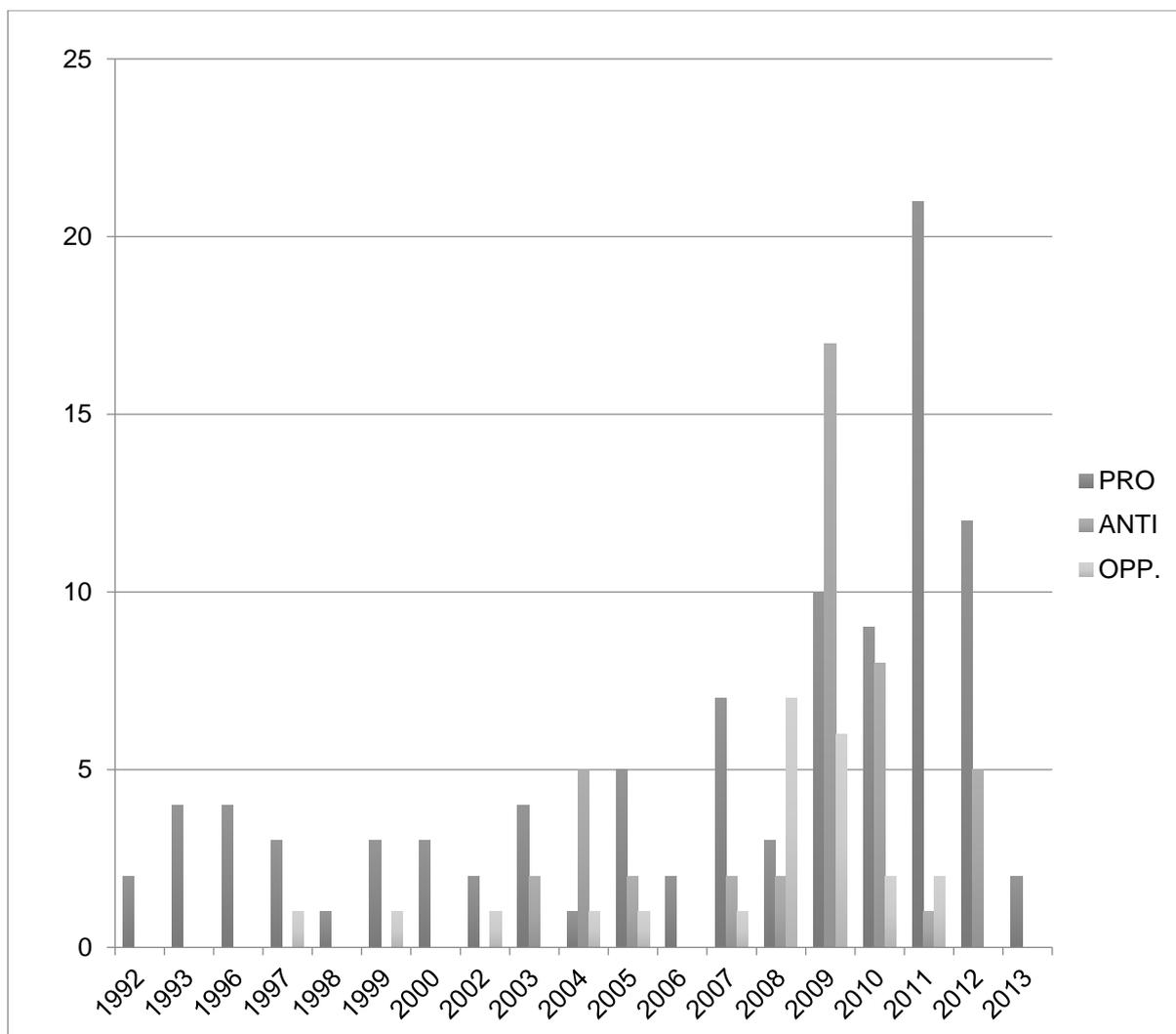
Figure 3: Positions by year

3.2.10. Text Types

Every text in the corpus promotes a preferred policy position in some way. Texts were categorized into types, based on paratextual contract and primary illocution. Text types with underspecified illocutionary types, such as *letter* or *talk*, were not used. It was not asked at this stage whether the illocution was felicitous, whether the style and structure of the text harmonized with the paratextual contract, or what the perlocutionary effect was. A detailed functional analysis of in later chapters will ask these questions of selected texts. **Table 2** lists the text types and remarks briefly on each.

Many texts in the corpus are guided by quite specific constraints, decided on and managed by the publishing organizations. For example, in the late 1990s, federal minister Jürgen Rüttgers chose the term *Zukunftsminister* specifically to avoid the term *Fortschritt*, which was associated with left-of-centre politics. Also, inspired by the English term *knowledge economy*,

he directed his staff always to use the word *Wissensgesellschaft* wherever possible, in place of the older *Informationsgesellschaft*. Rüttgers characterizes this as a political decision, taken after a series of conversations with editorial staff at his ministry (Rüttgers, 2013). Furthermore, the KMK uses document templates for different text types (KMK, 2017), and at the WR, where employees of the communication department are trained and mentored, every document goes through several stages of drafting, viewing by departmental heads and redrafting, before it is published (Kling-Mathey, 2017).

Text Type	Nr.	Typological Features
Academic	**22**	Academic or quasi-academic paper, analyzing or purporting to analyze issues pertaining to policy. Usually published by organizations with an easily identifiable political agenda. Often displaying a politically driven tendency to present a one-sided pro or anti Bologna argument.
Legal	**5**	Laws, texts infelicitously formulated as laws (e.g. **text 159**) and regulations. The KMK *Strukturvorgaben* (**texts 15 26** & **55**) are used in the formulation of laws in individual *Länder*. Such regulations can be called *soft law*, a concept disputed in legal scholarship (Zerilli, 2010). In this case, the provisions have become a binding standard in the legislation of every *Land*[9], giving them the status of *Untergesetzliche Rechtsnormen* (Fechner, 2011)
Position Paper	**54**	This category includes all texts paratextually marked as position papers, i.e.: *Stellungnahme, Beschluss, Positionspapier, Empfehlung*, *Aufruf*. Also included was any formally distinct document, e.g. letter, scripted talk, whose primary illocution was to represent the position of the issuing organization.
Press Article	**22**	In most cases, these texts appear in sectoral publications, e.g. DUZ & F&L, and magazine-style publications from political parties. They promote preferred policy positions, either explicitly or implicitly.
Press Release	**33**	Clearly labeled as a press release. Press releases are specific instances of *preformulation* (Jacobs, 1999), but also alert CoP participants to the existence of longer position papers.
Publicity	**29**	Makes a strong, overtly one-sided case for its position. Register & style tend to be close to either advertising or polemic rhetoric. Often found on websites or flyers/pamphlets which are not marked as being of a specific type. Also included are texts entitling themselves *Streitschrift*.

Table 2: Text types in corpus

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[9] There is an ongoing legal dispute in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern over the retention of the *Diplom*.

3.2.11. Transtextuality

The corpus can be characterized as a single transtextual field, in which a network of connections, transcending text types and policy positions realizes the coordinative discourse over time. This is the arena in which the *Studienstrukturreform* is formulated, advocated, criticized, modified, rejected outright by some, and finds its final form. An overview of paratextual connections provides a first impression of this network. **Figures 4, 5 & 6** show examples of epitextual connections in the form of weblinks between members of the pro-reform advocacy coalition. These represent a larger picture, and show a dense network of pro-reform organizations, student organizations, and government-funded research institutes.

3.2.11.1. Epitextual and peritextual connections

Epitext - organizations link to each other's websites
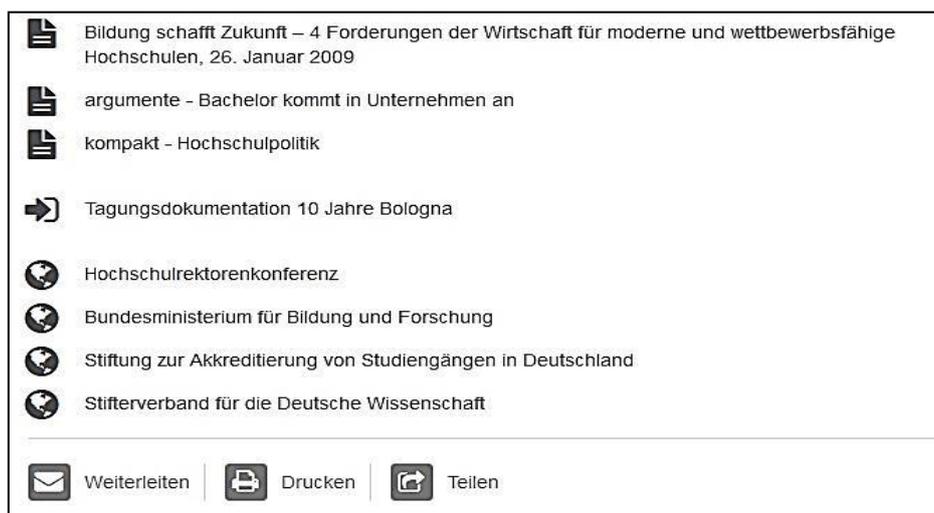
Figure 4: BDA HE page links to BMBF, HRK, SDW, Accreditation agency, and to a feature article about the 2009 pro-Bologna conference hosted by BDA

Figure 5: BMBF links to reports from HIS and CHE and to DAAD and Humboldt Foundation

Figure 6 DZHW (former HIS) links to BMBF, HRK, KMK, DSW, DAAD and HE research centres

3.2.11.2. Peritext – advocacy coalition marked by adjacency of logos in joint publications

17 of the **165** texts are published jointly by two or more organizations. Of these, **14** come from within the advocacy coalition. This suggests that participants in the pro-reform advocacy coalition are more 'literate' in collective transtextual activity, and perhaps more importantly that they have the resources at their disposal to engage in it effectively. So, the "power *behind* discourse" (Chilton, 2011: 180) is a salient contextual factor. On the other side of the debate, trade unions and nationally organized student associations – which are also bureaucratic structures employing staff trained in effective practices of textual production – participate in joint publishing activities, while more peripheral opposition groups, lacking resources and expertise, do not. Two exceptions stand out here: the 6/2009 issue of the student publication *Bewegungsmelder* (**text 157**) was issued in cooperation with the *Bildungsstreik* organizers, and a student position paper on the 2010 *Bolognakonferenz* (**text 133**) was issued jointly by green, social democratic and independent student groups. A further distinction must be made, however, between the power to *produce* discourse and the power to *enforce* discursively constructed norms; even if opposition organizations pool resources effectively, and develop the ability to produce and disseminate texts at a comparable rate to participants acting within hegemonic power structures, this does not necessarily mean that their positions are more likely to be heard and restated in the form of binding legislation.

Figure 7: Insignias of joint issuers are recontextualized as actors making demands

Figure 8: Core pro-reform actors issue instructions using infinitive form of imperative mood

Figure 9: Insignias of three participants grouped together as "Studierendenverbände"

3.3. Approaches to Higher Education Reform

The ideal university is an autonomous, self-organizing entity. But universities must be viable, and to be viable, their freedom must be supported by the regime within which they are operating. No regime provides such support without wanting something in return. When religion has the upper hand, universities must train clergy and reproduce religious doctrine. When a technocratic state replaces religion, universities must provide the next generation of technocrats. And when it is capitalism's turn, universities will turn out employees and entrepreneurs who are taught to understand tertiary education as a way to increase their value on the labour market.

Unipolar power regimes are rare. In today's heterarchical discursive hegemony, where many – but not all – actions of technocratic states are guided by a market-utilitarian ideology, the question of what a university is *for* has become quite confusing. Growth and change calls for new definitions. There has been an increasing diversification of HE in Germany, a proliferation of specialized private *Fachhochschulen*, and a huge rise in demand for tertiary qualifications. Moreover, when we take into account that another important function of the university is to *not* change with the times, but to remain outside of contemporary norms, being loyal instead to traditions of autonomous practice and aloof abstract thought (Jost and Scherm, 2011: 7; Krücken, 2012), then the waters are muddied even further.

Much HE research applying discourse-analytical methods focuses on Higher Education outside Germany. Krejsler (2006) traces the rise of the neoliberal project in Danish HE policy. Olssen and Peters (2005) chart the shift towards neoliberalism in HE institutions worldwide. They define *neoliberalism* as an ideological agenda going beyond a purely laissez-faire attitude, which positively encourages citizens to become entrepreneurial and business-oriented. In Higher Education, this is achieved using measures derived from 'new managerialism' (see Deem and Brehony, 2005), in which:

> … the end goals of freedom, choice, consumer sovereignty, competition and individual initiative, as well as those of compliance and obedience, must be constructions of the state acting now in its positive role through the development of the techniques of auditing, accounting and management (Olssen and Peters, 2005: 4).

and

> education is represented as an input–output system which can be reduced to an economic production function (Olssen and Peters, 2005: 13).

In this form of liberalism, market mechanisms are actively constructed and protected through regulatory policy, as a complete absence of regulation would soon lead to the collapse of free markets. This explains the apparent paradox of simultaneous *Ökonomisierung* and *Überregulierung*, both criticised by reform opponents.

Saarinen (2005; 2007; 2008a; 2008c; 2008b) has made major contributions to the discursive-linguistic analysis of HE policy in Finland and Europe, mainly focussing on the policy construct of *quality*. Her analysis of presuppositions in OECD documents provided an important point of orientation for this project.

Prokou (2008) charts a Europe-wide move away from Humboldtian ideals and towards employability as a goal of HE. Employability is often presented as an emancipatory movement and cites the knowledge economy as a frequently used argument in favour of reform.

Jessop et al. (2008) is an interdisciplinary collection of studies in HE, tracing the discursive development of the *knowledge economy*, using various forms of CDA, with contributions from Bob Jessop, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Susan Robertson & Mitchell G. Ash. The volume's basic empirical assumption is outlined by Jessop in the introduction:

> whether or not the knowledge-based economy provides the most adequate description of current trends in contemporary economic development, the discourse of the 'KBE' has become a powerful economic imaginary in the last 20 years or so and, as such, has been influential in shaping policy paradigms, strategies, and policies in and across many different fields of social practice.

The literature on the reforms in Germany can be divided between empirical HE research and more discourse-centred approaches. In the former, Schaeper and Wolter (2008) discuss the meaning of *employability* and *Schlüsselkompetenzen* , which they see as an *abgeleitetes Ziel der Reform* – they show that curricular design geared towards the training of productive, entrepreneurial talent has been an issue for decades, but has traditionally taken a back seat to technical training designed for specific professions. They finally translate *employability* as *Arbeitsmarktfähigkeit* and define this as the ability to look for a job, learn and change throughout professional life and perhaps learn a different profession later. Teichler (2008) is

critical of German professors' trenchant rejection of the reforms, given that the state-regulated system of examinations (*Staatsexamen*) has always required academics to serve the interests of the state. He allows, however, that universities are now expected to educate an *auftragsgetreue[r] Mittelmaß* and subjected to *Legitimationsdruck* as never before.

Of the discourse-analytical treatments of the German HE reforms, the most notable is *Die vielen Stimmen des Bologna-Prozesses*, the dissertation of Mainz sociologist Jens Maeße (Maeße, 2010). Maeße uses Foucauldian discourse theory and Minsky's knowledge frames to analyse the discursive statements (see Foucault, 2007: ch. 2 & 3) which realize the reform discourse as a hegemonic field. This theoretical approach bears fruit, although Maeße's analysis of key linguistic forms such as presupposition and nominalization is somewhat general (2010: 118-121) and I do not share his rejection of the contextual salience of language-external and discourse-historical factors such as sedimented cognition (2010: 122-123): Maeße explicitly limits himself to an analysis of the construction of knowledge in discourse – *zerlegen* instead of *auslegen*, in his words. A major point of agreement is the observation that a deictic shift is a frequent method of choice for pro-reform arguments: knowledge is linguistically signalled as emanating from more sources than just a given text's emittent (2010: 169-173). Porsché (2014) also sticks with an 'inside-out' approach to contextualization, using conversation-analytical methods to analyse a Bologna discussion panel. Zienkowski (2012) uses Laclau & Mouffe's concepts of articulation and logics to survey an article criticizing Bologna, but adds an analysis of metapragmatic markers to compensate for the *methodological deficit* of poststructuralist scholarship.

In the following sections, I have also made use of a wide range of empirical sources. Many come from empirical social research, mostly applying one of the various neoinstitutionalist approaches from political economy (Trow, 1973; Witte, 2006; Pritchard, 2006; Wuggenig, 2008; Schriewer, 2009; Kehm, 2015; Edel, 2015; Bildungsbericht, 2016). Also important is the work of historians of Higher Education (Von Friedeburg, 1992b; Paletschek, 2001; 2007; Benner, 2003; Wex, 2005; Ash, 2006; Clark, 2008; Koch, 2008; Pasternack and Wissel, 2010), many of whom have produced illuminating accounts of long-term discourse development.

3.3.1.   Prussian Reforms and the Humboldt Myth

Most historical accounts of HE in modern Germany treat the 19th century Prussian reforms as seminal (Ash, 2006; Pasternack and Wissel, 2010). There is a particular focus on Wilhelm von Humboldt and his contemporaries Schleiermacher, Fichte and Steffens, whose ideas underpinned the new state university in Berlin, founded in 1810. The 'Humboldtian' university replaced a largely church-affiliated system of Higher Education, in which students were trained under the aegis of local rulers (Von Friedeburg, 1992: 30-31). A precursor to the modern Bachelor, the *Bakkalaureus*, was still awarded in places after the reforms, but it had lost any status as a serious qualification, and was soon replaced fully by the *Diplom* and *Magister Artium* (Wex, 2005: 17-22).

Humboldt saw the ideal university as a *staatlich unterhaltene Staatsferne Veranstaltung* (Pasternack and Wissel, 2010). He argued that the state's interests were met and exceeded by the existence of an autonomous institution, where science could flourish without outside intervention, where character and intellect could grow. Universities went beyond the mere transfer of established knowledge, and demanded that students participate in knowledge production (Benner, 2003: 199-205). The idea of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* is at the core of the Humboldtian ideal:

> ... der Uebertritt von der Schule zur Universität [ist]ein Abschnitt im jugendlichen Leben [], auf den die Schule im Falle des Gelingens den Zögling so rein hinstellt, dass er physisch, sittlich und intellectuell der Freiheit und Selbstthätigkeit überlassen werden kann und, vom Zwange entbunden, nicht zu Müssiggang oder zum praktischen Leben übergehen, sondern eine Sehnsucht in sich tragen wird, sich zur Wissenschaft zu erheben, die ihm bis dahin nur gleichsam von fern gezeigt war. (von Humboldt, 1810)

It has been shown, however, that the association of Humboldt with Higher Education is of much later origin (Ash, 2006; Paletschek, 2001; 2007; Pasternack and Wissel, 2010). Palatschek clarifies that Humboldt's classic text, written as an internal memorandum, only became publicly available in 1903; Pasternack and Wissel identify Eduard Spranger's *Über das Wesen der Universität* (Spranger, 1910) as a point of origin for the Humboldt myth in its current form. This after-the-fact foundational myth, exalting professorial freedom and insisting that academic practices never be contaminated by practical applicability, provides the cornerstone for one important class of discursive actor in the present corpus.

Palatschek (2007: 11-12) points out that the 1810 university reform in Berlin was neither unique nor groundbreaking. A number of reformed universities had already been founded – Halle in 1693 and Göttingen in 1733 – and it was these institutions that first broke with church-run HE and the open nepotism of the *Familienuniversität*. By the early 18th century, universities were already being seen as motors of economic development (Von Friedeburg, 1992: 39). Palatschek also argues that the idealistic tracts of Humboldt, Fichte & Schleiermacher formed just part of a much broader political rationale: During the enlightenment period, the civil services of German states were already being drawn from a new university-educated elite, who displaced the serving nobility in this role (Clark, 2008: 11; Koch, 2008: 121). Under increasing state control, degree content focused on practical applications of science and medicine (Koch, 2008: 123-128). 1788 saw the introduction of the Prussian *Abitur* (Koch, 2008: 139; Clark, 2008: 124-125) and since the 1830s, the *Staatsexamen* (state exams) have been the norm for secondary teachers, doctors and lawyers (Koch, 2008: 180). To this day, medicine, law and pedagogy are directly state regulated professions.

Even within the idealistic literature, utilitarian ideas can easily be found, as in Fichte's admonition to do something useful with what one has learned. Conflicting views of the purpose of HE, it seems, have long been prevalent. Fichte's attitude here is close to the spirit of Bologna, though he does in effect warn against the danger of what has since come to be called *Bulimielernen*:

> Man studiert ja nicht, um lebenslänglich und stets dem Examen bereit das Erlernte in Worten wieder von sich zu geben, sondern um dasselbe auf die vorkommenden Fälle des Lebens anzuwenden, und so es in Werke zu verwandeln; es nicht bloß zu wiederholen, sondern etwas anderes daraus und damit zu machen; es ist demnach auch hier letzter Zweck keinesweges das Wissen, sondern vielmehr die Kunst, das Wissen zu gebrauchen. (Fichte, 1807)

3.3.2. The *Öffnungsbeschluss* and the growth of neoliberal ideology

The universities discussed above were, until well into the 20th century, open to approximately 1% of a given age cohort (Ash, 2006: 248). It was not until the 1960s that pressure of numbers led to a first systemic change, moving from *elite* to *mass* tertiary education (definitions from Trow, 1973). The '68 protests – as well as rejecting authoritarian values and protesting the occupancy of professorships by old Nazis with *Persilscheine*, called for a

democratization of university governance. This led to the *Gruppenuniversität*, which gave some say to students and the academic *Mittelbau*, but retained professorial privilege, especially at departmental level (Ash, 2006: 254).

In 1976, the new *Hochschulrahmengesetz* first called for a *berufsqualifizierender Abschluss* which would qualify graduates for a *beruflicher Vorbereitungsdienst* (Bundesregierung, 1976). This was a state-backed directive illocution, whose perlocutionary effect was to make employability mandatory for graduates of legal, medical and pedagogical subjects, and desirable for all other subjects. The increased demand for tertiary qualifications was seen coming, and in 1977, an *Öffnungsbeschluss* removed the *Numerus Clausus* (a merit-based limit on admissions) for most subjects (Spiegel, 1977). Now, any school leaver who passed the *Abitur* was guaranteed a place at a tertiary institution. The demand now focused on universities rather than *Fachhochschulen* (Witte, 2006: 154). It was expected that universities could bear the load of new students, and available demographic figures suggested the increased demand would be temporary. This was an enormous miscalculation; in the following years, the numbers continued to grow (Kehm, 2015), while funding stagnated. Between 1977 and 1990, university student numbers increased by 73%, while expenditure increased by only 12% (Pritchard, 2006).

In 1982 the Kohl government came to power. Kohl and his cabinet were no Hayekian ideologues by Anglo-American standards, but their stated goal was to move society *weg von mehr Staat, hin zu mehr Markt*. (Görtemaker, 2005: 257-260). It is not surprising that if overcrowded universities were the problem, any solution was going to be utilitarian and market-friendly. Throughout the 1980s, various groups discussed the HE issue without taking concerted action. In 1988, a working group composed of educators and employers' associations was set up to make specific proposals for shorter degree times. In its report (ANBW et al., 1988), the central ideas of the Studienstrukturreform were already discernible. These included a call for shorter degree times:

> Die im internationalen Vergleich eine Spitzenstellung einnehmende lange Verweilzeit (14 Semester) deutscher Studenten an den Hochschulen ... muß im Interesse der Studierenden und der Volkswirtschaft verkürzt werden.

A demand for clearer structures (using an existential presupposition with multiple participle attributes to attack the status quo):

> ... künftig [müssen] Hochschulabsolventen früher als gegenwärtig (28 Jahre) in das Arbeitsleben eintreten. Studierende sollen nicht ihre kreativsten Jahre in **stoffüberfrachteten, wenig transparenten und z. T. unklar gegliederten Studiengängen** zubringen müssen.

And a call for business leaders to support the change:

> Es wird künftig darauf ankommen, materielle Anreize für Studierende und Lehrende zu entwickeln, um die Studienzeiten zu verkürzen. Die unternehmerische Wirtschaft muß auch in der Öffentlichkeit stärker als bisher deutlich machen, daß kürzere Studiengänge neben den Leistungen bei der Einstellung einen besonderen Wert haben.

The above excerpts agitate for a businesslike approach to HE, claim to be acting in students' interest and negatively characterize the free choice of seminars. At this early stage, the market ideology is still clearly marked, and can, alongside the Humboldt myth, be considered one of the major ideological strands competing for dominance in the period of discursive change which was soon to follow.

The *Wende* and German Unification in 1989 – 1990 boosted the discursive hegemony of market liberalism, which was now without competition as a successful framework for collective action. This discursive shift concealed an embarrassing fact: Western educationalists had long known that teaching standards in East German universities were superior to those in the West. Lange (2015) states matter-of-factly that the HE institutions of the GDR *sehr viel weiter und besser waren als die Hochschulen in Westdeutschland*. The German Democratic Republic had always fostered close pedagogical relationships, and this principle – once it had been detached from its state-sanctioned purpose of *developing the socialist character* of GDR citizens – was treated as an example to be emulated. (Kehm, 2015).

3.3.3. When did the reforms begin?

Although the reforms in Germany can also be seen as part of the Europe-wide *Bologna Process*, they are German in origin. Research on Bologna often identifies the 1997 EU commission paper *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* (Commission, 1997) as a conceptual starting point.

However, key German documents from which the *Studienstrukturreform* originates predate this by several years, as does the 1994 document *Towards the Learning Society*, published by the European Round Table of Industrialists (ERTI). Wuggenig (2008) nominates (education and research minister) Jürgen Rüttgers'1996 position paper *Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert* (**text 7**) as the main incipient document. This text contains the first on-record call for the introduction of Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Germany. It was also Rüttgers who, at a HRK conference in 1997, declared: *Humboldts Universität ist tot* (**text 13**). The German reforms predate even this, however: The *Zöllner-Erichsen* working group coordinated by KMK and HRK in 1992-1993 resulted in the first impulse to make shorter degrees official policy, and contains the first recorded mention of a *Studienstrukturreform*. This is identified by one informant as the real beginning of the reform process (Lange, 2015). Accordingly, the analysis in the following chapters will trace the path taken by key propositions of the reform from early lobbying, through exploratory committees, political rhetoric and finally legally binding regulations. As a rhetorical strategy, national policymakers used the European process to justify their own domestic agendas, and Germany is no exception (Teichler, 2008). Jens Maeße (2010) has called this tactic *Spiel über Bande*. **Table 3** shows a timeline of the reform in Germany and Europe, from which it is clear that the reforms in Germany, though not fully separable from the 'Bologna Process', were a domestic initiative.

Table 3: Timeline of key discursive events in Germany and Europe		
Year	**Month**	**Event / Publication**
1992	July	HRK - plenary session *Konzept zur Entwicklung der Hochschulen in Deutschland*
1992	October	Establishment of HRK & KMK Working group: *Weiterentwicklung der Struktur des Hochschulwesens*
1993	January	Wissenschaftsrat *10 Thesen zur Hochschulpolitik*
1993	July	KMK & HRK - Zöllner-Erichsen working group – final report *Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform*
1994	November	European Round Table of Industrialists – plenary session *Towards the Learning Society* (ERTI, 1994)
1996		BMBF *Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert*
	December	HE reform promoted in CDU party publication
1997	October	Draft legislation for HRG Reform submitted to parliament
	November	European Commission *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* (Commission, 1997)
1998	May	*Sorbonne Declaration*
	June	4th reform of *Hochschulrahmengesetz*
	March	KMK *Strukturvorgaben* – BA and MA treated as experiment
	June	*Bologna Declaration*
2002	August	6th reform of *Hochschulrahmengesetz*
2003	June	KMK promotes BA and MA in *Zehn Thesen*
	October	New *Strukturvorgaben* – detailed plans for BA and MA
2004	November	North Rhine-Westphalia makes new degree structures compulsory
2006	October	North Rhine-Westphalia prohibits old degree structures as of 2007/8

Table 3: Timeline of key discursive events

3.3.4.   Talking about the reforms

It was in the early 1990s that a serious debate about the *Studienstrukturreform* – something Lange (2015) calls: *ein ganz bewusst gewähltes Wort* – began to take shape. The initial focus on degree *structures*, rather than content, was designed not to threaten directly the still-in-place hegemony in the university system of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft*. One high-ranking official also emphasised the importance of using the term *Wissensgesellschaft* towards the beginning of the reform process. The positions taken by participants active during this period usually emphasize continuity as well as change. The most frequently recurring propositions in the interviews with participants can be grouped as follows:

- Employment has *always* been a goal of HE.
- HE institutions must produce employable graduates.
- When quantity changes, quality changes. Increasing student numbers and changing expectations mean that HE has to change.
- We are working in the interest of students.
- The Humboldtian tradition is valuable but outdated.

In the early stages, care was taken to emphasize the equally important role of HE as a curator of academic and scientific progress, and particularly to maintain the perceived status of universities as something more than sites of vocational training:

> Es geht nicht darum, die Universität zur Berufsschule zu degradieren (**Text 3**).

Over the following twenty years, any vestige of reverence for the intrinsic value of the university as seat of learning was incrementally replaced by calls for HE to play a more practical role in professional education. One state sponsored study from 2009 neatly summarizes the market-liberal perspective on HE: A third-level qualification is an investment; the return on investment is employment:

> Der Erwerb von Kenntnissen und Fähigkeiten in einer Bildungseinsrichtung verursacht dem Individuum Kosten und stellt daher eine Investition dar, die in der Erwartung getätigt wird, dadurch einen Ertrag erzielen zu können – das heißt bessere Chancen und Bedingungen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt zu erhalten. (**Text 45**)

Pro-reform actors have used historical arguments, emphasizing that professional training has always been part of universities' mission. When asked about the above passage from IHF, Bulmahn (2014) responded:

> ... aber diese Zitate, dass es eine Investition ist, hätten Sie 100 Jahre früher schon lesen können. Bildung ist *auch* eine Investition ... auch für Hochschulbildung, nicht zu verkennen.

This form of argument frames the reform process simply as a continuation and improvement of one important aspect of tradition. Similarly, Lange (2015) argues:

> Diejenigen, die sagen, die Universitäten wären keine Berufsausbildungsstätten ... Juristen Lehrer Mediziner sind deshalb staatlich geregelt, weil man die Qualität regeln will, *und* weil die Geschichte der europäischen Universität – seit der Zeit in der Landesherren Universitäten gründeten – *immer* berufsorientiert war ... weil der Landesherr ordentliche Juristen Mediziner Theologen .... haben wollte. Im neunzehnten Jahrhundert kam die Gymnasiallehrerausbildung dazu...

Lange orients the discourse towards the earliest days of German universities, and uses this to attack the *Geschichtsvergessenheit* of those who protest against employability as a leading principle in HE. While his claims are certainly true (see above), the question is why actors select *this* aspect of the past and disregard others. No interviewee, for instance, lent any credence to the view of a Bachelor's degree as a latterday means of preventing the masses from becoming overeducated, although historical precedents exist for this too: Von Friedeburg (1992b: 27-28) cites Reichstag debates in which members argue against the idea of universal literacy, and early Bundestag debates in which it is argued that technicians should learn only how to do their job, and not be burdened with an excessive understanding of science.

It is not uncommon for the virtues of the past to be cited in one argument, and the need to break with history emphasized in the next. This is consistent with Flyvbjerg's view that *reasoning quickly turns into rationalization and that dialogue becomes persuasive rhetoric under the pressures of reality* (Flyvbjerg, 1998). By establishing the connection between professional training then and now, pro-reform advocacy anticipates and disarms the charge that under the reform, universities are being made to serve a new master. *Employability* takes on the status of a norm to be taken for granted, and this allows it to appear as a discourse-anaphoric presupposition later in the process.

The meaning of *employability* remains problematic, however, a problem also addressed by Schaeper and Wolter (2008). The HRK/KMK working group distinguishes between *beschäftigungsfähig* – capable of being employed, *berufsfähig* – capable of entering a profession, and *berufsfertig* – fully qualified to carry out that profession.

> Ziel des Studiums an Universitäten und Fachhochschulen ist nach den Bestimmungen des Hochschulrahmengesetzes der durch Berufsfähigkeit bestimmte berufsqualifizierende Abschluß. (**Text 4**)

Berufs*qualifiziert* – the term used in the *Hochschulrahmengesetz* of 1976 – is grouped here with *fähig* rather than *fertig*. This has been vehemently criticized. Hippler discusses the difficulties of English-German translation:

> Ja, Berufsbefähigung, oder ... Berufsqualifikation sogar ... ja das ist noch viel schlimmer ... in Deutschland ist das schwierig, auf Englisch heisst das employability, but [sic] employability heisst natürlich nicht, dass ich qualifiziert bin für einen Beruf, das heisst nur, dass ich angestellt werden kann, und dass ich Kompetenzen habe, die mir helfen können in einem Beruf. In Deutschland ist das aber übersetzt worden teilweise mit Berufsqualifizierend, das heisst ich habe eine Qualifikation für einen Beruf, und das stimmt nicht. Ich habe eine Befähigung, einen Beruf auszuüben, das ist was anderes ... (Hippler, 2014)

Far from being a pedantic quibble over terminology, the question of what constitutes a qualification is central to the *Studienstrukturreform*. In everyday English usage, there is a clear enough difference between having a third-level *qualification* (B.A., B.Sc., etc.) and being a fully *qualified* professional – accountant, doctor, optician, etc. etc. But this distinction does not translate well into German, where there have traditionally been degree titles which coincide fully with professional recognition. This is the case with the *Staatsexamen* (state exams) as highest degree for the medicine/law/pedagogy triad of *hoheitliche Berufe* (Hippler, 2014), and was also true of the now-defunct *Diplom-* degrees, which often entitled graduates to official recognition from professional regulatory bodies. Lange confirms that this posed a formulation problem:

> Beschäftigungsfähigkeit und Berufsbefähigung waren in der Tat Schlüsselbegriffe ... Hochschulabsolventen sind nicht berufsfertig, sondern brauchen immer noch eine Einarbeitung (Lange, 2015)

So it is unsurprising that in the 1993 HRK/KMK proposal, the final qualifying phases of professional development are highlighted as being separate from and supplemental to a first degree. What is striking here is the context-creating merging of public and private sectors, which allows private-sector traineeships to share the legitimacy of long-established state-regulated professions:

> Die Herbeiführung der Berufsfertigkeit ist und bleibt Aufgabe der berufsvorbereitenden praktischen Ausbildung (Referendariat, Arzt im Praktikum, Trainee-Programme etc.) oder der Berufspraxis selbst. (**Text 4**)

The appearance of *Trainee-Programme* alongside teachers' and doctors' traditional apprenticeship periods suggests that all three share the same educational pedigree. This exemplifies what Silverstein (1992: 58) calls the *pattern-as-sign*: legitimacy is conferred through co-textual contiguity between assumed members of a set. When applied to the set as a whole, the concept of existential presupposition captures the indexical meaning: *there exists a set of the following educational activities which are functionally equivalent and equally valuable*. This is an instance of context creation in the sense described above, since known elements of the widest possible context are selected and brought together to form a new contextual object.

By 1993 at the latest, the cat is out of the bag; tertiary institutions are expected to produce employable graduates in all subjects. There are two main strands of argument for this – the changing demands of the economy and the changing demands of society. The demands of the economy are expressed in a straightforward manner: new skills and therefore more graduates are needed by employers:

> Das hing teilweise damit zusammen, dass erstens der Bedarf der Wirtschaft sich auch Veränderte ... [dass] immer mehr Unternehmen auch Absolventen mit einer Hochschulqualifikation benötigten und sie auf dem Arbeitsmarkt suchten (Bulmahn, 2014)

The demands of society are usually presented in two parts – growing numbers and changing expectations. These are usually expressed together, and reform measures very often presented as having the needs of students at heart. This is visible, for instance, in the first two of the "ten theses" presented by the WR :

10 Thesen zur Hochschulpolitik

These 1: Das Interesse der jungen Generation an einem Hochschulstudium ist fortlaufend gestiegen und wird weiter steigen. Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft benötigen künftig nicht weniger, sondern mehr qualifiziert ausgebildete junge Menschen. Es wäre falsch, die Studienmöglichkeiten einzuschränken und der langfristig weiter zunehmenden Studiennachfrage entgegenzutreten.

These 2: Eine qualifizierte Hochschulausbildung für 30 % und mehr eines Altersjahrgangs **erfordert** einen entsprechenden Ausbau der Hochschulen und **eine den veränderten Quantitäten angepaßte Struktur des Studienangebots.** Der Wissenschaftsrat empfiehlt einen gezielten Ausbau der Fachhochschulen und eine veränderte Struktur des Studienangebots der Universitäten. (**Text 5**)

Thesis 1 brings together three reasons for expanding the HE system (young generation, economy, society). Again, the indexical *pattern-as-sign* creates a new contextual object – a harmonious alignment of social and commercial demands – without further examination of whether this might be accurate. This serves as a basis for a call for further expansion of HE. Thesis 2 presupposes[10] this new contextual object, as well as the continued expansion called for in thesis 1, thereby shifting from context creating to context-dependent indexicality. Now the new context serves as a reason to change degree structures, in fact, the new situation appears in subject position and actively makes new structures necessary (**erfordert**). The unstated assumption is that employment, rather than personal development and education for education's sake, is the goal of the masses of school leavers seeking access to HE.

The unfolding discourse is analyzed in detail in the following chapters. The result, twenty years after the original reform proposals, is a discursive shift, in which Humboldtian idealism can be spoken of with contempt, while the need for employability is treated as an evidence-based truth. One high-ranking official[11], when presented with the view that the reforms have made 'true' education in the Humboldtian sense more difficult and forced universities to conform to corporate requirements, answers:

Also das ist alles ziemlicher Unsinn ... also erst einmal, machen Sie mal eine Umfrage unter den Studenten und fragen Sie was die von einem Hochschulstudium erwarten. Dass sie im Anschluss dran irgendwo eine Stelle kriegen ... Zu glauben, man könne das, was in der Hochschule stattfindet lösen von der Frage der Berufsfähigkeit (ich finde den Begriff nicht gut, aber sie haben ihn gerade gebraucht) das ist natürlich nicht von dieser Welt. Wenn Sie 50% eines Jahrgangs da rein tun ... sehen Sie, das ist

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[10] The presupposition is hedged here by the use of the indefinite Determiner: "**Eine** qualifizierte Hochschulbildung".

[11] This participant wished to remain anonymous.

ein elitäres Argument, was da vorgetragen wurde ... da kommen Menschen, die wollen, nachdem sie ihr Abitur haben ... wenn die dann sagen, das ist im Hinblick auf zukünftiges Gehalt, im Hinblick auf Arbeitslosigkeit in meinem weiteren Leben, im Hinblick auf Lebenschancen, Karrierechancen, dass jedes Studium zahlt sich aus, das wissen sie, es gibt ja wissenschaftliche Forschungen dazu, dass das so ist .

In the above excerpt, (at least) five tactics are used to legitimate the reform. The interviewee:

1. Invites the interviewer to engage in a preferred discovery procedure (*Umfrage*)
2. Claims scientific validation for his position (*es gibt ja wissenschaftliche Forschungen dazu*)
3. Speaks on behalf of students (*eine Stelle kriegen, Lebenschancen, Karrierechancen*)
4. Names the pressure of numbers as a grounds for reforming HE (*Wenn Sie 50% eines Jahrgangs da rein tun*)
5. Rhetorically attacks the validity of the view presented as not conforming to reality (*Unsinn, nicht von dieser Welt, elitär*)

Each one of these tactics is part of a rhetorical strategy to legitimate one's own position and invalidate others. 1 and 2 nominate preferred ways of gaining knowledge. 3 and 4 present preferred empirical facts. 5 uses affective language to "drum in" (Chilton, 2011: 181) negative associations with antihegemonic positions. The accusation of an "elitist" stance by those in favour of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft,* made by such a powerful public figure as this interviewee, would not have been possible before the reform debate.

3.4. Higher Education in Germany today

All authors agree, with varying degrees of emphasis, that there has been transfer of power from public to private actors. While this is unquestionably true of Higher Education when considered on its own, the change appears in a somewhat different light when one considers the post-secondary education system as a whole. Trow (1973) identifies three stages in the growth and development of Higher Education: from *elite* to *mass* to *universal,* and argues that major quantitative change inevitably also changes the way HE works. Germany is currently in transition between the second and third stages of this process: Although the population has hardly changed since 1990[12], student enrolments have skyrocketed. More and more young people are rejecting the *Berufsausbildung* (post-secondary vocational training),

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[12]https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/Bevoelkerungsstand/Tabellen_/lrbe v03.html

and choosing to study instead. The annual number of new trainees dropped by 200,000 between 2005 and 2015, while the annual number of new students rose by around the same number (Bildungsbericht, 2016: 102 & table F2-2A). This mass migration between education sectors poses a challenge to businesses and employers' groups: They have long had a defining say in the training of future employees, so their recent moves to influence tertiary curricula, especially in commercial and technical subjects, can be seen as an attempt to *retain* power, rather than to grab it. This makes conflict inevitable, since traditional conceptions of Higher Education in Germany have always been radically different from the norms of vocational training.

From under 300 tertiary institutions in 1996, there are now 400. Most of the growth has been in the private sector, with 15 new private universities and 77 new private *Fachhochschulen*, many offering distance courses to people already in employment (Bildungsbericht, 2016: 124). *Figure 10* shows a recent online ad for one of these. There has also been an increased hybridization of post-secondary education, with strong growth of dual degrees – a sort of corporate apprenticeship – and franchising, where tertiary institutions issue licences to private education providers (Bildungsbericht, 2016: 125). The marked growth of *Fachhochschulen*, which tend to offer more practical courses, goes some way to protecting the special status of the universities. Hippler (2014) argues that opening the universities to all school leavers in 1977 (the *Öffnungsbeschluss*, see below) was a mistake, because it allowed people with practical aspirations and little interest in scientific theories to attend universities, and this threatened the principle of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft*, the core of universities' identity. This conceptual sorting of young people in Germany into doers and thinkers is a social practice rooted in centuries of tradition, and the first round of selection currently still takes place during primary education.

Figure 10: Commodification of tertiary education: Corporate logos, special offers and the promise of marketable certificates make tertiary education attractive to non-traditional target groups.

3.5. Conclusion

By the 1990s, the stage was set for a controversial debate about degree structure reform. The following chapters will investigate the corpus in more detail, asking how the texts within it instantiate discursive change, and how they are constituted in the process of discursive change

4. Chapter four – Early advocacy and Implementation

4.1. Summary

The chapter analyses text and discourse produced by the pro-reform coalition from 1992-2008. There is a development from cautious reappraisal of existing HE structures and ideology, to open questioning of them, to direct criticism. They are replaced by an employment-oriented instrumental approach to Higher Education, supported by private-sector discourse participants, and implemented through legislation and other regulations. The process of discursive change is realized at various linguistic levels, by lexis, textual micro- and macrostructures, and transtextually realized patterns such as markedness reversal and a reordering of ideas and priorities. Dedicated sections identify transtextual patterns in register and paratext in early discourse: the condensed hypotactic register indexes rationality and obfuscates agency through frequent nominal presentation of processes, while paratext, in both titles and paratextual texts such as forewords and summaries, is a rich source of discourse-relevant propositions and topoi. It is argued that the lexicogrammatical potential of textuality to encode conflicting sets of premises, a network of inter- and metatextual reference and the anaphoric recurrence of propositions in a variety of different registers and text types are all necessary conditions for the emergence of discourse as a linguistic object.

4.2. Early Advocacy

In 1992, the HRK published a resolution named *Konzept zur Entwicklung der Hochschulen in Deutschland*. Shortly afterwards, HRK and KMK formed a working group chaired by Jürgen Zöllner, Education & Science minister of the state of Rhineland-Pfalz and Hans-Uwe Erichsen, president of the *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz*. The resulting policy proposals (**texts 2 & 4**) are foundational to the *Studienstrukturreform* in Germany (Lange, 2015), though most research neglects this, and identifies the later government document *Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert* (**text 7**) as the starting point (Wuggenig, 2008; Witte, 2006). In 1993, the *Wissenschaftsrat* published a study entitled *Zehn Thesen zur Hochschulpolitik* (**text 5**) containing detailed proposals nearly identical to those put forward by Zöllner-Erichsen.

The first puzzle is why this should be so. Why, when the HRK and KMK were already formulating policy, did the national scientific advisory council feel it necessary to add their

own report? Josef Lange, who was general secretary of the KMK at the time, responded at interview that this was simply a matter of competition (Lange, 2015). The Wissenschaftsrat document was a response to the HRK resolution. Parallel processes of this kind should be expected in Germany's decentralized decision-making system, and their discourse-ecological effects should be seen as the norm, rather than the exception.

Such multi-actor semiotic practices are constitutive of discourse as a linguistic object. Just as adjacent sentences are never safe from being read as text (Linke et al., 2004: 277), adjacent texts can always be treated as discourse. Like textuality, discourse, to count as discourse, must be *acceptable* (Dressler and De Beaugrande, 1981). Standards of transtextual coherence, both structural and propositional, must be met. This criterion applies, even when the discourse is conflictual, as is often the case in the present corpus. Further criteria for discursive acceptability are *variation* and *change*: mere repetition does not make a discourse: the propositions expressed must be sent on a journey through multiple domains, registers and iterations, and be heard, repeated, refuted and ultimately changed by many different actors, before a *discourse* can be diagnosed.

The analyses below begin with a close focus on *register* and *paratext*. This is intended in part to emphasize the importance of these categories, whose role will be highlighted throughout the empirical chapters, but not always in such close detail.

4.2.1.   Register

Register marker	Text Nr.	Segment
Delexical verb construction	**Text 1**	*Rechnung tragen*
		Sorge tragen
	Text 5	*gerecht werden*
Institution as actor - subject shift	**Text 1**	*Die HRK hält an dieser Auffassung fest.*
	Text 4	*KMK und HRK wirken darauf hin*
	Text 5	*Der Wissenschaftsrat empfiehlt*

Nominal process	Text 4	*gemeinsame Vorschläge zur Studienzeitverkürzung und zur Hochschulstruktur*
	Text 5	*die angesichts der unübersehbaren Unterfinanzierung der Hochschulen und der auch weiterhin hohen Studentenzahlen für ein leistungsfähiges Hochschulsystem notwendigen finanziellen Ressourcen*
Compound	Text 5	*Hochschulzugangsberechtigung*
		Landeshochschulstrukturkommissionen
	Text 3	*Rahmenprüfungsordnungen*
	Text 4	*theorie-, forschungs- und grundlagenorientiert*
Genitive / prepositional chain	Text 1	*Die Sicherung und Wiederherstellung der Funktionsfähigkeit der Hochschulen sowie die Einrichtung neuer Fächer*
	Text 2	*Durchführung der Studienstrukturreform - Vorlage der HRK/KMK-Arbeitsgruppe "Weiterentwicklung der Struktur des Hochschulwesens"*
		Vordringlich durchzuführende Maßnahmen zur Realisierung der Studienstrukturreform
	Text 5	*die Bewältigung der ungelösten Strukturprobleme*
Participle attribute	Text 1	*Die dem Gebot der Diversifikation Rechnung tragende Differenzierung des Hochschulsystems*
	Text 4	*der durch Berufsfähigkeit bestimmte berufsqualifizierende Abschluß*
		die von beiden Seiten einvernehmlich formulierten Vorstellungen zur Studienstrukturreform

	Text 5	*Das vom Grundgesetz garantierte Recht auf die freie Wahl von Ausbildung und Beruf*
		das wesentlich größer gewordene Hochschulsystem
		eine durch eine offensive Bildungspolitik verstärkte lang- anhaltende gesellschaftliche Tendenz

Table 4: register markers in early texts

Table 4 gives examples of register markers from the five early policy documents analyzed below. The lexical and syntactic conventions on display here are all features of the register which can be identified as *condensed hypotaxis* (see section on register, **chapter two**). This register is most closely associated with the textual forms used in public administration since the 18th and early 19th century. It is associated with a now centuries-old tradition in the German-speaking world of rationality in public discourse. This makes it a highly ritualized form of language use, reserved for particular emittents exercising power in particular circumstances. An awareness of the potent perlocutionary potential of this register type will have to remain in play in the textual analyses to follow.

4.2.2.   Paratext

The terms *proposition* and *predication* are defined more broadly here than in traditional grammatical accounts. As the predication in paratext is realised predominantly by nouns, (either by directly deverbal nouns with the suffix *–ung* or by nouns with common verbal analogues, e.g. *Beschluss, Stellungnahme*), several semantic values usually associated with truth claims are missing, most importantly the temporal, aspectual and agentive values necessarily encoded by finite verbs. While I do not claim that these values can be grammatically reconstructed, the association of noun phrases by means of their connection with a process – even when this is also nominally realised – constitutes a recognisable propositional structure. The manipulative potential of what Bußmann (2002: 472) calls a *noun plague* is explored in detail by von Polenz (2008: 24-29), who characterises it as a *compromised* form of language use: it goes beyond ellipsis, as even the best-understood inferential schemata do not allow for a fully reliable reconstruction of meaning. So while the

propositions and predicates identified below should certainly be considered deficient, the application of the terms are nonetheless justified by the relations they encode.

Text Nr.	Example Nr.	Segment
1	*1.*	*I. Einleitung*
5	*2.*	*Kapitel I Einleitung*
4	*3.*	*Vorwort*
5	*4.*	*Schlußbemerkung*
5	*5.*	*2. Gegenstand der Stellungnahme*
1	*6.*	*Konzept zur Entwicklung der Hochschulen in Deutschland* *Beschluß des 167. Plenums vom 6. Juli 1992*
2	*7.*	*Durchführung der Studienstrukturreform* *Vorlage der HRK/KMK-Arbeitsgruppe*
3	*8.*	*Zur Reform der Studienstruktur* *Vorschläge der Hochschulrektorenkonferenz*
4	*9.*	*Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform* *verabschiedet von der Kultusministerkonferenz am 1./2. Juli 1993 in Hamburg und* *von der Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* *am 12. Juli 1993 in Bonn*
4	*10.*	*Erklärung von KMK und HRK zur Studienstrukturreform*
5	*11.*	*Wissenschaftsrat* *Drs.¨1001/93* *Berlin, den 22.1.1993 kn* *10 THESEN ZUR HOCHSCHULPOLITIK*
6	*12.*	*Pressemitteilung* *1/93 Köln, 26.Januar 1993* *10 Thesen des Wissenschaftsrates zur Hochschulpolitik* *Gezielte Impulse für überfällige Hochschulreform* *Der Wissenschaftsrat hat soeben „10 Thesen zur Hochschulpolitik" verabschiedet.*

Table 5: Paratextual form in early texts

Table 5 shows selected paratextual elements from the five early texts advocating reform. The simpler examples (**1**-**4**) demonstrate the canonical role of paratext: they name the text segment immediately following them, and offer clues to its content. In **1** to **4**, convention

dictates the location of the segments introduced, and this is lexically encoded to some extent: A *Vorwort* may only occur as peritext before the main text. An *Einleitung* should be the first part of the main body of text. A *Schlußbemerkung* can only come at the end. These labels, while denotatively formal, also index the organizing and contextualizing functions of the text segments introduced. A *Vorwort* should use metatextual and intertextual forms to contextualize the main text. Indeed, the one following **3** identifies the presented text as the result of several predecessors. An *Einleitung* contextualizes and summarizes the detailed content to follow – this is the case with the *Einleitungen* signalled by **1** and **2**.

5 adds further indexical values to its text organising function: it introduces a subdivision of the *Einleitung* following **2**, and indexes the textual macrostructure by signalling the presence of descriptive (*Gegenstand*) and argumentative (*Stellungnahme*) elements. It places these in a genitive relation, suggesting that an account of the topic is part of a larger argumentation strategy, with the aim of giving the text the illocutionary force of an evidence-based argument. **5** is thereby also a metapragmatic model of the textual structure as a whole, which represents *iconically* what the text is doing (*description of contextual object → policy position on the described object*) thereby *indexically* nominating it as a member of a set of texts with comparable structure.

The remaining examples, as well as signalling textual content, encode more complex propositions about textual function, and point to each text's place in the discourse; **6** to **11** all follow the same pattern, with some variation (particularly in the case of **11)**. Each of **6-11** names text type, emittents *and* topic. Each is divided into two parts: except for **10**, the topic is on one line, while emittent and text type are on another.

An exploration of propositional structure reveals further structural commonalities: **6-11** each contain a series of recursively embedded propositions, and their regularity relative to each other means this can be identified as a paratextual type. The common structure is shown in **table 6** below:

Proposition (P)	Predicate	Arguments	
		Agent(s)	Patient(s)
P'		Ø	
P"		Ø	

Table 6: Structure of recursively embedded propositions in paratext in table 5

Each of **6-11** is headed by a predicate with two arguments. Predication is always realised by a noun, except for **9**, where a passive participle does the job. It can be charted as follows:

6. *Beschluß,*
7. *Vorlage,*
8. *Vorschläge,*
9. *verabschiedet,*
10. *Erklärung,*
11. *Empfehlung/Stellungnahme*

 Predication in **11** occurs epitextually, as the text WR (1993) is listed under the heading of "*Empfehlungen, Stellungnahmen, Positionspapiere"* in a drop-down menu on the publications page of the *Wissenschaftsrat*. For each proposition **P**, there is an embedded proposition **P**', whose structure derives from the decomposition of the non-agentive argument. This second level of predication is also realised by nouns, some of which have the deverbal suffix –*ung*. At this level and all others "below" it, there are no agentive arguments in any of the examples.

6. *Konzept*
7. *Durchführung*
8. *Reform*
9. *Umsetzung*
10. *reform*

The predicator „Reform" in **8** occurs as a word in the genitive construction "*Reform der Studienstruktur*", while in **10** it occurs morphemically as part of "*Studienstrukturreform*" – hence the lowercase spelling here. The same morphemic predication occurs in **7** and **9** after a third round of decomposition yielding a doubly embedded proposition **P"**:

6. *Entwicklung*
7. *reform*
9. *reform*

The results of this analysis are presented below for examples **6, 7, 9** and **11** from **table 5:**

Example 6: Text 1			
Konzept zur Entwicklung der Hochschulen in Deutschland *Beschluß des 167. Plenums vom 6. Juli 1992*			
	Predicate	**Arguments**	
		Agent(s)	**Patient(s)**
P	*Beschluß*	*Plenum*	*Konzept zur Entwicklung der Hochschulen*
P'	*Konzept*	Ø	*Entwicklung der Hochschulen*
P"	*Entwicklung*	Ø	*Hochschulen*

Table 7: Paratext text 1

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4" align="center">Example 7: Text 2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Durchführung der Studienstrukturreform
Vorlage der HRK/KMK-Arbeitsgruppe</td></tr>
</table>

	Predicate	Arguments	
		Agent(s)	**Patient(s)**
P	*Vorlage*	*HRK/KMK-Arbeitsgruppe*	*Durchführung der Studienstrukturreform*
P'	*Durchführung*	Ø	*Studienstrukturreform*
P''	*reform*	Ø	*Studienstruktur*

Table 8: Paratext text 2

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4" align="center">Example 9: Text 4</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform
verabschiedet von der Kultusministerkonferenz am 1./2. Juli 1993 in Hamburg und von der Hochschulrektorenkonferenz
am 12. Juli 1993 in Bonn</td></tr>
</table>

	Predicate	Arguments	
		Agent(s)	**Patient(s)**
P	*verabschiedet*	*Kultusministerkonferenz Hochschulrektorenkonferenz*	*Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform*
P'	*Umsetzung*	Ø	*Studienstrukturreform*
P''	*reform*	Ø	*Studienstruktur*

Table 9: Paratext in text 4

	Example 10: Text 4 (second part)		
Erklärung von KMK und HRK zur Studienstrukturreform			
	Predicate	**Arguments**	
		Agent(s)	**Patient(s)**
P	_Erklärung_	_KMK und HRK_	_Studienstrukturreform_
P'	_reform_	**Ø**	_Studienstruktur_

Table 10: Paratext in text 4 (second part)

	Example 11: Text 5 (does not conform fully to pattern)		
Wissenschaftsrat			
Drs.¨ 1001/93			
Berlin, den 22.1.1993 kn			
10 THESEN ZUR HOCHSCHULPOLITIK			
	Predicate	**Arguments**	
		Agent(s)	**Patient(s)**
P	_*Empfehlung /Stellungnahme_	_Wissenschaftsrat_	_HOCHSCHULPOLITIK_
#P'	_Problemlösung_	**Ø**	_grundlegende Strukturveränderungen_
#P''	_veränderungen_	**Ø**	_Struktur_
*epitextual			
# occurs later in paratext			

Table 11: Paratext in text 5 (does not conform fully to pattern)

The regularities documented in the above discussion are striking. Contained for the most part completely within two noun phrases, these titles name topic, text type and emittent, and place these in a relationship which indexes what each text is doing, i.e. presenting suggestions, presenting a resolution which has been passed, etc., and on whose behalf. This function is then related to a recursively predicated summary of key details, so that we know what each text is about: The topic is always the same: changing degree structures. In sum, **6-11** realize the textual illocution compactly and with a surprising degree of detail.

But the meaning generated by this form goes beyond what its decomposition into propositional elements can tell us. When **6-11** are treated as part of discourse, rather than only as part of a given text, their combination of topical *inter*textuality (similar wordings) and microstructural *archi*textuality (similar forms) realizes a *meta*textual relation (reference to or contextual dependence on other texts). This gives strong transtextual coherence to this specific group of texts. Furthermore, the predicates of the primary propositions in each example comprise a transtextually realized history of the KMK/HRK working group. It begins when the HRK resolves (*Beschluß*) to address the issue – this distinguishes HRK (1992) and its successors from the noncommital talking shops of the 1980s. Then a working document (*Vorlage*) is presented, followed by suggestions, and finally, a document (HRK and KMK, 1993) is passed *(verabschiedet)* and prefaced by a declaration (*Erklärung*). While each text marks its own illocution, the expression of a perlocutionary goal is also a joint effort, with each stage of the process lending its weight to the final programmatic declaration. Another effective rhetorical move is the silence which saliently falls after the declaration is made. The message to employers' groups and to federal and state governments seems to be: *We have done everything you asked of us. The ball is in your court.*

WR (1993) is separate from the Zöllner-Erichsen texts, and yet adds to the perlocutionary goal: the chorus of high-level demands for policy reform now echoes near and far. It is not fully harmonious; the avowedly clumsy attempt above to fit the WR (1993) paratext into the Zöllner-Erichsen scheme, by bending the rules and adding caveats, dampens any expectation of a grammar-like account of paratextual forms in general – even though it is broadly similar to the others in that it marks the beginning of a policy document published by a publicly funded organization, appearing at around the same time and addressing the same topic.

There is a stronger transtextual bond between the Zöllner-Erichsen texts than between them and texts published outside the working group. From this, we can hypothesize: the more

narrowly defined the discursive situation, the more similar the paratextual elements will be. This suggests that paratext is constituted just as much by its discursive situatedness as by any intratextual function. This observation strengthens the case that paratext can be used as a heuristic for various salient aspects of discourse, in particular as a propositional summary, as a representation of textual macrostructure, and as a carrier of recurring intertextual and architextual patterns – a true indicator species in the discursive ecosystem. Any general systematization of paratext will also have to take the historical uniqueness of each token, and its potential to influence type, into account.

Example **12** from **table 2** is formally distinct from the other examples, as it uses active finite verbs and evaluative adjectives. These differences co-occur with the announcement that the text to follow is a press release, thereby serving a different purpose from the others. It does not define policy, but reports on it and *preformulates* an anticipated news story (Jacobs, 1999). While it is certainly true that press releases occupy the *principal* (in Goffman's terms) role in a widely distributed speech event, making them part of a *communicative* discourse, they can also target an audience from within *coordinative* discourse. This is especially the case if the press release is publicizing a text from within the coordinative discourse, a double move quite frequently used throughout this corpus, which may be considered a form of *auxèsis* (Genette, 1997b: 199), the tactic of making your message seem more important. The directive illocution of **text 6**, then, is not only a demand that journalists copy and disseminate the message, but also that participants in the pro-reform advocacy coalition pay attention to their contribution to policy. This practice was confirmed in an interview with the head of the *Wissenschaftrat's* PR department (Kling-Mathey, 2017). This adds to the overall perlocutionary effect of the reform programme; while the rival "takes" of the *Wissenschaftsrat* and the Zöllner-Erichsen group are in competition with each other, the discourse as a whole is strengthened, the perlocutionary force is multiplied, and the likelihood of political decision-makers hearing the call is increased.

4.2.3.   Texts
Text 1, *Konzept zur Entwicklung der Hochschulen in Deutschland,* is a sixteen-page policy document detailing the results of deliberations following a previous resolution from 1991. It is written in the condensed hypotactic register, and organised using the problem → solution pattern. After an outline of the current situation, focusing largely on growth in student

numbers, there is a section on the requirements of the HE system, pointing out that reform of some sort is needed, since the premise of the 1977 *Öffnungsbeschluss* – that a spike in numbers would cause at most a temporary overload of the university system – has turned out to be false: twenty years of growth in student numbers, without significant increases in funding, are thematized.

At this point in the discourse, care is taken not to 'upset the apple cart', and the old structures of professorial privilege and research-focused academic employment are acknowledged and praised. The statement: *Es muß vom Selbstverständnis der Universität her möglich bleiben, die Verbindung von Forschung und Lehre zu verwirklichen* appears conservative. But by describing the existing structures, the text is making them linguistically marked, and thereby bringing them into the scope of debate. So it is unsurprising that the text also questions the sustainability of learning-through-research. The value of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* is also identified as the *Selbstverständnis der Universität,* rather than as a broader educational norm. This is the first step in a twenty-year process of markedness reversal which will see employment-oriented bachelor's degrees established as the norm, teaching prioritised over research, and students' academic development 'kicked upstairs' into master's and PhD programmes.

This is followed by a much longer section – it takes up half the document – containing detailed proposals for reform. This accentuation of the directive illocution type is common to most pro-reform texts in the corpus. The strategy is to first establish the need for reform, and then, as far as is practicable, focus only on *Die dafür notwendigen Schritte*, where *dafür* intratextually indexes the perlocutionary success of the programmatic call, thereby avoiding discussion of alternatives *to* the reform programme, and shifting attention to the options *within* the reform programme. We can posit that the goal of discursive change is always to proceed quickly to this instrumental stage, where *why* questions are replaced by *how* questions.

This document and others from the early 90's address the *how* as much as they can, but the *why* cannot yet be completely ignored: too much work is still needed to establish the common ground required for this. Therefore, these early texts contain – and to some extent argue for – the premises on which the entire later discourse is built:

> **Angesichts** der **unverändert** hohen Nachfrage nach universitärer Ausbildung ist es **unvertretbar**, universitäre Ausbildung für einen kleinen Kreis der Bevölkerung zu reservieren. Die Universitäten **müssen deshalb** auf die dauerhafte Herausforderung der Ausbildung eines Drittels eines Altersjahrganges **mit einer Änderung der Studienstruktur** reagieren. Hierbei ist vorrangig eine Aufteilung und Abstimmung zwischen grundständigem Studium und wissenschaftlichem Aufbau- und Vertiefungsstudium sowie berufsorientiertem Weiterbildungsstudium **erforderlich**.

The argument in the above paragraph can be mapped into three steps:

1. ***In the face of ongoing*** *high demand for university places*
2. *It is **untenable** not to offer a high number of places*
3. ***Therefore**, universities **must** react to ongoing high demand **by changing degree structures**. This will **necessitate** separating the basic and advanced levels.*

The simplified propositions in *1* and *2* are imprecise, but the underlying logical coherence is unproblematic: high demand for places today can be taken as a sign of high demand for places in the future. The jump to *3*, however, is a *non-sequitur*; the need to offer more places does not compel one specific course of action over any other. This does not mean, though, that *3* is unjustified – it simply means that the justification does not derive from the argument structure in the selected paragraph. The path to *3* is achieved in co-text and context, and this is realised through lexical and cohesive means. ***Unverändert*** indexes the errors of the *Öffnungsbeschluss*, and by further implication the need for new thinking. What cannot be said out loud is that there is just not enough money for the state to put everyone through college the old way. Instead, it is argued that the old degree structure is not fit for purpose. High dropout rates are cited, but these are always attributed to low student motivation rather than to the chronic overcrowding and low access to professors caused by the lack of funding after the *Öffnungsbeschluss*.

A further clue is provided by ***unvertretbar***, which indexes the situatedness of the discourse in the public sphere of a democratic civil society. The deictic origo of the deontic modality expressed is thereby shifted away from the author(s) of the text, and projected onto shared behavioural norms. ***Unvertretbar*** is not merely a claim, but also indexes the premise of a related argument with a socially distributed principal, by evoking recipients' knowledge of what is and is not tenable in a democracy. This is all the more effective in a coordinative discourse, where members of the CoP are likely to have detailed knowledge of such norms.

Text 4 is the final document published by the Zöllner-Erichsen working group. It was passed (*verabschiedet*) separately by plenary sessions of the KMK and the HRK, and 6,000 copies were distributed to senior decision makers in German Higher Education (Lange, 2015). Though not legally binding, the text constitutes a commissive illocution, being an on-record account of the policy programme now shared by university rectors and state governments. This show of unity, which is emphasized in paratext, both on a title page and in a foreword detailing the working group's proceedings, adds institutional weight to the perlocutionary intent of the document. As mentioned above, the silence following the declaration is itself a paratextual cue: a "hearer" is being targeted, in this case other members of the CoP concerned with policymaking; years of exploratory discussions have now been ended by a working group which demonstratively unites itself around a unified policy position. The perlocutionary effect is to elicit a response from those in government. This response, as we shall see, need only involve minor alterations to content and register, since the discursive properties of textuality mean the text not only demands, but also facilitates the desired response. Language is passed between users not only with a lot of *decisions already made* (Duranti, 1997: 32), but also with a lot of *work already done*.

The declaration's main arguments occur in the following extract (numbering added):

1. Die tatsächlichen Studienzeiten sind **im Hinblick auf die Konkurrenzfähigkeit der Absolventinnen und Absolventen im europäischen Arbeitsmarkt und unter volkswirtschaftlichen Aspekten** in Deutschland zu lang.

2. **Deshalb** bekräftigen KMK und HRK aufgrund der Beratungen in der gemeinsamen Arbeitsgruppe "Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform" die **von beiden Seiten einvernehmlich formulierten** Vorstellungen zur Studienstrukturreform wie folgt:

3. **Ziel des Studiums an Universitäten und Fachhochschulen ist nach den Bestimmungen des Hochschulrahmengesetzes der durch Berufsfähigkeit bestimmte berufsqualifizierende Abschluß.**
   ...

4. KMK und HRK wirken darauf hin, Rahmenbedingungen und Inhalte des Studiums so zu gestalten, daß es in der **Regelstudienzeit von acht bis zehn Semestern an Universitäten und sechs bis acht Semestern an Fachhochschulen** abgeschlossen werden kann.

5. **Um dies zu erreichen, müssen** die Rahmenbedingungen verbessert und muß in Lehre und Studium an den Universitäten der Durchdringung der Grundlagen sowie der Vermittlung und dem Erwerb von Methodenkenntnis und deren exemplarischer Anwendung Vorrang eingeräumt werden.

In paragraph one, the proposition asserted in the matrix clause – that degree times in Germany are too long – is predicated by an active, indicative, finite verb. By contrast, the argument supporting this proposition is realised in an adverbial consisting of a string of noun phrases linked by case relations, prepositions and a conjunction. It should be acknowledged that the focus on economic and instrumental aspects of HE qualifications is textually cataphoric in that it is discussed in much more detail in the larger body of text following the declaration, and discourse-anaphoric in that it expresses the most frequently-occurring ideological perspective in the pro-reform discourse. So it cannot be claimed that the argument is being deliberately obfuscated in the document as a whole. A better explanation is that recipients are being guided towards an acceptance of the conclusion rather than a fresh appraisal of the argument which led to it. What should be examined here is not the validity or otherwise of the argument itself, but rather the discourse-linguistic strategy of discouraging analysis and assuming the validity of conclusions which are then used as the starting point for instrumental programmes. This happens in at least three ways:

- At the sentence level by the register contrast just described, which states the conclusion clearly, while leaving the argumentative warrant in the impenetrable prose of condensed hypotaxis.

- At the textual level by placing a declaration summarizing key points at the beginning, with the longer, more detailed text left until later: it is likely that most readers only read the declaration/summary, a receptive practice several informants have testified to.

- At the discursive level by the declaration's place in the choir of voices singing – in essence – the same song about the need to reduce degree times. Repetition is a simple and powerful means of directing attention (e.g. Chilton, 2011).

At each of these levels, the conclusions, and the measures they appear to necessitate, are foregrounded at the expense of deliberation on how the conclusions have been reached. This seems to support Flyvbjerg's claim that *Power defines what counts as knowledge* (1998: 27), and that public deliberation is better understood as targeted institutional propaganda. This

claim will need to be re-examined later, especially with regard to texts opposing the reform and their reception.

The centrality of the foregrounded conclusion becomes evident in the following paragraphs; the *deshalb* in *2* depends on an acceptance of the proposition in *1*. The topos of economic rationality is resumed in *3*, where *Berufsfähigkeit* is highlighted (N.B. not *Berufsfertigkeit*). In *4*, the programme of shortening degree times is elaborated by specific proposals, and the measures in *5* are then introduced by the sentence adverbial *Um dies zu erreichen. Um … zu* constructions, which introduce specific goals, and, especially in policy documents calling for change, imply a focus on future time, and are associated more strongly with instrumental rationality than with dispassionate appraisal, occur commonly in the corpus. The discourse strategy developed here is an ongoing foregrounding of goals to be pursued on the basis of already-accepted conclusions which serve as premises. To the extent that the acceptance of these premises is based on tacitly held beliefs – in this case in the primacy of economic rationality in education policy – to which advocacy coalition members are favourably disposed, the perlocutionary effectiveness of the text can be said to be ideologically driven. Discourse, rather than textuality alone, is doing the heavy lifting here.

Text 5 was published as a direct response to text 1, and in anticipation of **text 4** (Lange, 2015). It does not seek to oppose or refute these texts, but rather indexes its ability to provide superior policy advice to government. The effect is a sort of illocution which can only be realised transtextually – the message being that everyone in the know is in favour of the same policy platform. The following excerpts make the similarities clear:

> *These 6: Universitäten müssen in Lehrangebot und Organisation des Studiums stärker zwischen dem auf Wissenschaft gegründeten berufsbefähigenden Studium und der nachfolgenden* **Ausbildung des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses für Wissenschaft, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft durch aktive Beteiligung der Graduierten an der Forschung** *unterscheiden.*

Here, education based on pre-existing scientific knowledge is distinguished from education through scientific inquiry in which students themselves engage. The latter model is related only to *Graduierten*. This distinction is significant, as it departs radically from the Humboldtian view of all university education; Humboldt rejected any mere transfer of established norms, insisting that autonomous competence in scientific forms of inquiry was the only valuable form of Higher Education (Benner, 2003: 199 - 205). **Text 1** has softened

the ground for an assault on this tradition (see above), and now, the WR takes things one step further.

> *Vielfach ist eine neue funktionale Strukturierung der Lehre, eine angemessene zeitliche Ordnung des Studiums und eine darauf abgestimmte Organisation des Lehr- und Studienbetriebs unausweichlich....*
>
> *Die große Mehrheit der Universitätsstudenten ist an einer berufsbefähigenden Ausbildung interessiert und studiert, um sich für einen attraktiven Beruf zu qualifizieren. Überschaubare Studienzeiten und ein frühes Berufseintrittsalter sind damit gefordert. Dies zu ermöglichen, ist eine Aufgabe der Universität und erfordert eine entsprechende Organisation der Lehre.*

The above excerpts use existentially presupposed positive appraisal to represent these shorter degree times as attractive, necessary and inevitable: the noun phrases *eine angemessene zeitliche Ordnung des Studiums* and *Überschaubare Studienzeiten* co-refer with *acht bis neun Semestern*. Establishing shorter degrees as positive is crucial for the ongoing development of the discourse. Humboldtian traditions are further undermined by the foregrounding of *berufsbefähigende Ausbildung*. This is represented as the students' choice, a claim anticipated earlier in **text 5** by a sociological argument about the *Bedeutung von Hochschulabschlüssen für den wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Erfolg*. This is reminiscent of Trow's analysis (Trow, 1973): the transition from elite to mass to universal HE necessarily involves a change in students' priorities.

4.3. Political uptake and first legislation

In 1996, the federal government responded in detail to the policy recommendations detailed in the previous section. Two years later in 1998, a major amendment to the federal Higher Education law was passed (the draft bill was tabled seven months before the Sorbonne declaration). This was a crucial event, considering that numerous pro-reform talking shops throughout the 1980s had not resulted in any political action being taken. As Rüttgers' successor Edelgard Bulmahn puts it: *[Mitte der 90er Jahre] hat die Debatte an Dynamik gewonnen*. (Bulmahn, 2014). In **text 10,** the KMK complains that too little has been done by the *Länder*, and calls for deep structural change as the only way to really make degree times shorter. In **text 9**, *Länder* representatives caution that federal legislation must respect state authority in cultural and educational affairs. The "no alternative" argument and questions of state-federal cooperation will remain salient throughout the discourse.

Text 7, *Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert* by minister Jürgen Rüttgers[13] is identified by Witte (2006) and Wuggenig (2008) as foundational to the reform discourse. Wuggenig sees it as a discursive tipping point, since it breaks with traditional assumptions about the purpose and structure of HE in Germany. We have seen above, however, that Rüttgers' paper was not the first one to make this move. I argue that this document is best understood as a politicised re-entextualization of content largely already agreed on by the WR and the Zöllner-Erichsen group, combined with the market-liberal ideology of the Kohl government (see Görtemaker, 2005: 257-260). In setting out the parameters of the *Studienstrukturreform* and questioning the value of the Humboldtian *Bildungsideal,* Rüttgers deploys pre-existing policy ideas from two domains; along with the particulars of HE reform, the text imports into HE policy the position that market liberalism is the answer to stagnant, overregulated structures. Accordingly, knowledge is redefined as a quantifiable good with a sell-by date, students presented as rational utility-maximizers and universities as service providers. While the document's *authorship* consists in the skilful rhetorical presentation of these policies in textual form, the *principal* is comprised of ideas already available in the discourse.

What is truly new, apart from the linguistic adjustments that the authorship process requires, is that the emittent this time is a federal minister. The author's identity, along with the epochal vision evoked by the title, makes for a dramatic paratextual statement of purpose:

<div align="center">

Bundesminister für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Forschung und

Technologie, Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers

Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert

</div>

The text itself is an energetic call to action with a more strongly directive illocution than in other texts encountered so far. This can be explained by the importance of perlocution: the policy initiative now needs to win broad support. Rüttgers' paper calls for major legislative changes, which will require majorities both at federal level and in the *Länder*. Such changes will have to be supported by the KMK, the HRK and others, and for this to happen, a lot of persuasion will be needed. These multiple perlocutionary goals mean the text has to weave together multiple rhetorical functions: it must project expertise, play up the importance of the

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[13] Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers became federal minister of education, science, research and technology in 1994, and state premier of North Rhine-Westphalia in 2005.

reform (*auxesis*), warn of the dangers of failure, press for action and situate itself at the intersection of as many groups' interests as possible.

The text's deonticity is achieved in a variety of ways, not least the urgency achieved indexically by the very fact of a re-entextualization of **text 4** in a politically powerful setting. The register, while for the most part less formal than the texts from the Zöllner-Erichsen group, combines elements of condensed hypotactic *Amtssprache* (complex noun phrases, specialized terms) with shorter sentences, a high proportion of finite verbs and dramatic, evaluative lexical expressions (*Gefahr, Bürde, bürokratische Gängelung, Epochenwechsel, weltfremd*). Modality plays a role, but there is not a significantly higher occurrence of modal finites than in previous texts. There are many alternative modal constructions, such as *gilt es ... zu* constructions and modal infinitives as in *[D]as Studium **ist so zu gestalten**, daß ...* Dissimulated modal realizations in the form of *impersonal projection* (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 472-473, 616, 626) are also prevalent:

> Es ist **unumgänglich**, daß...
> Die deutsche Hochschulgesetzgebung käme damit einem **offensichtlichen Bedarf** [...] entgegen

Forms of this type shift the origo, either to the *naturalized social reality* (Hanks, 1989) of an implied common ground (*unumgänglich, offensichtlicher Bedarf*) or to the represented positions or interests of text-external actors, thereby indexing a plurality of voices and, in the next order of indexicality, assembling these voices into a virtual coalition. This coalition is invoked repeatedly throughout the text.

4.4. Problems

The text follows the problem-solution pattern, and is divided into three parts. Part one summarizes and problematizes the state of play. Part two draws conclusions from part one, and part three, *Handlungsperspektiven*, sets out the recommended course of action. This third, programmatic part is by far the longest, taking up twelve of the document's eighteen pages.

Knowledge is presented as a quantifiable good:

> Alle fünf bis sieben Jahre verdoppelt sich das weltweit verfügbare Wissen. An jedem Arbeitstag werden etwa 20.000 wissenschaftliche Aufsätze weltweit veröffentlicht. Wissen ist zum wichtigsten, aber auch schnell veraltenden "Rohstoff" geworden.

This echoes the idea of a *Halbwertzeit des Wissens* (**text 1**). Knowledge is also treated as a product – information with added value – and later, by the causal connective *durch*, as an instrumental part of economic processes:

> Wettbewerbsvorteile haben diejenigen Länder, die bei der **Erzeugung und Verteilung von Informationen**, bei der **effizienten Umwandlung in Wissen** und insbesondere bei der breitenwirksamen Nutzung von Wissen Erfolge verzeichnen.

> Der Weg von der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis zum wirtschaftlichen Ergebnis **durch** Prozeß- und Produktinnovation ist zu verkürzen.

From this standpoint, it is unsurprising that the text demands a more employment- and economy oriented tertiary sector. This instrumental treatment of knowledge leads in to a questioning of Humboldtianism in HE:

> Die Einheit von Forschung und Lehre ist **grundsätzlich** ein bewahrenswertes Erbe einer Humboldt'schen Idee, ... Diese Idee muß **aber** weiterentwickelt und an unsere heutigen Bedingungen angepaßt werden. (emphasis added)

Grundsätzlich weakens the first proposition, and eases the passage of the later *aber*, which introduces a focus on the deficiencies of the current situation. These are then charted in a series of bullet points, naming long degree times: *Die durchschnittlichen Studienzeiten bis zu einem ersten berufsqualifizierenden Abschluß sind zu lang*, poor degree structures, and high dropout rates. University dropouts are cited as calling course content: *zu theoretisch, weltfremd, abstrakt*. Employment-oriented education is normed by being identified as missing – this implies strongly that its presence should be seen as normal and necessary. In contrast, an iterative temporal expression expresses exasperation with the continued unity of teaching and research:

> **Es fehlt** eine ausreichende Praxis- und Berufsbezogenheit des Studiums an Universitäten, es überwiegt **immer noch** die Forschungsausrichtung

Something is missing which should be there, and something which should no longer be there is in the way. This constructional type, contrasting a perceived lack of the new with the problematic still-there-ness of the old, recurs frequently in the text, and is applied to the full spectrum of HE policy areas. *Intra*textually, this contributes to the strongly deontic directive illocution without undue recourse to lexicogrammatically encoded modality. *Trans*textually, it constitutes a further step in the diachronic realisation of markedness reversal required for discursive change.

4.5. Solutions

The third part begins with a summary of the reform goals. *Ermöglichen* and *sichern* inchoatively presuppose the current absence of the desired goals. *Durch* encodes cause and effect – thereby claiming that performance-based incentives will produce the desired result. The desirability of the result is claimed indexically, as it is in line with the market-liberal discourse broadly shared by the pro-reform coalition, whose preferred membership – *Hochschulen, Europa, Bund, Länder* – is evoked immediately afterwards:

> Ziel der Reform des deutschen Hochschulsystems ist es, **durch** Deregulierung, **durch** Leistungsorientierung und **durch** die Schaffung von Leistungsanreizen Wettbewerb und Differenzierung zu **ermöglichen** sowie die internationale Wettbewerbsfähigkeit der deutschen Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert zu **sichern**.

> Damit sollen die Reformanstrengungen der **Hochschulen** unterstützt werden. Die Sicherung des notwendigen gesamtstaatlichen Rahmens im zusammenwachsenden **Europa** erfordert ein Zusammenwirken von **Bund** und **Ländern**.

A longer argument for the Studienstrukturreform indexes concern for students' needs and the requirements of the labour market.

> Nur ein geringer Teil der Studierenden strebt eine wissenschaftliche Karriere im engen Sinne an. Der größte Teil von ihnen wird auch künftig mit einem berufsqualifizierenden Abschluß eine verantwortliche Position auf dem Arbeitsmarkt außerhalb der Hochschulen und wissenschaftlicher Einrichtungen suchen.

The only sensible answer to this problem, the text argues, is a separation of employment-based qualifications and training in research methods – a proposal already present in **text 5**. In two places, the bachelor and master structure is floated as a suitable way of achieving this.

It is further argued that change should be incremental and incentive-based rather than immediate and mandatory or *"staatlich verordnet"* – since this would be illiberal. Instead, tertiary institutions are to become free movers, and emancipated from *"Gängelung"* by the state. This proposal is warranted by the claim that experience in other countries has shown state interference to be ineffective – but no source is offered for this. This idea will be reflected in the 1998 change to federal HE legislation, but will change significantly in subsequent federal and state laws.

A further demand is made for the better application of science for economic gain:

> ***Exzellente Forschung an den Hochschulen ist zukünftig nicht nur zu sichern und zu stärken, sondern auch besser zu nutzen.*** *Der Weg von der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis zum wirtschaftlichen Ergebnis durch Prozeß- und Produktinnovation ist zu verkürzen."* (emphasis in original)

Cohesion and coherence in the above excerpt exhibit startling complexity: the modal infinitives interact with abundant presuppositions which construct the common ground between text and recipient. The establishment of a problem in the predicament of the *exzellente Forschung* which is trapped in obsolete structures, the changes-of-state (*sichern, stärken, besser nutzen*) whose feasibility and desirability are presupposed by the comparative adverb *besser,* the adverb *zukünftig,* implying that research is currently not being put to proper use, all pave the way for the final deontic modal *ist zu verkürzen* – change is urgently required.

The coherence between the two sentences requires recipient *text work*, as there is no cohesive element formally linking the problem and the solution. The default inference is that *Der Weg von der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis zum wirtschaftlichen Ergebnis* is understood as a solution. This *Weg* is existentially presupposed. The direction of causality is assumed – science leads to money, not the other way around. The shortening of this path is expressed as a deontic necessity. The suggested means of accomplishing this – *Prozeß- und Produktinnovation* – is linked to the desideratum by the causal conjunction *durch*, but again, there is no explicit claim that this is an effective method; it is once more simply presupposed. The excerpt thereby sets a normative agenda, presupposes debatable premises and places specific boundaries on any debate, which should concern only questions of how best to

implement the proposals; any question of their value per se has been placed outside the scope of the discussion.

4.6. Spreading the word

Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert is at the hub of a series of texts which together contribute to the 1998 change in federal legislation. The first perlocutionary effect is an echo in a 1996 CDU party publication (**text 8 – see figure 11**), presumably read by party officials and grassroots membership. In an article announced on the front page, the reform programme and supporting arguments are outlined. The wording is identical to **text 7**:

> Ziel der Reform des deutschen Hochschulsystems ist es, durch Deregulierung, durch Leistungsorientierung und durch die Schaffung von Leistungsanreizen Wettbewerb und Differenzierung zu ermöglichen sowie die internationale Wettbewerbsfähigkeit der deutschen Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert zu sichern.

In 1997, the government publishes its draft bill, along with a parliamentary *Begründung* (**text 11**), preparing the way for legislation. Here again, the above wording is used in full. **Text 11** also states explicitly that there is no alternative course of action. The evidence here suggests that the government party has a system of textual production in place, which ensures effective distribution and repetition of key messages. Additionally, in an interview with *Forschung & Lehre* (**text 12**), Wolfgang Gerhardt, head of the junior coalition party FDP, repeats the topos of an obsolete system with the phrase: *"Wir finanzieren die Vergangenheit"*, and speculates that BA and MA degrees could be introduced.

Figure 11: CDU members' newsletter text 8 intertextualises with text 7 (yellow box).

In April 1997, Rüttgers gives a speech to the HRK **(text 13)**. In an act of coalition-building, he promises Hans-Uwe Erichsen, who is now nearing retirement:

> Wenn Sie aus dem Amt scheiden, soll Ihr Abschiedsgeschenk ein reformiertes Hochschulrahmengesetz sein, das dann politisch in trockenen Tüchern ist.

In the same speech, Rüttgers draws on ideas of Karl Jaspers and Wilhelm von Humboldt, before taking a stunning rhetorical turn:

> Jaspers „zeitlose Idee der Universität" war dem Denken Wilhelm von Humboldts verhaftet. Heute scheint die "zeitlose Idee der Universität" zwar nicht irrelevant, aber unzeitgemäß. Idee und Wirklichkeit haben sich denkbar weit voneinander entfernt.

> Humboldts Universität ist tot.
>
> Diesen Satz muß man einmal aussprechen und verinnerlichen, um Kopf und Herz zu befreien für die neuen Aufgaben, die sich unserem Bildungssystem stellen.

At interview in 2013, Rüttgers reported that the heretical declaration: *Humboldts Universität ist tot* was an idea whose time had come. In the above extract, all ambivalence is removed, and the reform agenda is presented as a kind of revolutionary change which cleanses the spirit.

In June 1998, the 4th amendment to the 1976 *Hochschulrahmengesetz* was passed with a government majority (**text 14**). Opposition parties voted against the change, noting that it did not seek to prevent the introduction of student fees and made no guarantee of access to master programmes for bachelor graduates (Bundestag, 1998). The decision to make BA and MA programmes possible, however, was uncontroversial. The law named *Regelstudienzeiten* and specified that the new degree structures should be introduced on a trial basis

> § 19 Bachelor- und Masterstudiengänge
>
> (1) Zur Erprobung können Studiengänge eingerichtet werden, die zu einem Bachelor- oder Bakkalaureusgrad und zu einem Master- oder Magistergrad führen.
>
> (2) Auf Grund von Prüfungen, mit denen ein erster berufsqualifizierender Abschluß erworben wird, kann die Hochschule einen Bachelor- oder Bakkalaureusgrad verleihen. Die Regelstudienzeit beträgt mindestens drei und höchstens vier Jahre.
>
> (3) Auf Grund von Prüfungen, mit denen ein weiterer berufsqualifizierender Abschluß erworben wird, kann die Hochschule einen Master- oder Magistergrad verleihen. Die Regelstudienzeit beträgt mindestens ein Jahr und höchstens zwei Jahre.
>
> (4) Bei konsekutiven Studiengängen, die zu Graden nach den Absätzen 2 und 3 führen, beträgt die Gesamtregelstudienzeit höchstens fünf Jahre.

This major discursive event had far-reaching consequences, the most immediate of which are discussed in the following section. Since every law directs those affected to act in accordance with it, and commits state authority to ensure that they do, a strong perlocutionary effect is

guaranteed – persuasion is not necessary. Contextualising propositions by successfully placing them in a text type which guarantees that rhetorical language use is not required can be seen, paradoxically, as the ultimate rhetorical effect.

4.7. Endlich!

„Endlich!" – Zuruf von der FDP (Bundestag, 1998: , Debate on HRG reform)

After the HRG reform was passed, there was an immediate sharp increase in discursive activity related to HE policy. Members of the pro-reform advocacy coalition stepped up their activities, and were joined by pro-business organizations, which went further than purely state-funded actors in calling for liberalisation and a greater role for the private sector. This latter group enjoyed huge perlocutionary success; their imprint is present in all subsequent policy documents published by public and private sector alike. If the HRG reform was a starting pistol, the next ten years saw a marathon of institutionally distributed policymaking, with corporate think tanks acting as a demanding ideological pacemaker, and regulatory bodies struggling to keep up. No wonder the FDP – Germany's party of free market liberalism – couldn't contain their delight when the bill was passed.

4.8. Der Wissenschaftsrat

The Wissenschaftsrat (WR) produced three major policy documents in the period 1999-2002 **(texts 16, 19 & 21)**. Each of these was accompanied by a press release **(texts 17, 20 & 22)**. The paratextual patterns correspond largely to those described above (see tables above & below), i.e. the policy documents refer to themselves using recursively embedded propositions, realised by complex noun phrases. The named text type is always a noun representing discursive action (*Empfehlung, Stellungnahme*). The press releases repeat the propositions of the reports in more evocative terms, using quotation, modality, causal claims (*durch*) and imagery (*auf dem Weg nach Bologna*) as journalistic 'hooks'. The effect is to attract and hold readers' attention. The rhetorical function of the press releases is twofold: firstly, to send a pre-formulated message 'outward' into communicative discourse including media outlets, and secondly, to draw readers 'inward' into the coordinative discourse. This latter claim is substantiated by the fact that the press releases always contain paratextually placed information, with identical wording, on how to obtain a copy of the main report, and a note specifying the WR's discursive function as an organization:

This rhetorical move also enhances the indexical value of the propositional content, which is now explicitly contextualized by the institutional authority of the WR.

Paratext: titles of WR reports and accompanying press releases			
year→ text type↓	1999 (Texts 16&17)	2000 (Texts 19&20)	2002 (Texts 21&22)
Policy document	*Stellungnahme zum Verhältnis von Hochschulausbildung und Beschäftigungssystem*	*Empfehlungen zur Einführung neuer Studienstrukturen und –abschlüsse (Bakkalaureus/Bachelor Magister/Master) in Deutschland*	*Empfehlungen zur Reform der staatlichen Abschlüsse*
Press release	*Wissenschaftsrat: Beschäftigungsfähigkeit muß ein Ziel des Hochschulstudiums sein*	*Wissenschaftsrat: Reformimpulse für das deutsche Hochschulsystem durch Einführung neuer Studienstrukturen und –abschlüsse*	*Staatsexamen auf dem Weg nach Bologna – Wissenschaftsrat empfiehlt Reform der staatlichen Abschlüsse*

Table 12: Paratext in WR reports and accompanying press releases, 1999-2002

Each policy document follows the problem-solution pattern, and, with some variations, begins with a *Vorwort* and ends with a *Zusammenfassung*. These sections of the policy documents contain stretches of identical wording, indexing shared authorship, e.g.:

> Ein Hochschulstudium lohnt sich. Der Blick auf den Arbeitsmarkt zeigt, daß trotz steigender Absolventenzahlen die Arbeitslosenquote von Akademikern seit Jahren nahezu konstant geblieben ist und deutlich unter der Quote anderer Qualifikationsgruppen liegt. **(texts 16 & 18)**

Such *paratextual texts,* with their own internal textuality, offer rich pickings for discourse analysis; while usually low on detail, they express the central topoi and arguments of the WR policymaking machine. As well as summarizing important principles, they guide

interpretation of the main text, and are home to a rich and diverse population of metatextual connections, as in:

> Die Novellierung des Hochschulrahmengesetzes (HRG) zum 1.1.1999 hat die Erprobung der Studienabschlüsse Bakkalaureus/Bachelor und Magister/Master im deutschen Hochschulsystem ermöglicht. [...]
> Hieran anknüpfend sollen die folgenden Empfehlungen Anforderungen an ein reformiertes Studien- und Graduierungssystem formulieren und seine Entwicklungsperspektiven darlegen. **(Text 19)**

As well as the HRG, the texts refer metatextually to publications of the HRK, KMK, BMBF and *"Vertreter der Wirtschaft"*, indexically aligning themselves with the pro-reform advocacy coalition. They frequently cite previous WR positions, thereby asserting their own leading role within the coalition:

> ... der Wissenschaftsrat [weist] seit langem auf die Notwendigkeit einer stärkeren Differenzierung der Studiengänge und -abschlüsse hin. **(Text 19)**

The main propositions revolve around employment-oriented qualifications for a rapidly changing labour market, and more say for the private sector. First, the current situation is problematized, e.g. using claim-making presuppositions as in:

> Beschäftigungsprobleme, die auf **eine mangelnde Orientierung der Hochschulen an den Bedürfnissen des Arbeitsmarktes** hinweisen. **(Text 16)**

One proposed solution is a more active role for employers in curricular planning. Importantly, they are presented as taking responsibility (*Mitverantwortung, Verantwortung*), not as taking charge. This is treated as being in students' interest, as well as that of society and the economy:

> Die Arbeitgeber tragen Mitverantwortung für den Praxisbezug des Studiums und die Arbeitsmarktintegration der Absolventen. Eine gemeinsame Verantwortung von Hochschulen und Arbeitgebern für die Beschäftigungsfähigkeit der Absolventen verlangt einen eigenen Beitrag der Wirtschaft und der öffentlichen Arbeitgeber. **(Text 16)**

The instrumental strategy observed in **text 7** is also used – defined goals are soon assumed to be valid, and necessity (*erforderlich*) is defined in relation to them.

Hierzu sind eine Reihe struktureller, curricularer, didaktischer und begleitender Maßnahmen **erforderlich**. **(Text16)**

Zur Realisierung des Studienziels „Beschäftigungsfähigkeit" sind neue inhaltliche und zeitliche Verbindungen zur beruflichen Anwendung und Praxis sowie zu lebenslangem Lernen **erforderlich**[.] **(Text 20)**

4.9. Staatsexamen and teacher education

In **text 22**, the WR specifies its position on state-regulated professional qualifications in the practices of school teaching, law and medicine. These *Staatsexamen* are characterised as a *deutsche Besonderheit*. Just as the HRK did with professorial privilege (**text 1**) and Rüttgers with the Humboldtian Bildungsideal (**text 7**), this WR text makes the *Staatsexamen* available for reassessment by bringing them into the realm of propositional explicitness:

> Die historischen Wurzeln der Staatsexamensstudiengänge reichen in das 18. Jahrhundert zurück, wo es aufgrund der Ausweitung der absolutistischen Staatsgewalt und der Entstehung des modernen Verwaltungsstaates zu einer engen Staatsbezogenheit der Universitäten kam: Die Gestaltung der Universitäten wurde am Staatsdienlichen und Nützlichen orientiert. **(Text 22)**

Although the excerpt includes two grammatically triggered existential presuppositions (*Ausweitung…, Entstehung…*), these can be considered discourse anaphoric, as they do not make any new or controversial claims. On the contrary, their use indexes assumed prior knowledge, in which historically literate CoP members only need the briefest of reminders about German cultural history (see discussion in **chapter three**). The result is an updated common ground, in which pre-existing tacit knowledge is discursively foregrounded, re-ordered and re-focused – the reverse effect of that which is often associated with presuppositions. In this case, that which is being made explicit is the antithesis of the market-liberal ideology – a perception of excessive state control. This reconceptualization of the historical development of the current model serves as a counterfoil for the reform proposals to follow. The changes are not presented as a transfer of power from the public to the private sector, rather as a curtailment of state interference, which enables students and employers to take joint responsibility for improved outcomes.

The WR singles out teaching qualifications for incorporation into the reformed structure[14]. The reasons given for this are coextensive with propositions already encountered – a professional orientation in the interests of students and employers is treated as an *Erfordernis*, and the WR presents itself as chief reform advocate. The principle of a fully polyvalent BA is relativized, as elements of the teaching profession are to be introduced at BA level:

> Wiederholt hat [der Wissenschaftsrat] **im Interesse der Studierenden und der Arbeitgeber** auf das **Erfordernis** einer flexiblen und am Arbeitsmarkt orientierten Studiengestaltung hingewiesen... In einer konsekutiven Struktur qualifiziert bereits der Bachelor-Grad für bestimmte Berufsbereiche und ermöglicht auf diesem Wege einen frühzeitigen Übergang in das Beschäftigungssystem. Zugleich bildet das Bachelor-Studium die Grundlage für weiterführende Ausbildungsabschnitte auf dem Master-Niveau. **(text 22)**

The proposed structure has since been applied in practice: The *Staatsexamen* has been replaced by a consecutive B.A. / M.Ed. system. In the state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), the *Lehrerausbildungsgesetz* stipulates a certain minimum amount of pedagogical content and a school internship during the BA as a prerequisite for access to the M.Ed. and further practical training (NRW, 2013: §11 (2)). The situation is similar in most other states. One informant, a professor of teacher education in NRW, characterises this 'hybrid' degree structure as workable, even if structural reform was not urgently necessary. In practice, most students plan a five-year course of studies from the outset, and see this through. Graduates of other B.A. programmes *may* take the M.Ed., but are usually assigned extra courses, which can actually lengthen overall study time. One practical advantage of the new system is that students who change their career plan can graduate with a B.A. and then enter the labour market, rather than having to choose between dropping out or completing a further three years of study. As the professor of teacher education attests, however, this happens very seldom.

The similarity of the *de jure* situation to the WR proposals is testimony to the perlocutionary impact of the organization's policy texts. This success can be attributed to a range of rhetorical features of their language use: Inter- and metatextuality are used to index their status as a government-endorsed provider of expertise and as *primus inter pares* in a coalition of leading policymaking organisations, while a range of text-organising and focussing

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[14] The reform proposals for law degrees are strongly relativized, and for medicine, full retention of the state-regulated system is recommended.

functions are skilfully combined to enhance the impact of the propositional content. Later in the discourse, however, the role of the WR is eclipsed by the enhanced regulatory authority of the KMK, which cooperates closely with HRK, BMBF and employers' groups.

4.10.   Pro-business mobilization

On the 19th of June 2000, a discussion forum was held at DaimlerChrysler Services (DEBIS) AG, as part of a project called *initiative D21*. The conveners, Norbert Bensel & Hans Weiler, later published a 24-page document or *hochschulpolitisches Memorandum*, partly based on contributions to the forum, with the title *Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert: Zwischen Staat, Markt und Eigenverantwortung* (**text 18**). Whether the similarity to **text 7** is intentional or not is unknown. The *Vorwort* emphasizes the influence of the forum participants:

> Teilnehmer dieses Forums waren Vertreter der Wirtschaft, der Hochschulen, der Studierenden und der Politik, deren Sachkunde und Erfahrungen die Grundlage einer intensiven und **keineswegs immer einhelligen Diskussion** bildeten.

The stress here on *dis*agreement, realised with the 'mythbusting' device of *litotes* – the negation of a proposition's opposite – indexes the democratic credentials of the document, and prefigures the partly concessive strategy which will later be used to respond to criticism of the reform. The authors show that they have reached out to a range of stakeholders, including potentially antagonistic ones, and listened to their concerns, even welcomed confrontation. The text reflects this by including a diffuse recognition that the free market is not the be-all and end-all, especially in questions of critical reflection – with inflationary gusto, it acknowledges:

> Unabdingbarer denn je bleibt die Hochschule der zentrale Ort der Bewahrung des kulturellen Gedächtnisses und der geistigen Auseinandersetzung mit den wichtigen Fragen menschlichen Lebens [.]

This concession strengthens the democratic legitimacy of the main illocutionary thrust of the document, which is strongly pro-market. Such *legitimation through performed debate* is all the more rhetorically effective in the light of the diverse list of forum attendees, which

includes the heads of the WR, HRK, CHE, GEW and the WZBH[15]. As Table 13 shows, however, corporate interests were the most strongly represented group[16].

Participants in DEBIS forum, Berlin, 19.07.2000		
Number	**Type**	**Sub-type**
16	Corporations / employers	Directors, HR executives, *BDA, BDI*
11	Universities / *Fachhochschulen*	Professors, Presidents, Rectors, Chancellors, Hochschulrat
6	State representatives	State ministers and MPs, Senior civil servants from federal and state governments, *Bund-Länder Kommission für Bildungsplanung*
6	Research institutes / think tanks / policy advisory bodies	*HRK, WR, CHE, DIW, WZBH*
4	Other	*GEW*, church representative, parents' representative, youth representative
3	Journalists	*Die Zeit, Der Tagesspiegel, BerliNews*
3	Students	*AISEC*, Students' union representatives

Table 13: Participants in DEBIS forum

The document itself, an energetic appeal for urgent action, indexes its corporate identity using modern font design and a smart logo, typographically distinct and paratextually prominent (figure 12):

*Figure 12: Corporate-style logo in **text 18***

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[15] The WZBH (*Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung*) was the predecessor to INCHER Kassel.

[16] Several participants from outside the corporate group, such as Prof. Dr. Klaus Landfried of the HRK, Dr. Josef Lange of Berlin, who had been general secretary of the HRK from 1990 to 2000, and the head of CHE, Prof. Dr. Detlef Müller-Böling, should also be considered 'heavy hitters' on the pro-reform side.

Lexical register markers include buzzwords such as *Zukunftsgestaltung, Leistung, Informationszeitalter* and *Wettbewerbsfähigkeit*. The sentences are generally short, predicated by finite verbs, and often realize an appellative illocution using hyperbolic and poetic constructions:

> Wissen wird für die Zukunft unserer Gesellschaft eine noch entscheidendere Rolle spielen als bisher.

> Die Hochschule der Zukunft muss heute entstehen, um morgen ihre intellektuellen und gesellschaftlichen Herausforderungen meistern zu können.

> Der Bildungsauftrag von Hochschulen ist im Begriff, sich radikal zu erweitern.

However, **text 18** also retains some elements of condensed hypotaxis such as long noun phrases and delexical constructions, making this a hybrid register, emerging from a coming together of administrative-technocratic and business & marketing styles.

> Die Hochschule von heute muss der in den vorgenannten Rahmenbedingungen deutlich werdenden Rolle von Wissen in der Gesellschaft von morgen gerecht werden.

Similar hybrid registers continue to occur throughout the corpus, and their use generally indexes endorsement of the new complex of policy positions espoused by the pro-reform discourse coalition. I will also argue, however, that to be successful, *criticism* of the reform must also display features of this register, since it indexes eligibility to participate in the broader CoP.

In the *Zusammenfassung*, the text takes the first step towards a recontextualization of the *Erprobungscharakter* of the BA/MA, (introduced by the HRG reform and acknowledged by the WR in **texts 17 & 19**) as the beginning of a more radical change:

> Diese Reform **hat bereits begonnen und muss mit aller Konsequenz zu Ende geführt werden**.

The argument here is based on the fallacious topos of consistency or: '*Wer A sagt muss auch B sagen*' – what has begun *must* continue. Calls for *Konsequenz* recur frequently in the years to follow. The radical pro-market stance is then staked out. Novel compounds such as

Chancengleichheit and *Marktgerechtigkeit* recontextualize democratic ideals of *Gleichheit* and *Gerechtigkeit* as part of the new world of opportunities and markets.

> Sie steht unter dem Postulat von **Chancengleichheit**, Leistungsfähigkeit, **Marktgerechtigkeit** und Qualitätssicherung. Sie erfordert die aktive und ständige Beteiligung aller gesellschaftlichen Kräfte, insbesondere der Wirtschaft. Ihre zentralen Elemente sind eine stärkere Betonung von Leistung und Wettbewerb, die Dynamik von Angebot und Nachfrage, eine engere Verzahnung von berufsvorbereitendem Lernen, beruflicher Erfahrung und berufsbegleitender wissenschaftlicher Weiterbildung [.]

This position is maintained throughout the main text, which calls for:

> eine[] stärker marktähnlich strukturierte[] Hochschullandschaft
> [...]
> Wettbewerb als Instrument der Qualitätssicherung

Finally, **text 18** contains a clear call for the introduction of tuition fees:

> Sowohl aus Gründen der sozialen Gerechtigkeit als auch zur Verstärkung der Dynamik von Angebot und Nachfrage ist der Grundsatz einer finanziellen **Beteiligung** der Nutzer an den Kosten des Hochschulstudiums **unumgänglich**. **Der Nachweis**, dass ein gebührenfreies Studium eine Umverteilung von unten nach oben bewirkt, ist längst erbracht und **die Notwendigkeit** eines stärker an Angebot und Nachfrage orientierten Verhältnisses zwischen Hochschule und Studierenden **steht außer Frage**.

The density of rhetorical forms in this excerpt anticipates the vexed nature of the fees issue. Payment is represented as participation (*Beteiligung)*; fees are characterised as inevitable (*unumgänglich, Notwendigkeit*) and the claim that fees are socially equitable is warranted by further claims, whose grammatical status as presuppositions (existential and factive) shifts the deictic origo to an implied common ground of 'objective' proof (*Nachweis, außer Frage*). No source is provided for these claims. The second – that supply and demand-based organizational structures are always preferable – anaphorically refers to frequently encountered ideas already present in both text and discourse. Here again, the warrant of an argument is achieved indexically by allusion to an assumed or a nominated-as-correct common ground based in market ideology.

The appellative illocution in relation to student fees is realized on at least four levels: lexical, microstructural (cohesion, coherence, presupposition) architextual (argument structure) and intertextual (discourse anaphor). The fact that these layers are being observed in a 64-word excerpt testifies to the centrality of the textual weave to the emergence of complex patterns of meaning. The above excerpt – like the document of which it is part – must simultaneously present its authors' agenda, integrate ideas of social justice & educational tradition and identify itself as the result of democratic deliberation. Questions of whether the *authors* are sincere or disingenuous, or to what extent they are fully aware of the contradictory pressures they face, are secondary: it is the *principal* – here, a blend of situated discursive constraints – which has the greater impact on this instance of textual production. What we are observing is the entextualization of a discursive state-of-play. As argued above, text provides a natural habitat for such tensions. It follows from this that textuality should be considered a basic prerequisite for the emergence of discourse as a linguistic object.

Text 18's transtextual links to its discursive context grew stronger when it appeared in an edited volume called *Hochschulen, Studienreform und Arbeitsmärkte: Voraussetzungen erfolgreicher Beschäftigungs- und Hochschulpolitik* (Bensel et al., 2003), edited by **text 18**'s authors, and published by Bertelsmann[17]. Its twenty-four essays, while professionally written, are openly political; all call for a more market-oriented HE policy. Paratextually, the book presents itself as a collection of academic research, with a cover blurb announcing:

> Zum ersten Mal werden in diesem Band Arbeitsmarkt und Hochschule gleichzeitig zum Gegenstand einer integrierten Betrachtung. (Bensel et al., 2003)

Here, register and the blurb's paratextual situation on a low-key, quasi-academic cover design, work together to position the texts within as academic, thereby indexing rationality and trustworthiness. Readers are invited literally to judge a book by its cover, and to contextualize the essays primarily as analytical, rather than programmatic. This breach of paratextual contract realizes a hybridization between academic and more polemic registers.

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[17] Bertelsmann publishing group is affiliated with the Bertelsmann foundation, which provides one third of the funding for the CHE (See Ch.X).

Texts 23 and **24** were produced by CHE[18] authors Johanna Witte, Ulrich Schreiterer and Detlef Müller-Böling (then CHE director), appeared in Bensel et al. (2003), and are available separately on the CHE website. **Text 23** was also published almost verbatim in a *pro & contra* feature in *Forschung & Lehre* (**text 98**), with authorship attributed to Müller-Böling alone.

These two texts, which identify themselves as *Positionspapiere I & II*, argue forcefully for a complete switch to the new system (*BMS* in CHE parlance). The title of **text 23**:

> Argumente für eine rasche und konsequente Umstellung auf Bachelor- und Masterstudiengänge an deutschen Hochschulen

identifies the text type, but also offers itself as an argumentation aid for advocacy coalition members: As with WR and HRK/KMK, even those who broadly agree are in competition to produce the most useful arguments.

Echoing the cry of *Endlich!*, they tell the story so far from the CHE perspective:

> Nach jahrzehntelangen Debatten [...], die im Wesentlichen folgenlos blieben, haben gestufte Studienabschlüsse über die Einführung von BMS Ende der 90er Jahre schließlich doch noch ihren Weg in das deutsche Hochschulsystem gefunden. **(Text 24)**

But there is a problem: although the *Erprobungsklausel* had been removed by Bulmahn's[19] HRG reform in 2002, the CHE feels that advocacy coalition members are insufficiently committed to the abolition of the old degrees. As in **text 16**, the current state of affairs (which is still supported by the KMK at this point) is recast as a problem which jeopardizes the entire enterprise:

> Weder die Hochschulen, noch die Arbeitgeber, noch die Politik treten deutlich für eine völlige Umstellung des Studiensystems ein. Die gegenwärtige Parallelführung verspielt die Potenziale der gestuften Studiengänge für unser Hochschulsystem. **(text 23)**

The solution is the radical pursuit of BMS, the development of *Kreditpunktsysteme*, and a focus on *Schlüsselkompetenzen*. This, it is claimed, will bring:

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[18] The *Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung* is a pro-reform think-tank, jointly funded by the HRK and the Bertelsmann Foundation.

[19] Federal education and science minister, 1998-2005

Kürzere Studienzeiten, weniger Abbrecher, mehr Absolventen. **(text 23)**

Shorter degree times are no longer called an *angemessene zeitliche Ordnung*, as in **text 5**, though they are still legitimized co-textually by their positive consequences. This is a further step in the long-term markedness reversal which will make *kurz* the new normal, even a highly desirable result. There is a further suggestion that curricula should be *entschlackt*, implying that the older degrees contain superfluous or even toxic materials. This also indexes the conceptualization of knowledge as a quantifiable good which can be subjected to quality control.

There is also a call for ein *neues Verständnis von Berufsqualifizierung und –fähigkeit* **(text 24)**, followed by an attack on the idea that the old structures provided *Berufskompetenz [...] die für das ganze Leben ausreicht*. As will be discussed in **chapter five**, the question of *Berufsqualifizierung* and *Beschäftigungsfähigkeit* as a goal of HE will be among the most contentious points seized on by critics.

4.11.   Further steps towards implementation

The two CHE texts were published in April and June 2003, respectively. On June 12th, the KMK produced its own position paper: *10 Thesen zur Bachelor- und Masterstruktur in Deutschland* **(text 25)**. This *Beschluss* laid out the basic principles for the more formal *Ländergemeinsame Strukturvorgaben* **(text 26)**, passed by the KMK in October 2003. Although **text 25** still values the parallel system, its introductory section praises the *gestufte Studiengänge* in a similar vein to **text 23,** also treating shorter degree times as a value in itself:

> Sie tragen damit zu kürzeren Studienzeiten, deutlich höheren Erfolgsquoten sowie zu einer nachhaltigen Verbesserung der Berufsqualifizierung und der Arbeitsmarktfähigkeit der Absolventen bei. (**text 25**)

Also in line with the CHE position is the call for employers and universities to accept the BA as a sign of employability. This is realised using an informative existential presupposition:

> ... die dringend erforderliche umfassende Akzeptanz der neuen Studienstruktur in Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft. (**text 25**)

Text 26 is a quasi-legal set of guidelines whose title asserts its authority by including in the paratext a metatextual reference to the law on which it is based:

> Ländergemeinsame Strukturvorgaben **gemäß § 9 Abs. 2 HRG** für die Akkreditierung von
> Bachelor- und Masterstudiengängen

It replaces the older *Strukturvorgaben* from 1999 **(text 15)**, and is less cautious about the future prospects of the new degree system. While the validity of the older degree types is explicitly recognized, the purpose of the document is to lay out standardized guidelines for the reformed structure. Key elements are:

Akkreditierung: an accreditation council, working through accreditation agencies, must approve the conceptualization and implementation of all new degrees offered

Regelstudienzeiten: 6 to 8 semesters for a BA, 2 to 4 semesters for an MA

ECTS-Punkte: 180 points for a BA and up to 120 points for an MA

Modularization: the packaging of curricula into manageable units

Studiengangsprofile: the principle that the MA can be either *forschungsorientiert* or *anwendungsorientiert*, but that the BA should always combine elements of both

Konsekutive, nicht-konsekutive und weiterbildende Studiengänge:
BA and MA degrees can be designed to be taken consecutively or separately. Some MAs may require professional experience.

There now followed a period of sustained implementation. 2002 had seen the removal of the *Erprobungsklausel*; in the same HRG reform, minister Bulmahn included a clause forbidding the introduction of tuition fees, but this was overturned after a group of CDU-governed states mounted a successful legal challenge on the grounds of the *Kulturhoheit der Länder*. In 2004, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia introduced a *Hochschulreformweiterentwicklungsgesetz*, making the introduction of the reformed degree structure compulsory. In 2006, after a CDU/FDP election victory, the new Rüttgers government passed the *Hochschulfreiheitsgesetz* (HFG), which prohibited new registrations in the old degrees as of the academic year 2007/8. Other states passed similar laws at this time.

The HFG also removed the *Zivilklausel*, which stated that HE institutions must contribute to the *Erhaltung des demokratischen und sozialen Rechtsstaates*. At interview, Rüttgers explained that the clause is unnecessary, because universities are already bound by the

constitution and do not need to be reminded of this (Rüttgers, 2013). So, since the constitutional obligations were never at issue, the removal is purely semiotic: by the salient absence of the *Zivilklausel*, the new state government, in line with the developing discourse, indexed a reordering of priorities in Higher Education.

Also in 2006, the *Föderalismusreform* changed the distribution of competencies between federal and state governments, removing the *Rahmengesetzgebungskompetenz* of the federal government, thereby decisively giving *Länder* – and through them, the KMK – the final word in educational matters. In the same year, NRW introduced the *Studienbeitrags- und Hochschulabgabengesetz,* which allowed HE institutions to charge tuition fees of up to €500 per semester.

4.12.   Close harmony

From 2004 to 2008, the pro-reform coalition continued to promote the new degrees, now singing in ever-closer harmony. Earlier calls for concerted action were heeded, as a series of conferences were held and joint statements issued, in which participants from politics and the economy praised the value of Bachelor graduates to German employers. The BDA and BDI now played a much more prominent role, while the BMBF, HRK and KMK produced ever-more detailed guidelines for curricula and credit transfer. The Accreditation council was enshrined in law and more and more Länder implemented the new degree structures.

In **text 27**, the HRK makes it clear that full implementation is the goal, by citing the low numbers of BA and MA students as evidence that the process is just beginning. **Text 28** is a colourful flyer published by the BDA, aimed at employers, which carries testimonies from business leaders, e.g.:

> Bachelorabsolventen **sind nach den Anforderungen der Unternehmen ausgebildet**. ... Damit wird gewährleistet, dass in den neuen Studiengängen berufsrelevante Qualifikationen und Kompetenzen vermittelt werden.

Where previous arguments retained ideas of universities as places of critical reflection and students as free movers, the BDA here represents graduates as a product designed by and for employers. This selective focus is rhetorically effective if the perlocutionary intent is to make hiring BA graduates the norm.

In **text 29**, the CHE demands more detailed description of course content – one touted advantage of this would accrue to the humanities graduate, who will now be able to prove: *was er eigentlich gelernt hat und dass auch etwas ,Sinnvolles' dabei war*. **Text 30**, Bulmahn's *Grusswort* to a special report on the Bergen conference, praises Germany's compliance with European expectations. In 2005, the HRK (**text 31**) and the KMK (**text 32**) collaborated with the BMBF to produce the *Qualifikationsrahmen für deutsche Hochschulabschlüsse*, an overview of degree requirements, which topicalizes European *Kompatibilität* and refers metatextually to the Berlin Communiqué. **Text 32**, reflecting an *Umorientierung von Input- zu Outputorientierung*, presents tabular outlines of required learning outcomes. These are quite vague – e.g. while BA graduates should be able to communicate about professional topics, MAs should be able to do so *auf wissenschaftlichem Niveau*. The impression is that the existence of the *Qualifikationsrahmen*, indexing Germany's commitment to the Bologna process, is more important than its content. Outcomes-based education also forms the basis for the 2007 mission statement of the *Akkreditierungsrat* (**text 35**), which again reproduces the 'quantifiable good' conception of knowledge and qualifications:

> Gute Qualität in Studium und Lehre ist als Qualitätsregelkreis definierbar und damit überprüfbar.

The reluctance of employers to hire BA graduates, already problematized in **texts 24 & 25**, is examined in detail in studies published by HIS and FES/INCHER (**texts 33 & 34**). This issue is the central topic of **texts 38, 39 & 42**. These texts establish that government, universities and employers have now locked shoulders in their pursuit of full implementation. In a series of conferences and joint statements, they declare:

> Die Beschäftigungsfähigkeit zu stärken ist ein zentrales Ziel des BolognaProzesses. Dies erklärten das Bundesbildungsministerium (BMBF), die Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände (BDA), der Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie (BDI), die Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK) und die Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) heute gemeinsam. **(text 38)**

> Beschäftigungsfähig zu sein heißt, die notwendigen Kompetenzen zu besitzen, die die Aufnahme einer Beschäftigung ermöglichen ... die Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft, die eigenen Kompetenzen auf die Anforderungen des Arbeitsmarktes zu beziehen und weiterzuentwickeln.

(text 39)

Jeder Studierende hat die Verantwortung, sein Studium aktiv zu gestalten. Hierfür ist es wichtig, das eigene Kompetenzprofil zu reflektieren und zu den Anforderungen des Arbeitsmarktes in Beziehung zu setzen.

(text 42)

The ‚new normal' is now clear: Higher education is about employability, and the achievement of employability is the responsibility of each and every student. This lines up neatly with the definition of neoliberalism from the previous chapter (Olssen and Peters, 2005). This message is hammered home further by the PR initiatives of the HRK (**texts 40, 41 & 43**). In 2008, reform advocates could look back on a series of successful policy initiatives, aimed at giving students and businesses what they want, making Germany a more attractive place to study and increasing the international compatibility of Qualifications. These achievements, however, were not viewed favourably by all. Over the next two years, many new voices would join the CoP surrounding HE policy reform, most of them not harmonizing with the chorus we have heard so far – there was trouble ahead.

5. Chapter five – Opposition to reforms

5.1. Summary

This chapter documents and analyses texts opposing the reforms. Opposition was present from the late 1990s, but only became prominent from the mid 00's onwards, and was particularly important in the year of protest from summer 2009 to summer 2010. This late mobilization meant that many opposition texts were necessarily a reaction to an already well-established reform agenda. One result of this is a concentration of resemblances to advocacy coalition texts, which reproduce the pro-reform side of the discourse, even as it is being opposed. I argue that this reproduction of aspects of the pro-reform discourse is inevitable in some types of opposition texts, and is part of what makes the reform hegemonic, and that resemblances, in the form of architextual and paratextual similarity, similarities of register and stylistic isotopy are indeed a prerequisite for participation in the decision-making structures of the CoP. Notably, those opposition texts which do *not* reproduce the hegemonic discourse also do not contribute to the ongoing formation of policy. As will be seen in chapter six, this leaves them open to charges of irrelevancy from pro-reform actors.

5.2. Introduction

Oppositional participants can be classified along two axes:

1.) They focus either on social or on cultural aspects of the reform

2.) They are either willing or unwilling to accept the basic premises of the reform.

In other words, there is a *'left-wing'* opposition and a *'traditionalist'* opposition, each split between those expressing fundamental rejection and those demanding an improved reform (*eine Reform der Reform*) while accepting its basic premises. Along both axes, the boundaries are fuzzy, with most leftists incorporating the Humboldtian ideal of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* and traditionalists (more weakly) also mentioning social justice. Classification of participants was complicated by some organizations' giving voice to different positions in the same document, or by actors' changing their positions over time. Most notably, the DHV participated in the language of *Reform der Reform*, but must be judged, on balance, to be fundamentally opposed to the ideas behind the reform. The fzs aligned themselves with strongly anti-reform actors on one occasion in 2008, but were for the most part the foremost student group calling for improvements. In contrast, the SDS (student group) and RLS (foundation), affiliated with the *Linkspartei,* participated in *Reform der Reform* events, but

ultimately expressed more fundamental opposition. An overview of participants' positions is given in **table 14**.

	Rejects reforms ←		→ Accepts reforms	
Gerechtigkeit ← ↓ *Bildung*	BB Bennhold Labandavaga Linksunten PROKLA Krautz	RLS SDS BdWi	Bildungsstreik	DSW GEW DGB Fzs
	Lieb Kölner Erklärung DHV			Hippler

Table 14: Classification of oppositional participants

Two patterns emerge here: firstly, practical social concerns play a greater role overall than the preservation of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft*, though as will be shown, these two topics are often rhetorically placed in an essential relation to one another. Secondly, there is a greater number of disparate rejectionist groups. However, the opposition participants furthest along the *accepts reforms* axis – particularly the two trade unions (GEW, DGB) and the two national student groups (fzs, DSW) produced a much larger number of texts (see **appendix 2**). The ability of these organizations to produce complex transtextual objects, such as jointly published position papers, responses to parliamentary questions, studies accompanied by press releases etc. indexes their status as influential participants in the coordinative discourse and constitutes a pattern of structural alignment with the pro-reform hegemony. This alignment is further reflected in norms of register, architext and paratext. I argue that this pattern results from an onomasiologically driven discursive strategy, informed by the need for 'eye-level' engagement with more powerful political players. By semiotically 'walking the walk' in this way, proponents of a *Reform der Reform* index their demand to be taken seriously. The linguistic outcome of this strategy is a form of transtextual cohesion unique to

discourse as a linguistic object, and commonly found within communities of practice, irrespective of the degree of propositional agreement.

It was also observed that the *degree* of engagement with policymaking correlates with the *functions* and *perlocutionary goals* of texts: while compromise-oriented actors address details of policy and make specific demands, rejectionists tend to analyse the reforms from an outsider perspective without too much reference to particulars. The effect here is a greater linguistic freedom: while those wishing to 'talk to the grownups' need to 'watch their mouth'; conversely, those not seeking to engage are free to mark themselves as denunciatory activists and provocateurs. There is a middle ground, as represented by the left-leaning academic essayism of Schwan (**text 136**) or PROKLA (**text 146**) and the more extravagant demands made in the *Bonner Thesen* (**text 150**) and the *Kölner Erklärung* (**text 159**). But others express their fundamental opposition to the reforms using denunciatory or even abusive terms: Bennhold (**text 145**) calls the reforms part of a "*Politik der Unterwerfung*", Lieb (**text 158**) denounces the "*finanzstarke[] Propagandisten aus der 'freien' Wirtschaft*" and *Linksunten* (**text 163**) clarify their unwillingness to engage simply by stating: "*Fuck the university*".

The different levels of engagement within the overall Community of Practice are represented (in somewhat simplified form) in **figure 13**. Each smaller circle is a subset of the next: the advocacy coalition is a participant in both discourse and the political process, the *Reform der Reform* actors are participants in the reform process and the discourse but not part of the core advocacy coalition, and the rejectionist anti-reformists are 'only' discursive participants. They should still be seen as part of the coordinative discourse, which at its greatest extent includes all stakeholders in the reform process participating in the policy debate. This includes the *Bildungsstreik*, since it is a form of targeted political action, albeit one involving – at its greatest extent – over one hundred thousand participants. Authors publishing in non-specialized journals with moderate circulations[20], read mainly by a political and intellectual elite caste (the PROKLA editorial team, Lieb in *Blätter für deutsche und Internationale Politik*, Schwan in *Neue Gesellschaft - Frankfurter Hefte*) could be seen as having one foot in the communicative discourse. If **figure 13** were to be expanded by one further circle, this would be fully outside the coordinative discourse, and would include reports on the reform in mass media.

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[20] For example, the NG-FH has a print circulation of approximately 5,000. This was confirmed in email correspondence.
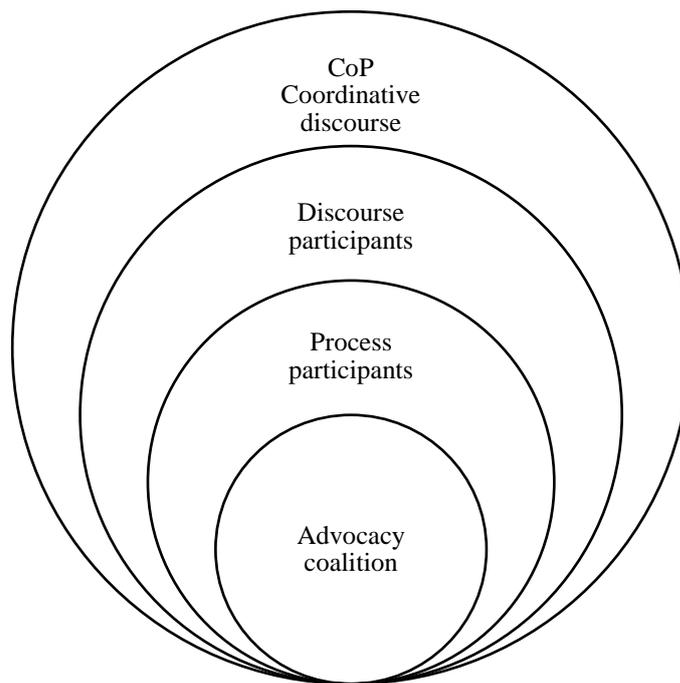
Figure 13: Types of participation in coordinative discourse

5.3. The DHV and its detractors

The DHV is represented in the corpus both by its own policy positions and by its magazine publication *Forschung & Lehre* (F&L). Because the DHV is a professional organization with over 30,000 members with diverse views − note that leading figures in the HRK are also members − F&L, with a circulation of 33,000[21], should be understood as a platform from which diverse positions can be expressed at any given time. But it is remarkable that F&L, along with the once-off *Kölner Erklärung* (**text 160**) is the only part of the corpus where uncompromising anti-reform views without a significant focus on the world outside the university are to be found. Membership of the DHV is restricted to professors at universities; professors at academies of music and art can join, but professors at *Fachhochschulen* cannot. Also excluded are academics without professorial rank.

The DHV's earliest reaction to the reforms appears in a 1997 article **(Text 143)** in F&L by Marcus Wieschhoff, a German academic working in Britain, who defends the Humboldtian academic tradition:

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[21] https://www.forschung-und-lehre.de/mediadaten/

> Das Studium an einer deutschen Universität ist bis heute von einer akademischen Tradition geprägt, die den Studenten zu selbständigem Denken animiert.

This contextualization of the German system as a unique guarantor of continuity is underscored by the article's title: *Angelsächsisches Modell oder Selbsterziehung zur Bildung?* The mutually exclusive dichotomy aims to make the conservation of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* appear more important. Wieschhoff also treats the BA as an *Abschied in Ehren*, rather than a meaningful academic qualification, the implication being that it is no more than a cheap way to reduce official dropout rates.

DHV position papers **(Texts 144 & 149)** appear to represent a compromise between different views among the German *Professorenschaft*: while they cautiously welcome the reforms in principle, they also mount a defence of the status quo

> Die traditionellen deutschen Studienabschlüsse haben sich national und international bewährt...

and set a key condition for accepting the reforms:

> Die Einrichtung von Bachelor- und Master-Studiengängen an Universitäten muß der **universitären Ausbildung durch Wissenschaft** gerecht werden.

Both of the above formulations are present with near-identical wording in both texts. **Text 144** also stipulates:

> Der Unterschied zu einem Fachhochschulstudium muß dabei jederzeit aus den Studieninhalten erkennbar bleiben.

This reflects the DHV's role as an interest group for university professors only. **Text 149**, calls for a full moratorium on the transition to new degree structures:

> ... bis der Nachweis erbracht ist, dass die neuen Studiengänge den herkömmlichen Studiengängen überlegen sind

This demand sets the bar impossibly high, and does not mention what would count as proof. The internal contradictions of **text 149** can be explained as an entextualization of ideological conflicts saliently present during textual production: the reform has disrupted the stable reproduction of the traditional academic *Selbstverständnis*. The same tension is visible in the

later **text 118**, a 15-page special feature in F&L on the Bologna reforms[22]. 2 pages are dedicated to an article by Marius Reiser, who resigned his professorship in 2009 in protest at the reforms. Reiser calls on readers:

> die Bildungsuniversität zu retten gegen das Modell der Lehranstalt zur Berufsausbildung.

Such fundamental opposition to the reforms in some quarters of the DHV is derided by pro-reform advocates and critical participants alike. While the value of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* is broadly acknowledged, university professors are usually attacked for being overly concerned with their academic status, reluctant to treat professors at *Fachhochschulen* as equals, and indifferent to the burning social issue of rapidly growing demand for HE. Andreas Keller of the GEW uses imagery to create a caricature, asserting that traditionalists want:

> ... das Rad der Geschichte zurückdrehen – in eine Zeit, als die Ordinarien noch ans Katheder treten konnten, ohne sich darum zu kümmern, was von ihrer Vorlesung bei den „Hörern" ankam. **(text 123)**

In a talk given at a HIS conference **(text 112)**, sociologist Uwe Schimank uses Luhmann's differentiation theory to claim that university professors actually attach value to *not* teaching well, since too great a focus on pedagogy would endanger their primary identity as researching academics. Schimank claims the pro and anti reform actors will always be talking past each other as long as the true nature of the conflict – a class struggle – is not recognised:

> [Es] geht **in Wirklichkeit**, **hinter den angeblichen** Sachauseinandersetzungen und hinter den **oberflächlichen** politischen Auseinandersetzungen, um einen Kampf zwischen dem sich als Bildungsbürgertum verstehenden Teil der oberen Mittelschichten und den aufstrebenden unteren und mittleren Mittelschichten – einen Kampf über die Teilhabe an akademischer Bildung und deren Ausgestaltung

While his analysis is plausible, Schimank's *soziologische Aufklärung* cannot be separated from the event of which it is a part – the HIS conference: *Studienqualität* in March 2009 was a meeting of pro-reform actors discussing practical issues such as *nachfrageorientierte Hochschulfinanzierung* and *Kompetenzorientierung der Lehre*. In this context **text 112** effectively explains difficult arguments away by recontextualizing them as a side effect of the

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[22] **Text 118** mainly advocates for a *Reform der Reform*, and is classified overall as stance: 0.

threat to their emittents' privileged social position. Schimank does also criticize pro-Bologna actors, but they get off rather lightly. The metasemiotic message of his being invited to speak could be formulated as something like: *We're here to make progress on the practical implementation of the reform. Now you may have heard some criticism coming from university professors – well, we have a sociologist here who is going to explain what those people really want and why you don't need to engage with them.*

A sophisticated *ad hominem* argument thereby licenses pro-reform actors to disregard the substance of the DHV's objections. While the illocution – a sociological analysis of the reform debate – is textually realized, the perlocution – the neutralization of DHV arguments – is largely context-dependent. From this we can conclude that the spatiotemporal 'location' of a given text in discourse is itself rhetorically salient, and that patterns of meaning arising from the interplay between textually realized illocutions and transtextually realized perlocutions are an observable characteristic of discourse as a linguistic object. The *ad hominem* status can also be assigned to Keller's caricature (**text 123**) – both Keller and Schimank deflect DHV objections by shifting the focus from argument to emittent. This removes any need to recognize or deal with the internal conflict visible in DHV texts.

5.4. Fundamental opposition to the reforms

Text 153 decries *Die Vermarktwirtschaftlichung des Universitätsstudiums.* The singling out of *Universitätsstudium* exemplifies the unity of traditionalist and left-wing anti-reformist groups on the question of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft*. Indeed, from the academic and intellectual registers of the texts analysed in this section, it can be inferred that their authors, barring exceptional autodidacts, are all from the university-educated portion of the population. So it is not surprising that the mythical value of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* is assumed and rarely questioned. What distinguishes the left opposition is the foregrounding of university education as a public good which should be available to all.

The left-wing anti-reformist position can be summed up as follows:

- This is a political power grab. Capitalism is winning; social justice and true education are losing. In all areas of social life, *ökonomistische Prinzipien* and *marktwirtschaftliche Logik* (**Text 152**) are taking over.

- Higher Education is just the latest example of this.

- People are being made into products / taught to make themselves into products.

- Fees go hand in hand with the 'investment' model of education and aggravate social injustice by reducing access to education.

- *Employability* / *Beschäftigungsfähigkeit* as a goal of Higher Education is irreconcilable with *Reflexion* and *Bildung durch Wissenschaft:* It produces uncritical graduates with narrow qualifications.

Issues directly related to increased demand for HE or to students' experience (*Durchlässigkeit, Mobilität, Studierbarkeit, Workload*) are not treated in detail, though the possible adverse effects on students' intellectual development are foregrounded, and **text 154** uses an appeal to scientific research, realized in a factive presupposition, to claim adverse health effects:

> **Studien belegen auch, dass** die neuen Studiengänge die Studierenden richtiggehend krank machen. Essstörungen, psychologische Probleme, Angst und Stress haben unter den Studierenden massiv zugenommen. **(Text 154)**

Apart from the *Bonner Thesen* (**text 150**), no specific demands are made. This correlates with the fact that most texts here appear in publications aimed at an educated and left or left-of-centre readership. This places them in the outer circle of the CoP, as illustrated in **figure 13**, and leaves them free to produce a system-external critique without engaging directly in the political process. The result is a distinct lack of suggested improvements: This sets these texts apart from those of the *Reform der Reform* groups, who accept some aspects of the reform, while demanding improvements to others. The broader internal disputes of the left are reflected here: *Reform der Reform* advocates are *oppositional* while anti-reformists are *antihegemonic* (Blommaert, 2005: 167).

What is remarkable from the onomasiological perspective is that not only the *functions* and the *positions* of these texts share common features, as discussed above, but to a great extent also the *forms*. A systematic comparison of paratextual elements (**tables 15 & 16**) corroborates this:

Paratext in left anti-reform texts – full titles		
Nr.	**Title**	**Published in**
145	Martin Bennhold Die Bertelsmann Stiftung, das CHE und die Hochschulreform: Politik der ´Reformen´ als Politik der Unterwerfung	Edited Volume
146	PROKLA-Redaktion Editorial: Umstrukturierung des Bildungssystems	PROKLA
148	Schlimmer geht immer Der Bolognaprozess und der Umbau des Europäischen Hochschulsystems	Online
150	Bonner Thesen 25.10.2008: Abschlusserklärung des Kongresses „Die unternommene Hochschule" *(10 Names and affiliations)*	Self-published – available on websites of BdWi and RLS
151	Online-Publikation Autor/Innen: Julia Killet, Max Steininger Erschienen: Oktober 2008 Bildungspolitik Die Vernichtung der freien Wissenschaft	Online
152	Franz Schultheis, Paul-Frantz Cousin, Marta Roca i Escoda (Hg.) HUMBOLDTS ALPTRAUM – Der Bologna-Prozess und seine Folgen	Book Cover ‚blurb'
153	Bologna und die Vermarktwirtschaftlichung des Universitätsstudiums	Book introductory chapter (subheader)
154	„Bologna-Prozess" und der Kampf an den Hochschulen *Nele Hirsch*	ZME
155	Bildungsreform als Herrschaftsinstrument *Jens Wernicke*	ZME
158	Humboldts Begräbnis Zehn Jahre Bologna-Prozess Von Wolfgang Lieb	BdiP

Table 1 Paratext in left anti-reform texts – full titles

Paratext in left anti-reform texts – titles organized by functional elements				
Nr.	EMITTENT	Names TEXT TYPE	Names TOPIC	TITLE
145	Martin Bennhold		Die Bertelsmann Stiftung, das CHE und die Hochschulreform:	Politik der ´Reformen´ als Politik der Unterwerfung
146	PROKLA-Redaktion	Editorial:	Umstrukturierung des Bildungssystems	
148	Basisdemokratisches Bündnis *(epitextual)*		Der Bolognaprozess und der Umbau des Europäischen Hochschulsystems	Schlimmer geht immer
150	*(10 Names and affiliations)*	Abschlusserklärung des Kongresses	„Die unternommene Hochschule"	Bonner Thesen
151	Autor/Innen: Julia Killet, Max Steininger	Online-Publikation	Bildungspolitik	Die Vernichtung der freien Wissenschaft
152	Franz Schultheis, Paul-Frantz Cousin, Marta Roca i Escoda (Hg.)		Der Bologna-Prozess und seine Folgen	HUMBOLDTS ALPTRAUM
153			Bologna und die Vermarktwirtschaftlichung des Universitätsstudiums	
154	*Nele Hirsch*	Kritik der neoliberalen Bildungspolitik *(epitextual)*	„Bologna-Prozess" und der Kampf an den Hochschulen	
155	*Jens Wernicke*	Kritik der neoliberalen Bildungspolitik *(epitextual)*	Bildungsreform	als Herrschaftsinstrument
158	Von Wolfgang Lieb	Analysen und Alternativen *(epitextual)*	Zehn Jahre Bologna-Prozess	Humboldts Begräbnis

Table 2: Paratext in left anti-reform texts – titles organized by functional elements

All texts name an author or an organization as emittent. **Text 153** is only an exception because it is itself an excerpt from the introductory chapter of an edited volume, of which **text 152** is the cover 'blurb' (see also the cover illustration in **figure 14**). All name the topic under discussion and most also provide a 'catchy' title which gives a taste of the goals and tone of the text to come. Explicitly named text types are less common; they occur in the four journal articles, one marking itself peritextually as an editorial, three others are marked epitextually as part of a dedicated, topic-related group of articles within one issue of a

publication. Notably, **text 150** calls itself a declaration, and indeed bears further resemblances to the pro-reform declaration of **text 4** (see **chapter four**), e.g. it marks its collegiate origins by naming ten co-authors with their institutional affiliations. It also uses the title: "*Bonner Thesen*" to introduce a series of normative statements and to index an implied felicitous status for them.
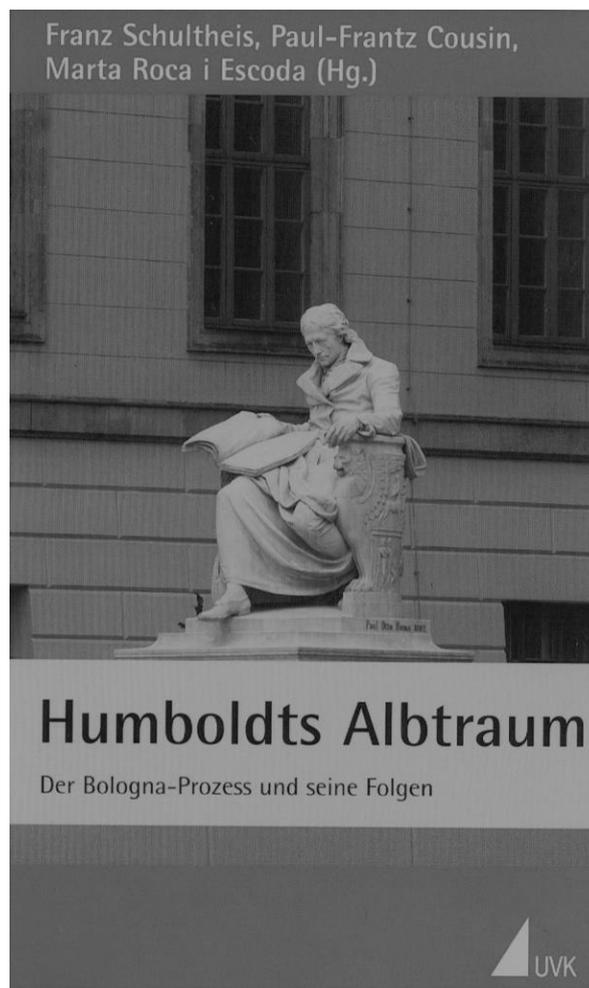
Figure 14: The cover of **Humboldts Alptraum** *(texts 152 & 153) shows a statue of Wilhelm von Humboldt sunk in thought – about the negative consequences of the Bologna Process?*

Recurring topics and isotopic fields in paratext (**tables 15 and 16**) are:

Topics: Bologna process, education policy, pro-reform actors, struggle

Isotopic fields: death/defeat of Humboldt, market encroachment, domination, destruction, deterioration (evaluative lexical representations: *Unterwerfung, Schlimmer, Vermarktwirtschaftlichung, Vernichtung, Herrschaft, Alptraum, Begräbnis*)

A recurring constructional form is the nominally predicated & non-agentive process: *Nominal process & genitive object*. This frequently occurring form is not a new discovery; the

constructional type is common in formal written registers of German and also in English. What is of interest is its structural invariability even in propositionally orthogonal texts – compare *Vernichtung der freien Wissenschaft* and *Vermarktwirtschaftlichung des Universitätsstudiums* from **table 16** to *Umsetzung der Studienreform* in **Text 4** The versatility of this constructional type can be explained easily enough by the differing lexical choices within each token. Another distinction is that while the nominal processes in pro-reform instances tend to be programmatic (*Umsetzung, Realisierung*), those of the fundamental opposition are used to analyse and evaluate from an outside perspective (*Vernichtung, Vermarktwirtschaftlichung*). This significant distinction is discussed below. But even when words express radically opposing stances, the use of this construction, through its place in the academic register, indexes metasemiotic agreement within the broader coordinative discourse on the need to conceptualize processes as standalone 'things'. This ideological prerogative goes hand in hand with the historically developed hypotactic register discussed in **chapter 2**. The result is a *stylistic isotopy* (Bußmann, 2002: 322) which, as much as any particulars of content, marks membership of the community of practice.

A closer look at the bodies of text bears out these similarities: In the earliest anti-reformist text, Bennhold (**text 145**) treats the Reform as a ***Durchgriff des Kapitals***, resulting in an ***Abbau der Demokratie und Kritikfähigkeit***. The conceptual metaphors of grabbing and destroying set the tone for this type of opposition, and the implied causality in the sequencing of the two (nominally predicated & existentially presupposed) propositions prefigures the main claims that follow: increased power of capital reduces freedom, makes students stupid and limits access to education. While some arguments are presented in support of these claims, *narrative necessity* (Bruner, 1991: 4) is at work here too. This presupposition-narrative teamwork continues in other opposition texts, resulting in a transtextually realized master narrative that could be called: *The defeat of education at the hands of capitalism*. In many cases, the texts begin with a "tragic" tale of deterioration, often realized at microstructural level by accounts of change over time, with change-of-state and existential presuppositions (sometimes lexically coextensive) indexing shared beliefs about the pre-reform HE system:

> **Nicht mehr** die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse sollen dem Menschen, **sondern** anders herum, die Menschen sollen den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen angepasst werden. **(Text 148)**

> Die Hochschulen **haben sich** vom Ideal der "Bildung durch Wissenschaft" **verabschiedet (Text 150)**

> Die **Vermarktwirtschaftlichung** des Universitätsstudiums **(Text 153)**

> ... eine[] **Nivellierung** zu einem Einheitsmodell **(Text 153)**

In some cases, the nominal presentation of processes not only *thingifies* the process but also *terminologises* it: while *Umsetzung* or *Durchführung* (see **chapter four**) simply denote and legitimize a process's existence, the two examples below (from **texts 155** & **146**) seek to *explain* it. The explanatory term furthermore establishes a *holonym/meronym* sense relation, since the *Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform* can be viewed as a part or a result of the overarching *Vermarktwirtschaftlichung des Universitätsstudiums.* This vertical shift in conceptual taxonomic hierarchy (see e.g. Geeraerts, 2009: 199-203) addresses the perlocutionary requirement that authors and readers of left opposition texts should share an identity as the better understanders of the 'big picture'. The onomasiological process drives the rhetoric here, leading from perlocutionary requirement, to conceptual choice, to lexicogrammatical choice.

> So sorgen bspw. Studiengebühren ... für **die finale Verwarenförmigung von ‚Bildung' (text 155)**

> Inwertsetzung und **institutionelle Vermarktlichung der Bildung** bedeuten zwangsläufig eine Verstärkung von sozialer Ungleichheit... **(Text 146)**

In one case, the problems of the pre-reform period are acknowledged, but the old system still preferred, as if to say: *Rather a bad Humboldtian university than a good Bolognese university*.

> Trotz der Überfüllung der Hochschulen führte ein Studienabschluss jedenfalls in aller Regel zur Befähigung zur selbstständigen Bearbeitung von neuen Problemen mit wissenschaftlichen Methoden. **Wenigstens dem Anspruch nach galt das Humboldtsche Prinzip der „Bildung durch Wissenschaft"**. **(Text 158)**

A wider trope of collusion between big government and big money to starve the public sector and commodify public goods is realised by the combination of presupposition and narrative, as in the two examples below. A subordinate clause in **text 146** and an attributively predicated noun phrase in **text 158** serve as starting points. These presuppositions realise part

of a narrated sequence (using a temporal conjunction in **text 146** and a second participle in **text 158**), which tells us that universities were deliberately allowed to decline so that fingers could be pointed at the state-run system and the private sector be called to the rescue. The choice of presupposition and narrative necessity suggests a perlocutionary goal of reader accommodation, and this once more indexes the expected readership – those not already inclined to agree with the premises are not likely to be convinced by the story being told here. This would explain the negative evaluations realized in loaded words such as *Vollstrecker* and the scare quotes around *"freie[]" Wirtschaft*; these texts do not aim to win anybody over, so much as to give nodding readers the satisfying feeling of 'lamenting together'.

> **Nachdem [die Politik] das Bildungssystem über Jahrzehnte hat verrotten lassen**, kann sie nun die Verantwortung für seine weitere Entwicklung an die Privaten und ihre **Vollstrecker** abtreten. Wettbewerbsfahigkeit wird zur gesetzlich verpflichtenden Norm **(Text 146)**

> Ohne die finanzstarken Propagandisten aus der **„freien"** Wirtschaft wäre es schwerlich so weit gekommen. Wie beim Abbau des Sozialstaats wurde **das vorsätzlich ausgehungerte staatliche Hochschulsystem** von ihnen zum Sündenbock für die Probleme der Hochschullandschaft gemacht. **(Text 158)**

There is a strong focus on what the outcomes of this process will be for the intellectual development of students and graduates. The claims made in the passages below are not supported by arguments – and they do not need to be, as long as emittents' and recipients' shared knowledge is indexed. In one case, this is achieved by a factive presupposition in **text 148**; in the others, the cause and effect are simply asserted indicatively. Perlocution here is again a matter of reception, underscoring that the goal of the anti-reformists is not to gain direct influence in the ongoing reform process, but perhaps to supply positions to those among the more moderate political practitioners who share the broadly left-wing perspective.

> **Es ist klar, dass** hier nicht die möglichst freie Entfaltung des Menschen auf dem Programm steht **(Text 148)**

> die Tendenz, sich nicht einmalig und fest mit einer Qualifikation zu identifizieren, sondern über zahlreiche Beschäftigungsverhältnisse und Tätigkeiten hinweg die eigene employability zu erhalten und zu erweitern. ... **schneidet den Bildungsprozess ab**, also den Prozess, in dem die Individuen durch Einsicht und begriffliches Verständnis der Welt, in der sie leben, Komplexität erlangen können. **(Text 146)**

> Die Reduzierung der mittleren Studiendauer im Bachelor-Studium **geht einher mit** einer stärkeren Verschulung des Lernens und einer Senkung des Niveaus wissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse **(Text 153)**

> **Der dafür zu zahlende Preis**, ganz abgesehen von neuen sozialen Ungleichheiten hinsichtlich des Zugangs zu Kulturgütern, **wird wohl** auf dem Gebiet autonomen kritischen Denkvermögens und wissenschaftlicher Kompetenzen **zu zahlen sein. (Text 153)**

The passage below does contain an argument which serves as a key to much of what is assumed in the aforegoing: the students are under pressure to study quickly and always with employability in mind. This is the *neoliberale Gebot der Stunde*. The result is that pausing to reflect on deeper matters, to develop oneself, as the *Bildungsideal* requires, is now nothing more than a waste of time. Gone are the days when *kritisches Durchdringen des Stoffs* was the norm. The negative characterization of this *bloßen Schmalspurstudium* is accentuated by the fact that it is being forced *even* on university students – the implication being that it is alright for students attending *Fachhochschulen* to study in this way.

> [Es] werden durch den wachsenden Druck auf die Studierenden **auch jene, die an die Universitäten kommen**, immer mehr zum **bloßen Schmalspurstudium** gezwungen. Orientierungs- und Suchbewegungen, wie sie etwa im Sinne eines studium generale stets üblich gewesen sind, werden regelrecht verunmöglicht. **Durchstudieren oder genauer Durchpauken lautet heute das neoliberale Gebot der Stunde. Reflexion und kritisches Durchdringen des Stoffs gelten als Zeitverlust und werden geradezu zum Berufshindernis**. **(Text 158)**

The end result is a generation of students and graduates lacking true *Bildung*:

> Oberflächlich, beschränkt und Anpassungsfähig - Das neue Leitbild Studi **(Text 148)**

> Angepasst, gleichgültig, konzeptlos, beliebig, unpolitisch, unsolidarisch **(Text 158)**

The perlocutionary goals of these texts are not as clear as those of the programmatic documents analysed in **chapter four**. In particular, they do not push for any specific measures. However, this does not mean that these texts should be dismissed as purely negative or *kulturpessimistisch*. Instead, it should be asked what would *count* as perlocutionary success, should these texts enjoy any. One clue is provided by the heavy reliance on narrative necessity, presuppositions and coherence relations – this indicates that they are not trying to do any difficult convincing work. It is more plausible to see this as a

matter of audience design – the authors know their readership. More 'idealistic' left-wing texts are often read by more 'practical' left-wing decision makers, and can therefore be seen as a source of critical ideas. One way to test this hypothesis is to examine to what extent these critiques are transtextually present in some of the more moderate demands-making texts. If such transtextual links were to be observed, this would corroborate the idea that the perlocutionary goal of this less compromising left wing is to influence the *Reform der Reform* actors committed to result-oriented political action. Texts emanating from this latter area are analysed in the next section.

5.5. Moderate opposition to the reforms

The *Reform der Reform* opposition consists mainly of student unions and trade unions. Their position can be summarized as: *this is a basically sensible idea, but it needs to be implemented more democratically and more justly*. There is a strong focus on particular consequences of the reform, and a demand for student groups to be more actively involved in decision-making. In an open letter to the KMK (**text 99**), fzs representatives complain that as student members of the accreditation council, they have not been included in the drafting of the *Strukturvorgaben* (**text 26**). They worry that:

> [dass] die vorliegende Beschlussvorlage wesentliche Elemente des deutschen Studiensystems (wie Persönlichkeitsbildung, große Selbstständigkeit von WissenschaftlerInnen und Studierenden, gemeinsame Arbeit von Lehrenden und Lernenden, Bildungsorientierung) leichtfertig gefährdet und den Schwerpunkt zugunsten von Verschulung und Ausbildung verschiebt; zu erwarten steht, dass anstelle wissenschaftlicher Kriterien die Marktorientierung der Studienangebote und wirtschaftliche Rentabilitätsüberlegungen ... die Ausgestaltung von Masterangeboten bestimmen werden ...

In the above extract from **text 99,** the fzs mixes the central ideas of traditionalist opposition (danger to *Bildung durch Wissenschaft*) and the antihegemonic left-wing opposition (education being made to serve the economy), but it later (**texts 99, 103, 105, 106**) uses these ideas to argue for measures to improve student welfare, such as a ban on tuition fees, easier mobility, better access to masters' programmes and less rigid examination procedures.

5.5.1.   2004 parliamentary committee hearing

On May 3rd, 2004, the *Ausschuss für Bildung, Forschung und Technikfolgenabschätzung* in the German *Bundestag* held a four-hour hearing, during which federal MPs were informed about the progress, consequences and outlook of the *Studienstrukturreform* (Bundestag, 2004). Since the federal government was already playing an increasingly limited role in education policy, this should be seen primarily as a briefing, and the written agenda does not specify any particular policy goal. The committee invited fifteen participants, representing third-level institutions, research institutes, professional groups, student groups, trade unions, government organizations and accreditation agencies (see **table 17**).

Participants in committee hearing, Berlin, 03.04.2004		
Number	**Type**	**Sub-type**
2	Professional groups	**VDI, VDMA**
3	Universities / *Fachhochschulen*	**Rector, professors**
2	State representatives	**Minister, high-ranking official**
3	Research institutes / think tanks / policy advisory bodies	***IHF Bayern, WZBH Kassel, HRK***
2	Other	**Trade Union (GEW), Accreditation agency (AQUIN)**
3	Student groups	**fzs, RCDS, DSW**

Table 17: Participants in Bundestag committee hearing, May 2004

In marked contrast to the 2000 DEBIS discussion (see **chapter four**), private sector representatives were not present. The committee invited written submissions, which were to be oriented to a list of 30 pre-formulated questions. Relevant here is the fact that by selecting the participants in the event, and by using questions to set the agenda, the committee was making use of the *power behind discourse* – in this case parliamentary procedure – to shape the outcome of the discussion in advance. However, because parliamentary committees are cross-party, the questions – and those called upon to answer them – remained diverse. Of the

thirty questions asked, three have been selected for closer analysis. Questions 4 & 6 pertain most directly to the *Studienstrukturreform* and its management by the KMK, and question 30 addresses a central left-right fault line in education policy – the status of education as a 'public good'. They are (Bundestag, 2004):

Q4: Sollten alle Fächer und Studiengänge auf Bachelor – und Masterabschlüsse umgestellt werden, also auch Medizin, Jura, Ingenieur- und Lehramtsstudiengänge (Studiengänge mit Staatsprüfung) oder sollte es Ausnahmen bzw. eine längerfristige Parallelführung geben?

Q6: Wie beurteilen Sie die Strukturvorgaben von HRK und KMK zur Umstellung auf BA/MA?

Q30: Inwieweit sehen Sie den Bologna-Prozess und die ihm zugrunde liegende Sichtweise auf Bildung als öffentliches Gut von möglichen weiteren Liberalisierungsverpflichtungen im Rahmen des WTO-Dienstleistungsabkommens (GATS) bedroht?

Table 18 shows participants in the hearing and their answers to these questions (Bundestag, 2004). After a brief comment on this overview, I will look more closely at the answers given by fzs, DSW and GEW, all *Reform der Reform* participants whose written submissions to the committee hearing are included in the corpus as **texts 102, 104 & 105.**

Organization	Person	Q4 – full *Umstellung*	Q6 – KMK *Strukturvorgaben*	Q30 – *Bildung als Öffentliches Gut*
ACQUIN	Thomas Reil, Geschäftsführer	In favour	Criticizes excessive detail	No comment
HRK	Dr. Achim Hopbach	In favour	Criticizes excessive detail	Preserve education as a public good
VDI (Verein Deutscher Ingenieure)	Prof. Dr. Ing. Peter Pirsch	Reservation: difficult to make shorter degrees equally good.	In favour	Favours parallel growth of private universities

VDMA (Verband Deutscher Maschinen- und Anlagenbau)	Manfred Wittenstein	No comment	No comment	No comment
IHF Bayern	Prof. Dr. Hans-Ulrich Küpper	In favour	No comment	No comment
WZBH Kassel	Dr. Stefanie Schwarz-Hahn	Supports with reservations about quality	Criticizes lack of detail	Preserve education as a public good
	Prof. Hans R Friedrich, Ministerialdirektor a.D.	In favour	In favour, but criticizes allocation of ECTS	Invective against the question – education *cannot* be a 'public good'.
MBWFK Schleswig-Holstein	Ministerin Ute Erdsiek-Rave	Supports with reservations about acceptance of new degrees by employers	No comment	No comment
Fzs (text 104)	Colin Tück	Has reservations	Criticizes lack of *Durchlässigkeit*	Preserve education as a public good
DSW (text 102)	Achim Meyer auf der Heyde, Generalsekretär	Supports with reservations	In favour	Has reservations about social equity
RCDS	Dorlies Last, Bundesvorsitzende	In favour	In favour	No comment

Ruhr-Universität Bochum	Prof. Dr. Gerhard Wagner, Rektor	In favour	Criticizes allocation of ECTS	No comment
TU München FZG	Prof. Dr. Bernd-Robert Höhn	Not until new degrees accepted by employers	Criticizes poor communication	No comment
FH Osnabrück	Prof. Dr. Volker Gehmlich	In favour	In favour	Preserve education as a public good
GEW (text 105)	Gerd Köhler	Supports with reservations about *Durchlässigkeit*	Criticizes *Regelabschluss* status of BA – as this undermines acceptance	Preserve education as a public good

Table 18: 2004 Bundestag committee hearing responses to selected questions

On question four, the pattern which emerges is one of broad support for full *Umstellung*, with *Reform der Reform* actors predicating this support on clarification of the value to employers of the BA and increased *Durchlässigkeit* between BA and MA. On question 6, the KMK's *Strukturvorgaben* come in for heavy criticism, with some calling them too detailed and others calling them too vague. Substantial points of criticism here are that the ECTS allocation for the first two degree cycles is too stringent, and does not allow for flexibility relating to degrees of differing lengths. The status of the BA as *Regelabschluss* is challenged by critics; this issue is analysed below. Question 30 is the most divisive: five participants call for education to remain a public good. Two have ambiguous views. Seven simply do not address the question at all, prefiguring an overall response strategy of ignoring the *Grundsatzfrage*. Most interesting is the response of Prof. Hans R Friedrich, Ministerialdirektor a.D., who inveighs against the question, writing:

> Ich halte die Verwendung des Begriffs „öffentliches Gut" in der Anwendung auf Hochschulbildung für falsch. In der ökonomischen Terminologie ist dieser Begriff anders definiert und besetzt. Der Begriff ist zwar im Prager Kommuniqué von 2001 (auf Drängen

Frankreichs und Griechenlands) enthalten; m.E. hätte aber das im gleichen Satz parallel verwendete Wort „public responsibility" (Hochschulausbildung unterliegt einer staatlichen Verantwortung) völlig genügt.

Friedrich thereby alters the representation of 'public good' twice: once by shifting it from the political to the purely economic domain (though it is the political-normative sense of the word which is used in the Prague Communiqué, where ministers agree that education *should be considered a public good* (2001) and once by foregrounding the other-initiated status of the Prague wording (from a German point of view). He then doubles down on the economic reading, praising the WTO and GATT, and then arguing that by analogy, GATS will also be good for Germany. The idea that education should be classified as an economic service is not challenged:

> **Es ist nicht nachzuvollziehen**, warum etwas, was sich im Bereich der Waren als hilfreich und wohlstandsstiftend erwiesen hat, nun im Bereich der Dienstleistungen plötzlich als „bedrohlich" und „gefährlich" angesehen werden soll.

In a move frequently used in later responses to criticism, *Es ist nicht nachzuvollziehen* shifts the origo from the emittent to an implied general standard of rationality, and those being criticised are thereby represented as external to this standard. That rationality is demanded of others has no bearing on the question of rationality within Friedrich's argument itself: it relies on a topos of comparison (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969: 242-247) in which it is held that that which works in one domain will work equally well in another domain. The premise that GATS has worked well is presupposed in a subordinate clause, and the idea that Higher Education is a *Dienstleistung* is existentially presupposed through lexical substitution.

This outburst prefigures a frequently combative reaction even to the mildest criticism. The statement's brusque tone is licensed by the propositional harmony between its emittent and the prevailing pro-reform discourse. Participants in the hearing are situated in a post-decision environment, in which pro-reform actors are maximally free to wax polemic, whereas a *Reform der Reform* opposition, in contrast, must weigh every word carefully, because it is the only way for them to affect the final outcome of the reforms. This asymmetrical situation puts critics 'on the back foot' because the constraints imposed on text by salient situational context differ depending on the relative strength of the position being represented.

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A closer look at **texts 102, 104 & 105** reveals a coherent inventory of demands being made by fzs, DSW and GEW. Making concessions in principle while requesting improvements ("do it, but do it right") is common; this indexes *process participant* status (see figure 13). The tone is moderate, the register formal – including features of condensed hypotaxis such as institution-as-actor, long noun phrases with prepositional and genitive relations, as in:

> Der fzs begrüßt die Schaffung eines Europäischen Hochschulraumes durch den Bologna-Prozess und strebt eine Umsetzung der Maßnahmen zum Wohle der Studierenden an.

The *Umsetzung zum Wohle der Studierenden* can be regarded as emblematic of this type of opposition. Specific demands made are: easier transition from BA to MA (*Durchlässigkeit*), a guarantee that BA graduates be accepted by employers (*Akzeptanz*), social equity (*soziale Dimension*) coupled with support for the idea of *Bildung als öffentliches Gut.* Key extracts from these texts are presented and analysed below (numbering added):

Durchlässigkeit

1. Mögliche Signale einer eingeschränkten Durchlässigkeit zwischen den neuen Studiengängen dürften jedoch kaum akzeptanzsteigernde Effekte für diese nach sich ziehen **(text 102)**

2. Die in den Strukturvorgaben der KMK vorgesehenen „weiteren besonderen Zugangsvoraussetzungen" für das Masterstudium sind abzulehnen. ... Die fehlende Durchlässigkeit bremst auch die Akzeptanz bei potentiellen Studierenden. Ohne eine Durchlässigkeit zwischen Bachelor und Master sind die Vorteile einer zweistufigen Struktur größtenteils vernachlässigbar. **(text104)**

3. Die GEW trägt das Konzept der Differenzierung mit, wenn und so lange die Durchlässigkeit zwischen den Programmen gewährleistet wird. ... Der BA verlöre seinen Wert, wenn er nicht zum Masterstudiengang qualifizieren würde. **(text 105)**

Akzeptanz

4. Die Akzeptanz der neuen Studienabschlüsse, insbesondere des BA, auf dem Arbeitsmarkt hängt wesentlich von der Entwicklung eines neuen Verständnisses beruflicher Qualifizierung seitens der Hochschulen, der Sozial- und Tarifpartner sowie insbesondere der privaten und öffentlichen Arbeitgeber ab. **(text 102)**

5. Verknüpft mit Zugangsbeschränkungen zum Master-Studium, bremst die unklare Arbeitsmarktrelevanz die Akzeptanz der Studiengänge sehr stark. **(text 104)**

6. Die GEW hat kritisiert, dass die KMK mit dem Papier verordnet, dass der Bachelor „der Regelabschluss eines Hochschulstudiums" ist. Solange aber die Ausbildungsziele und –inhalte so wenig ausgearbeitet sind wie heute, solange die privaten wie öffentlichen Arbeitgeber die „Berufsqualifikationen", die der Bachelor vermitteln soll, weder inhaltlich noch quantitativ klar beschreiben ..., solange ist eine solche Setzung den Studierenden gegenüber verantwortungslos. **(text 105)**

Soziale Dimension / Öffentliches Gut

7. Die Ziele, die mit der Schaffung eines europäischen Hochschulraums angestrebt werden, sind nicht ohne flankierende soziale und kulturelle Maßnahmen zu realisieren. Eine Einordnung dieses Handlungsfeldes unter „Sonstige Aspekte" wird der zentralen Bedeutung dieser Fragen für das Gelingen des „Bologna-Prozesses" nicht gerecht. Das DSW fordert dazu auf, insbesondere folgende Maßnahmen zu ergreifen ... **(text 102)**

8. Bei der Akkreditierung derartiger gebührenpflichtiger, von privaten Trägern angebotener Studienangebote ist daher darauf zu achten, dass eine hinreichende Studienfinanzierung auch geeigneten Studieninteressierten mit niedrigerer sozialer Herkunft bzw. eingeschränktem finanziellen Hintergrund die Aufnahme eines derartigen Studiums ermöglicht. **(text 102)**

9. Es ist anzumerken, dass der Bologna-Prozess Bildung als öffentliches Gut definiert. Dies widerspricht der dem GATS zugrundeliegenden Auffassung, dass Bildung eine auf dem privaten Markt zu handelnde Dienstleistung ist. **(text 104)**

10. Mit der Bildungsinternationale und den DGB-Gewerkschaften tritt die GEW dafür ein, dass Bildung fester Bestandteil der staatlichen Daseinsvorsorge, also öffentliches Gut bleibt, nicht als Ware von Markt und Mode abhängig wird. **(text 105)**

These extracts display many register markers associated with condensed hypotaxis, as discussed in **chapter two**: impersonal actors, terminological compounds, participle attributes, modal infinitives, delexical verb phrases, nominally presented processes, and prepositional & genitive chains all feature:

akzeptanzsteigernde Effekte (1)

Die in den Strukturvorgaben der KMK vorgesehenen „weiteren besonderen Zugangsvoraussetzungen" für das Masterstudium sind abzulehnen. (2)

Eine Einordnung dieses Handlungsfeldes unter „Sonstige Aspekte" wird der zentralen Bedeutung dieser Fragen für das Gelingen des „Bologna-Prozesses" nicht gerecht (7)

Bestandteil der staatlichen Daseinsvorsorge, also öffentliches Gut (10)

These register conventions index process participant status.

The participants show their general acceptance of the reforms by framing their demands as sensible ways to make the reforms work. The premises of the arguments tend to index agreement on the desirability of a successful reform. Epistemically modal expressions warrant the demands made by linking them causally to this success:

... dürften jedoch kaum akzeptanzsteigernde Effekte für diese nach sich ziehen (1)

Ohne ... sind die Vorteile einer zweistufigen Struktur größtenteils vernachlässigbar. (2)

Der BA verlöre seinen Wert, wenn er nicht zum Masterstudiengang qualifizieren würde. (3)

Die Akzeptanz der neuen Studienabschlüsse, insbesondere des BA, auf dem Arbeitsmarkt hängt wesentlich von ... ab (4)

Die Ziele, ... sind nicht ohne flankierende soziale und kulturelle Maßnahmen zu realisieren. (7)

They draw on preferred aspects of the Europe-wide discourse, i.e. the social dimension and education as a public good. In this case, 'Europe' functions as a positive normative force, rather than an incentive to compete. 'Europe' appears metatextually, either as chosen aspects of the Bologna Process or as transnational trade union groups:

Eine Einordnung ... wird der zentralen Bedeutung dieser Fragen für das Gelingen des „Bologna-Prozesses" nicht gerecht. (7)

Es ist anzumerken, dass der Bologna-Prozess Bildung als öffentliches Gut definiert. (9)

Mit der Bildungsinternationale und den DGB-Gewerkschaften tritt die GEW dafür ein, dass ... (10)

Evaluative existential presuppositions establish problematic aspects of the reform:

> Die fehlende Durchlässigkeit (2)

> die unklare Arbeitsmarktrelevanz (5)

> Zugangsbeschränkungen (5)

The private sector is represented as a cost factor for students, in contrast to the state provision envisaged in the Prague Communiqué (8, 9, 10). Normative formulations reveal a deontological, values-based argumentation strategy:

> den Studierenden gegenüber verantwortungslos (6)

> dass eine hinreichende Studienfinanzierung ... ermöglicht (8)

As the above discussion shows, the written submissions of *Reform der Reform* participants are shaped by a diverse range of onomasiologically salient constraints and demands, which find expression in textual form. Textuality and transtextuality are necessary conditions for this coming together of linguistic micro- and macrostructures, from which complex illocutions emerge – in this case a concerted but moderate call for a more socially oriented *Studienstrukturreform* – The pursuit of perlocutionary effects is also a textual and transtextual matter, since rhetoric, i.e. everything designed to maximize perlocution, is also realized in textual form and contextualized by the web of transtextual relations of which it is part.

Reform der Reform groups now expanded their repertoire, developing ever more detailed programmatic demands. In 2005, the fzs published its own *Zehn Thesen* document (**text 107**), containing a list of demands for a socially equitable reform process. The focus is on access to Higher Education and student-friendly conditions.

In 2007, Andreas Keller of the GEW criticized the term *employability*, advocating a more empowering approach (**text 108**). He calls for:

> eine positive Bestimmung des Begriffs „Berufsbefähigung", den die Gewerkschaften alternativ zum arbeitgeberseitig besetzten und viel zu eng gefassten Begriff der „employability" (Beschäftigbarkeit) ... Ein Studium ist gerade dann berufsbefähigend, wenn es einerseits auf die berufliche Praxis Bezug nimmt und zugleich andererseits die Studierenden dafür qualifiziert, die berufliche Praxis auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage kritisch zu reflektieren.

5.5.2. Umsetzungsschwierigkeiten

A hallmark of the *Reform der Reform* texts is frequent reference to *Umsetzung –* implementation.

> Die **Umsetzung** des Bologna-Prozesses in Deutschland und vielen anderen Unterzeichnerstaaten **ist unbefriedigend (text 114)**

> Gerade die **mangelhafte Umsetzung** des BolognaProzesses macht eine Reform der Reform unabdingbar notwendig. **(text 118)**

> Gadow und Keller betonten, dass Studierende und Lehrende gleichermaßen von der **unzureichenden Umsetzung** der Bologna-Reform betroffen seien **(text 119)**

This again signals agreement in principle with the necessity for reform, and is frequently used in the concessive parts of the pro-reform response to opposition (see **chapter six**). *Umsetzung* is also used as an argument for better funding – part of the *do it, but do it right* approach. This involves a recontextualization of the term, moving the focus away from statutory measures and towards practical improvements, which are represented as prerequisites for implementation. In **text 110**, this representation is realised in a long, existentially presupposed noun phrase. In **text 132**, there is an appeal to the authority of the WR. These choices index a moral high ground, and allow *Reform der Reform* actors to present themselves as plebeian tribunes, compelling the powerful to act in students' interests.

> Statt **der für die Umsetzung erforderlichen zusätzlichen Lehrkapazitäten** sind seit 1995 trotz steigender Studierendenzahlen über 1500 Universitätsprofessuren abgebaut worden **(text 110)**

> Ein Geburtsfehler der Umsetzung des Bologna-Prozesses in Deutschland war, dass Bund und Länder die Reformen bei gleich bleibender Ausstattung der Hochschulen durchsetzen wollten. **(text 119)**

> Wir brauchen – **wie der Wissenschaftsrat festgestellt hat** – zur erfolgreichen Umsetzung des Bologna-Prozesses eine um mindestens 15 Prozent erhöhte Lehrkapazität. **(text 132)**

Umsetzung also serves to distinguish 'Europe' from 'Germany', with many problems, especially the claim that entire *Diplom* and *Magister* degree curricula are now being squashed into a BA format, being laid at the door of German decision-makers:

> Die guten Ziele dieser Reform werden durch ihre **unzureichende Umsetzung in Deutschland** geradezu konterkariert. Überfrachtete Stundenpläne, teils gestiegene Abbrecherquoten und hohe Hürden auf dem Weg ins Ausland kennzeichnen den Alltag an den deutschen Hochschulen im Jahr Zehn nach Bologna. Allzu oft wird an den Hochschulen immer noch versucht, komplette Diplomstudiengänge in ein sechssemestriges Bachelor-Studium zu pressen **(text 113)**

> „**Nicht Bologna ist gescheitert, sondern Bonn** – der deutsche Weg der Umsetzung der Bologna-Reform durch Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK), Bundesbildungsministerium, Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) und Akkreditierungsrat" **(text 125)**

> Der DGB und seine Mitgliedsgewerkschaften kritisieren, dass viele gute Ziele der Bologna Reformen durch **die mangelhafte Umsetzung in Deutschland** gefährdet werden. Deshalb unterstützt der DGB die Bildungsstreiks der Studierenden **(text 132)**

The partial acquiescence of *Reform der Reform* groups is noted by the organisers of the 2009 *Bildungsstreik*, indicating that there is also a place in the student movement for those who reject the reforms altogether:

> Sowohl große Studentenorganisationen und Verbände wie auch Verantwortliche der Hochschulen üben teilweise heftige Kritik am Bologna-Prozess. **Diese reicht von der Kritik an einzelnen Umsetzungsproblemen bis zur gänzlichen Ablehnung des Prozesses**. **(text 117)**

5.6. The Bildungsstreik

By 2009, the first cohort of German BA students was being confronted with problems their older siblings had never known. Problems associated with the *Studienstrukturreform* had disrupted the cyclical stability which *Abiturenten* had come to expect. From the 15th to the 19th of June that year, over 100,000 students and pupils across Germany stayed away from lessons and instead participated in the nationwide *Bildungsstreik* (Spiegel, 2009). On June 17th – the Bologna Declaration's tenth anniversary – hundreds of thousands marched in major cities and university towns. A new round of marches and prolonged lecture hall occupations

was launched on November 17th, coinciding with similar action in Austria and Switzerland. Grievances centred on students' experience – excessive workload, frequent exams, rigid timetables, status of Bachelor qualifications, and access to the Master cycle. Underfunding of universities and the newly introduced tuition fees also came in for strong criticism. The purpose of Higher Education and the perceived attack on Humboldtian principles were also thematized. The protests were successful to the extent that they led to two high profile meetings between students and policymakers, at which some demands were accepted, and changes promised. This was an initiative of Minister Annette Schavan, who had at first dismissed the protesters as *gestrig* (Tagesschau.de, 2009). But these meetings also drew energy away from the protest movement: Even though many issues remained unaddressed, the pro-reform side was seen to be acting democratically. Student groups were seen to be getting a say in decisions, so the streets were no longer a relevant arena for political expression. After some protesters walked out of the second meeting, denouncing it as the "Schavan Show", more protests were held in June 2010, but now, participation was much lower. A timeline of the *Bildungsstreik* is provided in table 19. **Figure 15** shows some banners used during the protests.

Bildungsstreik 2009-2010, Timeline			
Year	**Month**	**date**	**Event**
2009	June	15-20	***Bildungsstreik***
	July	7	*First Bologna ‚Conference'*
	October	15	*KMK Konferenz #327 - Beschluss*
		15-18	*Bundesweites Bildungsstreiktreffen*
	November	17	***Bildungsstreik***
			„Freie Universität Heidelberg" declared.
		24	*„Kölner Erklärung" published*
2010	May	17	*Second Bologna ‚Conference'*
	June	10	***Bildungsstreik***

Table 19: Timeline of Bildungsstreik events, 2009-2010

The strike was organized by the *Bildungsstreikbündnis* – a broad alliance between left-wing student groups, some with party affiliations, and supported by trade unions. The 2009 protest was serendipitously timed, since the Bologna anniversary co-occurred with major anti-capitalist sentiment all over Europe, in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. This was seized upon by some groups to promote a broader anticapitalist agenda. The notion that *when capitalism takes charge, things go wrong* is a frequently occurring premise in texts associated with the strike. Alongside demands made by *Reform der Reform* actors, antihegemonic texts rejecting the reform altogether, and drawing strongly on the left-wing thinking analyzed above, were also frequent.

The mixing of deontological arguments with practical demands, along with the high density of political texts and events in universities in 2009, realized a transtextual meta-illocution which could be characterized as a call for all students to become politically active or at least politically informed. In many cases, the children of Germany's *Spaßgesellschaft* were now forced to articulate political preferences for the first time. To paraphrase ABBA: there was something in the air that year. This is reflected in a quote from Max Frisch which the publication *Bildungsstreik Freiburg 2009* (**text 117**) appended to its reproduction of the *Bundesweiter Aufruf zum Bildungsstreik*:

> „Wer sich nicht mit Politik befasst, hat die politische Parteinahme, die er sich sparen möchte, bereits vollzogen: er dient der herrschenden Partei." – Max Frisch

Meanwhile, members of the RCDS – the CDU-affiliated student group – rejected this new left-wing ambience. They broke picket lines, demonstratively turned up for classes, and denounced the strikers as *möchtegern-Achtundsechziger*. This abstention did not prevent the RCDS from being invited to the Bologna 'Conferences' by their party colleague Annette Schavan.

The political diversity of its organizers meant that *Bildungsstreik* literature had to provide a home for such a wide range of different perspectives. This influenced the final shape of texts, and as will be shown, led to the development of localized hybrid text types. This is true of the texts analyzed below, and also of pro-reform actors' attempts to engage with protesters' demands (see **chapter six**). It is less true of texts produced by groups not directly connected with the *Bildungsstreikbündnis*, which tend to be freer to express their authors' respective agendas.
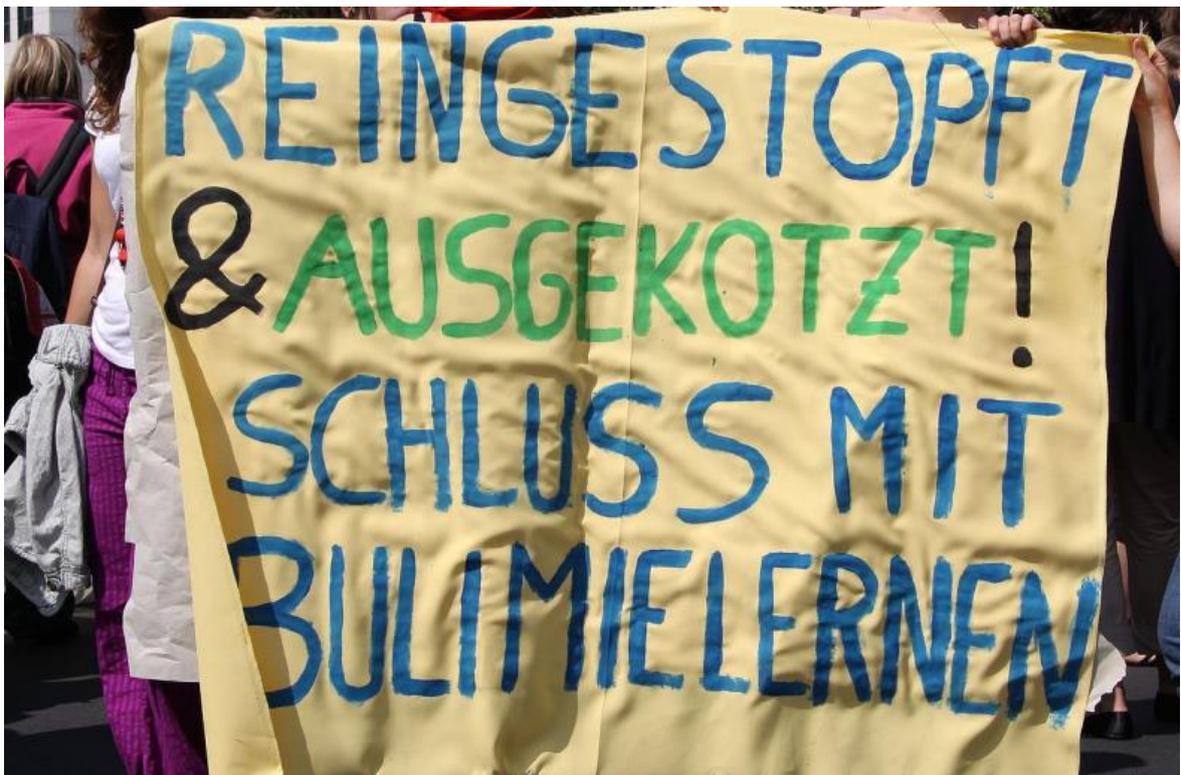
Figure 15: Protest banners used in the 2009 **Bildungsstreik.** *Above, SDS/Die Linke indexes extreme difficulty using a motif from popular culture: "Nur Chuck Norris schafft den Bachelor in Regelstudienzeit". Below, students develop the conceptual metaphor of exam-oriented learning as regurgitation: „Reingestopft & ausgekotzt! Schluss mit Bulimielernen".*

Texts 117 and 157 are each comprised of smaller texts, each with their own paratextual elements. However, they are analysed as discrete texts here, because in both cases, they are presented in a single short publication, and the parts of which they are comprised converge on shared perlocutionary goals. Both texts have (at least) two distinct illocutions: a political statement and a call to action. The perlocutionary goals, respectively, are to enlighten readers and to influence readers to participate in political action. In both cases, it can be asked whether one of these goals is *primary* – is the *Bildungsstreik* being used to turn young people into anticapitalists, or is it the other way around – is anticapitalist feeling being channelled to make the *Bildungsstreik* a success? One possible explanation is that these different illocutionary strands are symbiotic. The combination of specific grievances and an ideological direction allows something more potent than either to emerge – a political movement. This movement in turn influences the textual ecosystem, as on the title page of **text 117**: *Bildungsstreik Freiburg 2009* (**figure 16**).

Figure 16: Detail of Title Page, text 117

Graphic elements reflect the symbiotic relationship: the cube at top left juxtaposes nauseated students with murderous capitalists. The mascot at bottom right is poised, not to fight, but to win an argument. It does not shake a fist; it wags a forefinger, a gesture which co-expresses the deontic normativity behind the strikers' concept of HE. The keywords flying

across the page at once express the movement's demands and promise enlightenment about the morally dubious origins of the *Studienstrukturreform*. This paratextual amalgamation of illocutions anticipates a similar mix in the shorter texts which cohabit in the publication.

Table 20 lists the topics and named authors of the short articles comprising **text 117**. Alongside the *Projektgruppe Bildungsstreik* and students' unions of four Freiburg HE institutions, party groups affiliated with the SPD and *Die Linke*, as well as the SDAJ (*Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterjugend*), a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist group, have authored pieces. The *Impressum* contains a disclaimer, in which the *Bildungsstreikbündnis* dissociates itself from articles with named authors. And yet, while *authorship* and focus vary, a shared *principal* can be posited to have emerged in the formation of the new political movement. The *Bundesweiter Aufruf* and *Kritik an Bologna* are examined in more detail below.

Topic of Article	Named Author
Editorial	*Eure Redaktion*
Contents	
Word field / Keywords	
Bundesweiter Aufruf	*Projektgruppe Bildungsstreik 2009*
CHE	*Jannis, u-asta* *Heike, AStA, KFH Freiburg*
Tuition fees	*Jannis, u-asta*
Immatriculation tests	*Juso Hochschulgruppe*
Protests in Greece, Italy and Spain	*Andrea*
Protests in France	*Inna, AStA, EH Freiburg*
Bologna Overview **Kritik an Bologna** Censorship of student groups?	*Jannis (Wikipedia named as source)*
schools	*Ursel (parent), Vera (pupil), SDAJ Freiburg*
Hypocrisy of bank bailouts	*SDS*
German education system	*Tom & Kilian, Linksjugend Freiburg* *Jugendverband REBELL*
Impressum	
Repression of activists	*Referat für Politik- und Meinungsfreiheit des UstA der PH Freiburg*
Web links	

Table 20: Authored contributions to text 117

The *Bundesweiter Aufruf* begins with a change of state presupposition: If conditions are *nicht weiter hinnehmbar*, this means that they *were* acceptable in the past. Furthermore, it is for

recipients – presumably students – to decide whether they are *hinnehmbar* or not. This echoes the use of *unvertretbar* in **text 1**: the deictic origo is shifted here too, now to a common ground where the political role of students is known and agreed upon. The focus then broadens to contextualize the reforms as part of global marketization trends, again using a change of state presupposition to claim that policy used to be oriented to the common good. This is contrasted with the *sogennante Gesetze des Marktes*; the epistemically modal lexeme *sogennant* realizes a negative other presentation by casting doubt on the value of economic models. The results of the changes, it is finally claimed, affect everyone.

> Die derzeitigen Zustände und Entwicklungen im Bildungssystem sind **nicht weiter hinnehmbar**! Weltweit sind Umstrukturierungen aller Lebensbereiche **nicht mehr gemeinwohlorientiert, sondern den sogenannten Gesetzen des Marktes unterworfen**. Seit ein paar Jahren ist auch das Bildungssystem in den Fokus solcher "Reformen" geraten: **Bildungsgebühren und die Privatisierung treffen uns alle! (text 117)**

Another effect of the change of state presuppositions above is to tell a scary story. A shared tacit knowledge of narrative structure enables recipients to recognize – perhaps not consciously – a pattern common in fairy tales: Into an idyllic world bursts a monster. The monster disrupts and threatens this world. Here, the *Humboldtsches Bildungsideal* is threatened by rapacious capitalism. Now the universities need a hero. Students must choose their own adventure – will they step up and join the battle?

The deployment of narrative forms increases markedly at this point in the discourse. This can be explained by the retrospective view that comes with the ten-year anniversary of Bologna. There is another important consideration, however: The power of a factual story always depends on where it starts (Edwards, 2006: 227-238). The *Aufruf* remains uncritical of the pre-reform situation, because for a monster to become a monster worth fighting, it has to threaten something worth saving. The resulting version of events fits nicely into a *setting – problem – solution* structure. In terms of emplotment (White, 1973: 7-11), this is an unfinished romance, in which a historical golden age is waiting to be restored. The topos of restoration is unavailable to the pro-reform side, because as they see it, Higher Education in the service of state power was always a problem (see e.g. **text 22**), so their story of rational measures and plodding progress lacks drama and feels banal. This could explain why, in the retrospective phase from 2009 onwards, reform advocates devote so much energy to discrediting the oppositional narrative, either as irrational or as irrelevant (**see chapter six**).

The narrative element, however, does not *dominate* in **text 117**, and with one exception, no text in the corpus is *primarily* narrative in structure. It is at the discursive level that narrative analysis makes sense: recurring narrative structures throughout the corpus contribute to the overall transtextual realization of the discourse, usually intermingling with commonsense arguments and other forms. The *intra*textual role of storytelling is often to prime recipients for what is being asked of them in the text as a whole. It would be wrong, therefore, to think that the emittents of **text 117** are truly advocating a return to the 19th century; rather, narrative is being used rhetorically in tandem with argumentation.

The *Bundesweiter Aufruf* goes on to make specific demands. These are recognisable from the positions of fzs and GEW, but presented here as a set of contrasts (*statt, ohne*). Desirable − and, it is claimed, attainable − goals are opposed to the dispreferred current situation. In the best tradition of industrial action, the *Bildungsstreik* refuses to 'isolate the quarrel', so the concerns of second- and third-level learners are difficult to treat separately. Student tuition fees are categorized alongside other kinds of fees as *Bildungsgebühren*. The *starrer Zeitrahmen* references both the shortened degree times and the removal of a school year in some German states. Here, the principles of collective action are onomasiologically salient in the lexical-taxonomic sense, since the focus on generic categories bears directly on lexical choices (see e.g. Geeraerts, 2009: 179 - 182). Broad hypernyms (*Bildungsgebühren, Bildungssystem, Bildungseinrichtungen*) index the intended inclusiveness.

> Dem Einfluss der maßgeblichen politischen und ökonomischen Interessen im Bildungsbereich setzen wir unsere Alternativen entgegen:
>
> - selbstbestimmtes Lernen und Leben statt starrem Zeitrahmen, Leistungsdruck und Konkurrenzdruck,
>
> - freier Bildungszugang und Abschaffung von sämtlichen Bildungsgebühren wie Studiengebühren, Ausbildungsgebühren und Kita-Gebühren,
>
> - öffentliche Finanzierung des Bildungssystems ohne Einflussnahme der Wirtschaft unter anderem auf Lehrinhalte, Studienstrukturen und Stellenvergabe und
>
> - Demokratisierung und Stärkung der Mit- und Selbstverwaltung in allen Bildungseinrichtungen.
>
> Wir, die Projektgruppe Bildungsstreik 2009, rufen zur Bildung regionaler und lokaler Bündnisse auf. Bringt Euch in unsere bundesweiten Planungen ein: Ein anderes Bildungssystem ist möglich − und dringend nötig!

The contrasting lexical choices to represent state and private sectors also contribute to the anticapitalist message, with *öffentlich* expressing a preference for public ownership, as opposed to an *Einflussnahme der Wirtschaft*, making the private sector seem like an outside force seeking undue influence. *Einflussnahme* encodes a process of transformation, in which education is being made unfree by economic concerns. The function is similar to *Verwarenförmigung* (**text 155**), *Indienstnahme* (**texts 155 & 157**) and *Inwertsetzung* (**text 146**). *Konkurrenzdruck* is seen as harmful to students and universities. These pro-state & anti-market representations contrast with the inverse perspective on the pro-reform side, in which a *Verwaltungsstaat* pressures universities to be *staatsdienlich* (**text 22, see chapter four**), and *Wettbewerb* makes universities free (**text 38**). These competing isotopic fields index tension between different sides of the political argument. But just as with the *nominal process & genitive object* construction discussed above, such propositionally orthogonal representations still occur within a transtextually observable *stylistic isotopy* (Bußmann, 2002: 322), indexing a shared procedural common ground within the broader coordinative discourse. The rule might read: *conceptual oppositions are to be rhetorically enhanced by lexical choices reflecting available knowledge of intended recipients' preferences and connotative values of available lexical items*. The CoP agrees tacitly on a set of entextualization procedures, and within the bounds of this agreement, particular lexical and constructional choices are determined by stance. Participation mode varies, but CoP membership remains constant (see **figure 13**).

In *Kritik an Bologna*, **Text 117** charts different strands of criticism, which: *reicht von der Kritik an einzelnen Umsetzungsproblemen bis zur gänzlichen Ablehnung des Prozesses*. It quickly identifies itself as part of the *Reform der Reform* group, though it does mention the resignation-in-protest of theologian Marius Reiser (a featured author of **text 118**). In a break with the antihegemonic stance, the article absolves the Bologna Declaration of responsibility, and again shifts blame to the flawed *Umsetzung* by German universities:

> Insbesondere detaillierte Umstrukturierungsmaßnahmen der Universitäten werden oftmals als durch den Bologna-Prozess vorgegeben begründet, obwohl dieser nur grobe Rahmenvorgaben macht. So wird an manchen Universitäten der Lehrstoff eines 4-jährigen Magister-Abschlusses in einen 3 jährigen Bachelor komprimiert, was zu Arbeitsüberlastung und Frust führt.

This line is maintained in **text 117**'s treatment of the impact on students. In the extract below, the damage to *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* is treated as systemic, but also as the result of national, rather than European policy, while social problems of students are blamed on faulty

implementation rather than on a targeted attack on student welfare. This leaves room for the Bologna Declaration and successor documents to be treated as ideals worth working towards, rather than as institutional propaganda, and for a desirable *erfolgreiche Umsetzung* to be existentially presupposed.

> [Es wird kritisiert, dass]
>
> • **innerhalb des Prozesses** das Studium zu stark auf rein wirtschaftliche und berufsbezogene Kriterien reduziert werde. **Statt der „Bildung" (Humboldtsches Bildungsideal) steht nur noch die Arbeitsmarktqualifikation und die Interessen des Marktes im Vordergrund**.
>
> • **die zur erfolgreichen Umsetzungen notwendigen finanziellen und personellen Ressourcen** nicht zur Verfügung gestellt würden ...
>
> • **die Versprechungen der Deklaration** (insbesondere von Mobilität) nur für einen sehr kleinen Teil der Studierenden eingelöst würden.
>
> • die sozialen Auswirkungen der Reformen, insbesondere auf die Chancengleichheit der verschiedenen sozialen Gruppen und die Gleichstellung von Frau und Mann, zu wenig berücksichtigt würden und der Prozess die Situation verschlechtere.

Although the antihegemonic position is intertextually present to some degree, the dominant call here is for improvement, not reversal, of the reform. This apparent capitulation-in-advance of the *Reform der Reform* opposition will become the target of bitter attacks from the left in **texts 161 & 163**.

Text 157 bears the name of a single legally responsible author, but all decisions about wording and layout were taken by the committee of the Aktionsbündnis Studiengebührenboykott Köln, a group which also worked closely with the authors of **text 160**, the strongly antihegemonic Kölner Erklärung (Massenbach, 2017). The text combines strong anticapitalist wording with a targeted call for political action in the form of a boycott of tuition fees. This combination of functions leads to a division of labour in the text which is realised linguistically, graphically and typographically. Distinct illocutions are produced and different perlocutionary goals pursued in its different sections. Layout and typography play an enhanced role in the realization of paratext, which I have defined, in line with Genette's ideas, as all functional self-referentiality within texts, going beyond the purely spatial definition of peritext+epitext (see discussion in **2.5.2.2.**). In particular, the use of a text box to mark the *kategorialer Unterschied* (Massenbach, 2017) between illocutions, and the logo at the bottom right of page two, with the stated goal of achieving *Wiedererkennungswert* are rhetorical, i.e. the rationale for these choices is the maximization of perlocutionary effect. This observation constitutes an

effective refutation of Rockenberger & Röcken's claim (2009) that typographical choices cannot have paratextual value. **Figure 17** reproduces the text in its entirety, and **figure 18** schematizes its different components.

Figure 17: Text 157

Figure 18: Text 157, Schematic representation

The title, *Bewegungsmelder,* is a play on words, in which the graphic and typographical separation of *Bewegung* indexes grassroots political activity. The paratextual claim in the subtitle: *Aufruf* identifies the primary illocution − recipients are called upon to participate in two types of targeted political action. The first, a fee boycott, is the main topic of the text, while the second, the *Bildungsstreik* itself, is 'advertised' in info box 1 (see **figure 17**). This intertextual link to the Bildungsstreik enhances the text's legitimacy as part of the larger movement. The secondary illocution is political argumentation − or *politische Aufklärung* as the responsible author referred to it when interviewed (Massenbach, 2017). The secondary perlocutionary goal here is to motivate students to reflect in new ways on their education and their life.

The text quotes **text 7**, and then uses the two familiar themes of anti-reform texts − the wish to rescue Humboldtian education and the fight against social injustice − to criticise the politics of the CDU:

> Nicht um die Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit und humane und gesellschaftlich verantwortliche Wissenschaften geht es der CDU, sondern um die bestmögliche Indienstnahme vom Menschen und seiner Arbeit für die in Deutschland ansässigen Großunternehmen. Menschen kommen bei solchen Maßstäben höchstens als Werkzeug (Humankapital) oder Hindernis (Kostenfaktor) vor, für Gewinn, Profit, Geschäft. Das ist ganz schön rechts.

The focus then shifts to tuition fees, which are recontextualized as an emblem of all that is wrong with CDU HE policy. Where **text 18** characterised fees as a form of student participation (see **chapter four**), they are now represented as a *Knute*, the oppressive tool of authoritarian enforcement, the means by which a market ideology is implanted in students' minds.

> Die finanzielle Knute und Disziplinierungsmaßname, die die Studierenden dazu treiben sollte, sich diesen menschenfeindlichen Maßstäben zu unterwerfen, statt sie in Frage zu stellen, sind Studiengebühren. Durch sie soll ideologisch verankert werden, dass ein Hochschulstudium nichts als eine individuelle „Investition", ein **finanziell erkaufter Konkurrenzvorteil** für den Arbeitsmarkt sei, was dann heißt, dass alle den Bedürfnissen des Marktes hinterher zu hecheln haben.

The idea of HE as an investment is dismissively placed in scare quotes, and reinterpreted as a *finanziell erkaufter Konkurrenzvorteil.* This characterization, in contrast to *menschenfeindlich* and other evaluative expressions, draws its negative connotations, not from its primary lexical meaning, but from its place in a left wing text whose emittents and readers are likely to treat

as immoral the idea that education can be bought. Its location in a negatively charged isotopic field strengthens the effect. The upshot is an inflammatory tone, of the kind often associated with political pamphlet writing, and indeed, the responsible author named the text type *Flugblatt* when interviewed, suggesting that historically present stylistic norms bore on choices made by the authorial committee. The focus shift develops both the primary and the secondary illocutions – the call to action and the broader political message.

The fee boycott instructions (see **figures 17 & 18**) then provide details on how the boycott will work. The call in turn reinforces the *politische Aufklärung*, as it presupposes the value and potential effectiveness of political action. The proposition that market liberalism is an ideologically driven and politically constructed programme is factively presupposed:

> **Zu erkennen ist, dass** die neoliberale Ideologie kein Sachzwang ist, sondern im Interesse einer Minderheit politisch hervorgebracht wurde[.]

The presupposed proposition here is *informative* in the Stalnakerian sense, since it is in part a realization of a pedagogical illocution. It is also seldom expressed so forthrightly, predicated as it is by a finite verb; in the antihegemonic literature, the constructedness of all power structures is taken for granted. On the pro-reform side, the opposite is true – the value of market-oriented policy is assumed. The explicit mention here underscores the text's pedagogical intent.

The choice to represent tuition fees and HE reform as part of an inhumane authoritarian agenda is made possible by pragmatic adaptability and negotiability of meaning. It is driven, as are all linguistic and semiotic choices in **text 157,** by perlocutionary goals and discursive prerogatives. Two observations are important here: Firstly, word meanings change depending on how acts of referring interact with the salient context activated in language use at the textual and transtextual levels. Secondly, the structurating function of paratext is intimately connected to the propositional and stylistic properties of the text in question. This corroborates the hypothesis that paratextual analysis can be a powerful tool when researchers need detailed insights into large datasets.

Texts 117 and **157** were both published in June 2009. In the following months, many more texts appeared, including, in August and September, calls by DSW and GEW for a *Bologna 2.0* – a reformulation of *Reform der Reform* (**texts 123 & 124**). In May 2010, a joint position

paper was issued by fzs, Jusos and Campusgrün, with a list of demands, including better facilities, better teaching standards, and better recognition of BA degrees in the public sector (**text 133**). This represented the most successful effort yet by student groups to index their participant status in coordinative discourse by emulating the communicative norms of the advocacy coalition. **Figure 19** (upper part) shows the peritextual portion of this document, and presents a comparison (lower part) with **text 36** from 2007, to which fzs also lent its name and insignia and was characterized as *Studierende*, in contrast to one of three *Studierendenverbände* in **text 133**.

Figure 19: fzs represented differently, either as one of several Studierendenverbände (text 133 above) or as a placeholder for all Studierende (text 36 below).

5.7. Criticism of moderate opposition to the reforms

In November 2009, to coincide with the Germany-wide lecture hall occupations, some of which lasted over a week, antihegemonic groups produced further anti-reform texts, notably **text 159**, in which Heidelberg students proclaim a *Freie Universität Heidelberg*. In this utopian vision, the existing *Ruprecht-Karls Universität* is abolished in a statute which – infelicitously – declares the abolition of all hierarchical structures, promises a university free of elitism, and *frei von politisch aufoktroyierten ökonomischen, wettbewerbsorientierten und Effekt heischenden Prinzipien wider alle Vernunft*. **Text 160**, the *Kölner Erklärung*, which was written by faculty and signed by over 1,000 staff and students, calls for a complete reversal of the Studienstrukturreform and the abolition of the *Akkreditierungsrat*. Its list of seven demands makes frequent use of hyperbolic claims, shielded from challenge by change of state presuppositions, as in:

§ 1. Wir fordern das Ende der epistemologischen Säuberungen an der Hochschule!
§ 3. Wir fordern die Redemokratisierung der Hochschule!
§ 5. Wir fordern das Ende der Dequalifikation und Prekarisierung der Lehrenden!

While the propositional content – also throughout the rest of **text 160** – recognisably intertextualises with familiar antihegemonic positions, the stylistic choices index a non-availability for debate of the presupposed propositions, along with the repetition of *wir fordern* and an exclamation mark behind every demand combine to evoke a defiant last stand by those facing inevitable defeat.

The most radical of all opposition texts, however, is **text 163**, published by the left wing student group *linksunten*. Rather than making any demands at all, **text 163** simply states: *Fuck the university*. The use of profanity here is more than just a puerile joke. The full title promises a political-economic analysis of education systems in their social context:

Fuck the University - Warum Bildung im Kapitalismus immer Scheiße sein wird!

The puzzle now is to account for the apparent dissonance between style and propositional content; how can the brusque tone be reconciled with the serious analysis which follows? The text uses the conversational expression *schön und gut* to ironically dismiss the naïve protesters, but then switches to the register of rational textuality described in **chapter two**, using long, attributively predicated noun phrases and impersonal constructions:

> Nun ist erstmal schön und gut für bessere Studienbedingungen auf die Straße zu gehen, völlig vergessen wird dabei jedoch, dass Bildung sich nicht im luftleeren Raum bewegt, sondern **in unserer kapitalistisch verfassten Gesellschaft** ganz bestimmte Ziele verfolgt. **Die in ganz Europa aufkommenden Studienproteste** haben sich zwar die Parole „Bildung darf keine Ware sein" auf die Fahne geschrieben, **doch fragt es sich** unabhängig von möglichen kurzfristigen „Erfolgen" nach der prinzipiellen (Un)Möglichkeit, Bildung von ökonomischen Interessen zu entkoppeln.

In addition to the quasi-academic register, the argument structure is also coherent, and can be summarised as:

Claim: The student protests are futile.

Warrant: Nothing changes under capitalism

Evidence: Even if all the students' demands are met, they are still being educated within a capitalist system, with all that that entails.

> Auch in der „freiesten" Wissensproduktion, ohne Zugangsbeschränkungen und Studiengebühren, kommt bei der Universität immer das selbe heraus: Humankapital für den Arbeitsmarkt. ... Im Kapitalismus sind alle Subjekte einem unpersönlichen Zwang zur Verwertung und Konkurrenz unterworfen. Und diesem muss man Folge leisten, unter Androhung der Strafe des ökonomischen Untergangs. Freie und emanzipatorische Bildung wurde von den Politiker_innen nicht zu Grabe getragen, sondern lag immer schon am kapitalistischen Friedhof.

Having established this, the emittents (who are not named but identify themselves using the plural *wir*) conclude that the only remaining option is the complete destruction of the capitalist system, at which a cry of rage is now directed:

> Uns geht es nicht darum Verbesserungsvorschläge zu machen sondern wir wollen den engen Korridor der Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten im Bestehenden bis auf seine Grundmauern niederreißen. Was das scheiß System verdient, ist nicht der Bildungsdialog, sondern ein unmissverständliches: Fuck you!

It is this cry of rage which explains the presence of abusive language alongside such a cogent analysis. It also creates social distance between linksunten and other CoP participants, and this indexes the epistemic distance between their political positions. Given this, the combination of argument, rational register and abuse can be considered harmonious, as they all contribute to the achievement of the textual illocution: a trenchant rejection of the debate in its entirety.

Although criticism of HE reform continues to this day, it has never again reached the levels seen in 2009 and 2010. This can be explained in part by actual changes to policy. At the 2010 state election in North Rhine-Westphalia, the CDU-FDP government was removed from

power, and replaced by a left-of-centre SPD-Green coalition, which quickly abolished tuition fees. Other states soon followed, and at the time of writing, public third-level education is free in 15 of Germany's 16 *Länder*. Nevertheless, concessions can only partly explain the drop off in protest activity; it must also be partly attributed to the massive discursive pushback from pro-reform actors, which is analysed in the following chapter.

6. Chapter six – Bologna 2.0

6.1. Summary

This chapter deals with the advocacy coalition's response to criticism and opposition. It recapitulates the theoretical position, summarizes what has happened in the discourse so far, describes the task now facing pro-reform texts in the post-protest period, then describes their strategies and illustrates the strategies' entextualization using a series of examples. It is shown once again that paratext – here sometimes in its epitextual form as a press release & sometimes in peritextual form as an *Einleitung* or a *Grußwort*, when relating directly to a longer research publication – is a prime source of data for pro-reform representations designed with perlocution in mind, i.e. for rhetorical language use. The typological distinctions between paratextual forms and the bodies of research they represent enables actors to make unsubstantiated claims while indexing evidence elsewhere, knowing that full bodies of text are less likely to be read. It is also shown that the most vitriolic criticism is reserved for advocacy coalition members who are perceived to be 'out of line' by voicing fundamental doubts in public. In such cases, refutation from the advocacy coalition often has a social, rather than a propositional focus.

6.2. Introduction

The previous three chapters have brought us closer to an understanding of the entextualization processes observed in the corpus. An onomasiological analysis yields the following explanation: Every text is *inescapably historicised* (Hanks, 1989). Each textual unit in a temporally bounded transtextual field is constituted by all texts which have preceded it and by consciousness of as-yet unwritten texts to follow. Context is both historically present and made salient in the moment of semiosis. While cognitive functions are recognised as a fundamental prerequisite, it is the social forces at work in the CoP which most saliently bear on the perlocutionary goals driving textual production, especially when authorship practices are institutionally constrained. Made possible by principles of linguistic adaptability and negotiability of meaning (Verschueren, 1999a), choices are made which weave together lexical representations, propositions both asserted and presupposed, paratextual and other indexical values, and structures of argumentation and/or narrative into complex textual and transtextual illocutions. The rhetorical function has been defined as any type of language use designed to maximize perlocutionary effect of these illocutions.

The texts analysed in this chapter face a more complex set of constraints than those in the previous two chapters. Where early advocates promoted a reform agenda, and where opposition participants reacted to this agenda, the advocacy coalition must now continue to promote reform while also responding to opposition arguments. The result is a complex mix of two discursive strategies, which I will call *gatekeeping* and *spreading good news*. *Gatekeeping* includes the various responses to different types of criticism, while *spreading good news* includes all ongoing positive self-presentation by reform advocates. Each strategy has several specific functions, and these are discussed below.

6.3. Gatekeeping

The *gatekeeping* strategy begins with a *sorting* function, which stipulates which criticisms are justified and which are not.

> Wir müssen den jungen Leuten Mut machen, aber auch ihre Sorgen ernst nehmen und auf die **berechtigte Kritik** reagieren. (**Text 58**)

With this function, the advocacy coalition is asserting its right to decide which arguments are legitimate, and which are not. This decision takes place according to three sets of interrelated criteria: *epistemic* criteria define which *types* of argument are justified, *topical* criteria define *which areas of policy* are available for criticism, and *participant* criteria define *who* may legitimately criticise the reform. The interrelationship arises as the three criterial areas tend to align into recognizable patterns: while a constructed subject called *Studierende* is represented as being critical of specific policy details and as using testable, quantifiable observations, professors and left-wing academics are represented as opposing the reform fundamentally, and as using far-fetched and illegitimate arguments. It is not surprising that the resulting division lines up neatly with the two types of opposition charted in the previous chapter; while no pro-reform actor explicitly differentiates between antihegemonic and reform-internal opposition, there is a tacit understanding of the distinction, which shows up in the radically different treatment of these two groups.

When the criterial sorting is done, the gatekeeping proper can begin. Once admitted as legitimate, accepted arguments are *appropriated* and selected participants are *co-opted*. Once

refused admission, rejected arguments are *delegitimized*, and rejected participants are *discredited*. These functions are schematized below in **table 21**.

Functions of the *gatekeeping* strategy: How to respond to opposition after initial *sorting*		
	If accepted	**If rejected**
Argument	*Appropriate*	*Delegitimize*
Participant	*Co-opt*	*Discredit*

Table 21: Functions of the gatekeeping strategy

The *appropriation* of arguments involves direct intertextualization with the language of the *Reform der Reform* opposition:

> mangelhafte Umsetzung **(Text 63)**

> Fehler bei der Umsetzung **(Text 64)**

> unzureichende Umsetzung **(Text 70)**

> Wir brauchen eine Reform der Reform! **(Text 47)**

Concessions are often formulated as a natural next step in the reform programme, as in the following conceptual metaphor of house building:

> Nach der Grobarchitektur ist jetzt Feinschliff nötig. **(Text 85)**

Where concessions are made, they are always explicitly delimited. Invariably, the goals and principles of the Reforms are praised, and topical gatekeeping criteria admit some criticism of points of detail to the pro-reform side:

> Kritik bezog sich **weniger auf die Ziele als vielmehr auf die Umsetzung** der Bologna Reform. Die Qualität der Lehre bleibt dennoch verbesserungswürdig. (**Text 61**)

> [Es gibt] noch eine Reihe problematischer Baustellen. Zu diesen gehören in besonderer Weise der wachsende Druck auf Studierende und Lehrende durch das studienbegleitende Prüfungssystem

und die zum Teil noch nicht ausreichende Anpassung der Studieninhalte an die neue Studienform. (**Text 69**)

In both excerpts below, deontic modality (lexically realised by *Aufgabe* in **text 47**, and with a *Modalinfinitiv* in **text 52**) demands that the reforms be improved, but makes it clear that they cannot be reversed. Note also that Margaret Wintermantel's utterance type in **text 47** is represented as *bilanzieren*, indexing common sense:

> „Die **Zielsetzung des Bologna-Prozesses ist richtig**, und **es ist Aufgabe aller Beteiligten**, diese Reform zum Erfolg zu führen", **bilanzierte** die Präsidentin der Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK), Prof. Dr. Margret Wintermantel[.] (**Text 47**)

> [Es müssen] Korrekturen vorgenommen werden. Dabei sind mögliche **Schwachstellen in der Umsetzung aufzugreifen und zu korrigieren, ohne die erreichten Verbesserungen in der Lehre aufs Spiel zu setzen. (Text 52)**

The *topical* criteria lead to more than just lip service: the revised 2010 KMK *Strukturvorgaben* (**text 55**) includes passages cautioning universities to reduce examination loads, improve *Studierbarkeit*, and ensure *Mobilität* between German universities. The frequent occurrence of modal infinitives (along with one modal finite *sollen*) instantiates a prescriptive illocution, whose perlocutionary effect is underwritten by the KMK's status as an emittent of *untergesetzliche Rechtsnormen* (Fechner, 2011):

> Die Studiengänge **sind so zu gestalten**, dass sie Zeiträume für Aufenthalte an anderen Hochschulen und in der Praxis ohne Zeitverlust bieten. Die Schlüssigkeit des Studienkonzepts und die Studierbarkeit des Lehrangebots **sind von den Hochschulen sicherzustellen und in der Akkreditierung zu überprüfen und zu bestätigen**.

> Die Prüfungsinhalte eines Moduls **sollen sich an den für das Modul definierten Lernergebnissen orientieren.** Der Prüfungsumfang **ist dafür auf das notwendige Maß zu beschränken**. Die Vergabe von Leistungspunkten setzt nicht zwingend eine Prüfung, sondern den erfolgreichen Abschluss des jeweiligen Moduls voraus. (**Text 55**)

The central *epistemic* criterion for the appropriation of arguments is that they should be evidence-based and empirically testable. This makes it easy to reject criticism rooted in political-economic theory. As we shall see later, however, while the insistence on measurable facts is useful most of the time, it poses problems when facts do not fit the pro-reform agenda.

In such cases, facts are either omitted or misrepresented. As will be shown, paratext is of central importance here.

Participant criteria derive from topical and epistemic criteria, and determine the *co-option* of chosen actors. This involves positive portrayals and representation as sensible, cooperative, pro-reform participants, who stand shoulder to shoulder with advocacy coalition members. The two groups chosen for this role are *Fachhochschulen* and *Studierende*. *Fachhochschulen* are praised obliquely, usually to stand in relief against universities. In the following excerpt, the textual coherence relation implies causation where none is asserted:

> Die Zahl der Studienabbrecher geht langfristig zurück. Das zeigt sich vor allem an der Entwicklung der Studienabbruchsquote an den Fachhochschulen. Dort wurde der Bachelor früher eingeführt. **(Text 91)**

Studierende are rhetorically homogenized, since the co-option function does not allow for a diversity of views within the student population. The *Studierende* of the gatekeeping strategy are uniformly self-interested, rational actors, whose legitimate grievances align tidily with the ongoing process of improved reform. No student groups had any part in the production of **Texts 61** and **85;** which were published by employers' associations. Rather, these *Studierende* are an abstract concept, rhetorically teleported into the core of the advocacy coalition. This happens through the deontic *müssen* (**text 61**), and ex post facto in **text 85**, which bizarrely recontextualizes the student protest movement as part of the pro-reform pushback against illegitimate rejection.

> Gemeinsam **müssen Hochschulen, Studierende, Unternehmen und Politik** Fehlentwicklungen korrigieren und den Bologna-Prozess zum erfolgreichen Abschluss führen. **(Text 61)**

> Viele Hochschulen haben auch unter schwierigen Reformbedingungen und gegen Widerstände Kurs gehalten. Ebenso Arbeitgeber, Politik und **Studierende**. **Deren Proteste haben berechtigte Anliegen der inneren Reform von Curricula und Studienbedingungen in die Öffentlichkeit gebracht**. **(Text 85)**

Studierende, with their acceptable arguments, often appear in contrast to negative participants with counterproductive arguments. In some of the following excerpts, the *delegitimation* and *discrediting* functions also come into view. The delegitimation function criticizes arguments for which no empirical evidence has been presented, and represents rejected arguments as

emotional, irrational, and driven by fear of the loss of elitist privilege. The *Elfenbeinturm* as it occurs in **text 57** can be considered emblematic of the frequently repeated anti-intellectual discrediting of rejected opposition actors, more of which will be analysed in detail later. **Text 58** clarifies that *Studierende* cannot possibly be fundamentally opposed to the reform, and this is in fact true of the imaginary *Studierende* constructed here.

> Mit großem Engagement fordern [die Studierenden] **zu Recht** bessere Rahmenbedingungen für ihr Studium. Zugleich kann jedoch beobachtet werden, dass sich an den Hochschulen nicht nur Kritiker(innen) scharf zu Wort melden, die eine bessere Lehre und Ausstattung und zugleich die Hochschulen vor der Vermarktung der Bildung schützen wollen, sondern auch **all jene, die Veränderung als Bedrohung erleben und die universitären Elfenbeintürme als letzte Trutzburg in einer sich verändernden Informations- und Wissensgesellschaft vor allen Neuerungen glauben bewahren zu müssen.** Dabei entstehen zuweilen verwirrende Diskussionen mit einseitigen Schuldzuweisungen, Vorurteilen und unrealistischen Forderungen. **Für die Studierenden und ihre berechtigten Interessen sind derlei Debatten wenig hilfreich. (Text 57)**

> **Die fundamentale Ablehnung, die manche sehen wollen, kann ich bei den Studierenden nicht erkennen.** Sie haben zum Teil berechtigte Kritik, es gibt ja überfrachtete Studiengänge, das muss man korrigieren, aber dass man generell im Studium keine Zeit mehr zum freien Denken hat, das halte ich für übertrieben. Es ist ein Scheinargument und ich glaube auch nicht, dass es die Meinung der Mehrheit der Studierenden ist. **(Text 58)**

A further means of delegitimation is the portrayal of fundamental criticism as moving backwards, against a strong consensus.

> „Es bestand Konsens, dass niemand zurück will in die Zeit vor Bologna. Niemand will die Abschaffung der Bologna-Reform." **(Text 48)**

> „Es kann uns nicht um die Rückabwicklung einer zutiefst sinnvollen Reform gehen. Wir brauchen eine Reform der Reform!" **(Text 47)**

> Es ist bedauerlich und überhaupt nicht produktiv, wenn mitunter rückwärtsgewandte Diskussionen geführt werden statt gemeinsam voranzuschreiten und die Dinge besser zu machen." **(Text 47)**

This position prepares the ground for the often vicious ad hominem attacks on members of social groups, be it the German *Professorenschaft*, or a more loosely defined academic elite.

Text 47 is a report of a panel discussion held jointly by BDA, BDI, HRK and SDW (See peritextual representation of alliance in **figure 20**).

Figure 20: Advocacy coalition in peritext of text 47

At the discussion, Volker Meyer-Guckel of the SDW shifts the blame for the problems of the reform onto those who criticized it in non-constructive ways. Importantly, to do this, it is necessary for the speaker to implicitly acknowledge the problems of the reform – if something *could have* gone well, this means it has not in fact gone well so far:

> „Für viele Vorwürfe der Bologna-Kritiker fehlen schlicht die Belege. Im Gegenteil: **Gerade diejenigen, die jetzt am lautesten kritisieren, man habe ihnen mit Bologna ein schlechtes Studiensystem aufgezwungen, hätten dessen positive Ausgestaltung doch mit in der Hand gehabt!** Sie hätten in der Gemeinschaft von Lehrenden und Lernenden ein neues, studierendenzentriertes Studium kreativ mit gestalten können." **(Text 47)**

A BMBF / HIS report casts the DHV as protectors of elitist privilege (*Lobby*) and delegitimizes their arguments as hyperbolic accusations (*Vorwürfen, sogar*).

> Besonders der Deutsche Hochschulverband hat sich mit Kritik und **Vorwürfen** nicht zurück gehalten. ... Letztlich hat **der Hochschulverband, eine Lobby der Lehrenden**, **sogar** gefordert, den Bachelor abzuschaffen und das "bewährte Diplom" wieder einzuführen (Forschung & Lehre 2009). Als Warner haben sich immer wieder einzelne **Hochschullehrer** zu Wort gemeldet, wobei **die gesamte Ausrichtung des Bologna-Prozesses** mit dem Verdikt der "Unwissenschaftlichkeit" (Rümelin 2008) oder des "Moneytarismus" (Kellermann 2009) belegt wurde. (**Text 54**)

Further analysis of blame shifting and other rhetorical attacks are carried out in section 3.

6.4. Spreading good news

The *spreading good news* strategy is more straightforward than *gatekeeping*. As the name suggests, the advocacy coalition must, as well as dealing with criticism, continue to engage in

positive self-presentation. This can be divided into two broad and often overlapping types: *publicity* and *evidence.*

Most *publicity* is published online and aimed at promoting a positive public image. By definition, such materials should be defined as part of the communicative discourse rather than the coordinative discourse, and so are not within the remit of this dissertation. There is one notable exception in the form of *Projekt Nexus*, a HE-internal publicity campaign run by the HRK. The project's stated aim is to promote *Konzepte und gute Praxis für Studium und Lehre*, but its 2011 brochure is more reminiscent of the promotional leaflets used to recruit undergraduates, with propositionally impoverished, easy-to-read passages. In **text 79**, auxesis is realised by hyperbolic formulations (*Enormes, weitreichend, Paradigmenwechsel*), while the ideas of an international dimension and activated *Studierende* carry positively connotated meanings from the pro-reform discourse:

> die deutschen Hochschulen haben in den letzten Jahren **Enormes** geleistet. Sie haben ein neues, zweistufiges Studiensystem mit den **international anerkannten** Abschlüssen Bachelor und Master eingeführt und ihre Studienprogramme umgestellt. Sind damit **Teil des Europäischen Hochschulraumes** geworden. Diese Veränderungen sind **weitreichend**: In den neuen Studienprogrammen findet ein **Paradigmenwechsel** in Lehre und Studium statt. Im Zentrum stehen die Studierenden, die **viel aktiver als bisher** ihren Lernprozess mitgestalten können. (**Text 79**)

These are accompanied by images of smiling young people in educational settings (see figure 21).

Figure 21: jubilant young people celebrate the **Studienstrukturreform** *in the* **Projekt Nexus** *brochure (text 79)*

Projekt Nexus also produces magazine-like publications, with tasteful graphics (see **figure 22**) and articles in journalistic style, carrying success stories about the *Studienstrukturreform* and interviews with optimistic educationalists. Here, impressionistic narratives and opinions go unchallenged, indicating that the epistemic gatekeeping criteria do not apply to pro-reform materials. In **figure 22**, the cover graphic of *Kreative Vielfalt*, a publication of Projekt Nexus, the Reform is represented as the source of many improvements; a tastefully designed graphic of a young adult writes positively connotated but lexically underspecified comparative forms such as *erfolgreicher, inspirierter* and *engagierter* on a conceptual blackboard (**text 75**).

Figure 22: Cover graphic of Kreative Vielfalt

Evidence can be found in two arenas: *Studien* – academic studies often commissioned or indirectly funded by pro-reform actors – and the paratextual reinterpretations of these studies, in the form of press releases (epitextual) and various types of introductory passages (peritextual). The studies themselves usually reproduce the market-liberal concept of HE, using academic registers more usually associated with the discipline of economics. **Text 45** defines education as:

> Der Erwerb von Kenntnissen und Fähigkeiten in einer Bildungseinsrichtung

and elucidates the meaning and consequences of HE in line with a technocratic-utilitarian world view. Rationality is indexed in the condensed hypotactic register by complex noun phrases, prepositional & genitive chains, passive voice, and depersonalised presentation of participants, who are represented lexically as holders of social roles (*Individuum, Argbeitgeber*), and placed in the dative case as beneficiaries of economic processes which

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appear in nominative subject roles (*Der Erwerb von Kenntnissen, eine gute Passung von Angebot und Nachfrage*). The outcomes are economic concepts: *Ertrag* and *Produktivität*. The unqualified use throughout of the indicative mood indexes objectivity – the passage is in no way intended to be read as an *Auslegung*.

> Der Erwerb von Kenntnissen und Fähigkeiten in einer Bildungseinsrichtung verursacht dem Individuum Kosten und stellt daher eine Investition dar, die in der Erwartung getätigt wird, dadurch einen Ertrag erzielen zu können – das heißt bessere Chancen und Bedingungen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt zu erhalten. ... Eine gute Passung von Angebot und Nachfrage ermöglicht den Absolventen den bestmöglichen Ertrag der Investitionen in Bildung und dem Arbeitgeber die bestmögliche Produktivität. (**text 45**)

A similar view appears in **text 92**, though here, it is acknowledged that the economic view of knowledge is a trend, even if this trend is *ohne Alternative*.

> In allen fortgeschrittenen Volkswirtschaften ist ein Trend zur Wissenswirtschaft zu beobachten, ein Trend, der **ökonomisch ohne Alternative** ist und der zunehmenden Bedarf an (hoch)qualifiziertem Humankapital schafft. (**text 92**)

Both **text 45** and **text 92** were produced by government-funded bodies: the *Institut für Hochschulforschung* is maintained by the state of Bavaria, while the *Hochschulinformationssysteme* (recently split into HIS and DIHW) receives federal funding.

Wodak (2009) invokes a Habermasian *colonization* of social domains by technocratic-economic discourses to explain the recontextualization of education as an economic process, and the above excerpts appear to corroborate this view. It would be prudent to add that education systems have always stood in an instrumental relationship with power systems, and that it was another education-external power, the Prussian *Staatsräson,* that facilitated the institutionalization of the principle of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* in the first place (see discussion in **chapter three**). It is, however, undeniable that the *Studienstrukturreform* and associated policy changes have brought to HE a new ascendancy of market liberalism. The discourse-linguistic manifestation of this tendency is found in the rhetorical strategies and sub strategies described in this chapter and in the linguistic choices which instantiate them. Furthermore, a rough rule of thumb states: the greater the degree to which text is a site of social conflict, the more explicit the expression of underlying ideological knowledge systems is; this should become clear from the detailed analyses to follow.

Evidence from *Studien* is frequently disseminated through press releases – which may also be considered a form of publicity. *Studien* are usually represented as providing proof of the claims being made in paratext:

> Gute Perspektiven für Bachelor-Absolventen
> Neue Studie **belegt** Erfolge bei der Jobsuche und eine hohe Mobilität (**Text 50**)

> Aktuelle Studien **belegen**, dass Bachelor- wie MasterAbsolventen mit ihren beruflichen Einstiegsmöglichkeiten zufrieden sind. (**Text 59**)

> Noch nie war die studentische Mobilität so hoch wie heute (**Text 98**)

Introductory passages in research publications can also fulfil this purpose, as in the following *Grußwort*, authored by a senior civil servant in an edited volume published by CHE:

> Die nationale Hochschulforschung ... **kann so nachweisen**, dass in Bezug auf „Bologna" die Lage an den deutschen Hochschulen deutlich besser ist als oftmals öffentlich behauptet. (**Text 68**)

There are two explanations for the use of paratext for this purpose: firstly, press releases, introductions and summaries are more widely read than the detailed bodies of text they refer to. Secondly, paratext can serve to represent studies as saying more – or less – than they actually do, depending on discursive requirements and perlocutionary goals. The claims in **texts 50** and **59**, above, refer to *Generation Vielfalt*, an unpublished study by the *Internationales Centrum für Hochschulforschung* (INCHER) of the University of Kassel (Schomburg, 2009), which was presented at a symposium entitled *Studienbedingungen, Kompetenzerwerb und Berufserfolg* in October 2009 (**see text 50**). The study is also cited repeatedly in an internal document of Projekt Nexus (**text 78**), in which Nexus staff are provided with pro-Bologna arguments, presumably for use in publications. It also appears in a 2011 KMK report (**text 82**). Several informants confirmed that studies of this kind are viewed in policymaking circles primarily as *Argumentationshilfen* i.e. valuable because they are instrumental to perlocutionary effect rather than because of their epistemic value. It is in this light that statements such as:

should be understood.

However, the report, which was not made publicly available, is decidedly less sanguine than the press releases which cite it as an *Argumentationshilfe*. While it is generally reform-friendly, it also, as any piece of academic work should, points out problems and shortcomings of the reform, and limitations of its own methodology. It mentions, for instance, that employment among Bachelor graduates in mathematics and sciences remains *problematisch* (Schomburg, 2009: 129), and that mobility remains limited for those studying in less affluent regions or belonging to disadvantaged social classes (Schomburg, 2009: 110-112). Furthermore, it points out that all the data used may be unreliable, since it relies heavily on voluntary self-reporting participants, a method which is suspected to cause positive selection bias due to lower willingness to self-report on the part of those graduates who experience lower success rates on the labour market (Schomburg, 2009: 35). Similarly, the claim of increased mobility in **text 98** above is based on the DAAD / HIS report *Wissenschaft Weltoffen*, which also relativizes its own claims: most growth in international mobility in the period to 2011 was in short-term internships, while growth of year-abroad programmes slowed, meaning that the average time spent abroad by students actually went down (DAAD et al., 2011: 48).

None of the above is intended to cast aspersions on the findings of the INCHER and DAAD reports. On the contrary, by highlighting problem areas and making realistic assessments of epistemic value, the authors have stuck to academic best practice. It is also not intended as an unearthing of lies – though in strictly factual terms, the paratextual claims of 'proof' need to be called out as *mis*representation, going beyond mere subjective representation. This is not because the reports do not prove anything, but because they *do not claim* to prove anything. It is also by no means a revelatory finding: Powerful discursive actors with 'skin in the game' routinely manipulate data in pursuit of their goals. The proverbial 'dogs in the streets' already know that.

Rather, the documentation of the above discrepancies is intended to support one of the more important discourse-linguistic-theoretical claims of this dissertation: Paratext, along with other transtextual relations but more strongly than them, reflects discourse more accurately than other parts of text. Much more than a mere rewording or *intralinguistic translation* between genres (as defined by Jakobson, 1971: 261), paratext is a means by which hegemonic knowledge systems may assert themselves again and again, any contrary evidence notwithstanding. This is made possible by paratext's position in relation to other texts. It indexes its epistemic validity, not by citing evidence, but by making claims about evidence cited elsewhere. It relies on receptive accommodation[23] of these claims, which is in turn made more likely by the demonstrably low likelihood of cross checking by readers, especially those for whom the claims made in paratext serve to support a policy programme they are already inclined to approve of. Flyvbjerg's reversal of Bacon's maxim, replacing "knowledge is power" with "power is knowledge", rings true here. The prerogatives of the power *behind* discourse are reflected by the power *in* discourse, and this power is instantiated by textual, transtextual and intratextual linguistic choices.

6.5. Text as a site of conflict

The overview of data so far in this chapter has produced the following preliminary findings, which can be used in the following section to provide orientation for textual analysis:

A. Concession, in the form of *appropriation* and *co-option*, is always accompanied by *spreading good news* – an emphasis on positive aspects of the reforms.

B. Concession is always accompanied by a definition of what counts as legitimate criticism. This definition will always favour the agenda being pursued.

C. Paratext removes ambiguity from the complex illocutions of academic text by misrepresenting the epistemic status of findings. This facilitates the *spreading good news* strategy.

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[23] The term „accommodation" is used here by analogy with Stalnakerian presupposition accommodation. Though distinct form presupposition in many ways, the accommodation of paratext also relies on an implicit acceptance that what is being presented as true without evidence can be gone along with, at least for the time being and 'for the sake of argument'.

D. All four functions of the *gatekeeping* strategy are invariably co-present in individual texts. The emphasis may vary: any given text can either primarily *delegitimize* and *discredit* or primarily *appropriate* and *co-opt*. But all four will always be present to some degree.

If these empirical findings are corroborated by further textual analysis, it should be inferred that the *gatekeeping* strategy relies on paradigmatic oppositions in order to achieve meaningful textual illocutions. If this is the case, the advocacy coalition is now under considerable pressure, and facing multiple difficult-to-reconcile constraints in its response to opposition criticisms: just as in its early days (see **chapter four**), it *must* continue to arrogate to itself the role of *deciding what counts as legitimate knowledge*, since this is a major determinant of power in discourse, and thereby a major factor in the achievement of perlocutionary goals. Simultaneously, to maintain its democratic credentials, it must be seen to be taking opposition seriously. Finally, it must ongoingly promote the reform agenda.

With this broadly formulated hypothesis as a guide, this section presents four detailed textual analyses, in each of which the twin strategies of *gatekeeping* and *spreading good news* are investigated further. In **text 52**, the concessive *appropriation* and *co-option* functions are dominant, while in the other three, **texts 60, 69** and **96**, the combination of *delegitimation* and *discrediting* with *spreading good news* leads to a much more conflictual tone. As will be shown, all four functions of gatekeeping are indeed present in each of the four documents.

Text 52 is the resolution passed at the 327th KMK standing conference in October 2009. It entextualizes limited concessions and uses equivocal performative verbs to further soften the 'soft' law status of KMK resolutions. The title– *Weiterentwicklung des Bologna-Prozesses* – represents responses to criticism as a form of progress within a successful reform programme. This choice already activates the gatekeeping function, since it signals rejection of fundamental criticism. By referring to the *Bologna-Prozess*, it maintains the pro-reform contextualisation of the German reforms as part of a larger European project. In keeping with findings A and B above, acknowledgement of criticism is grafted on to good news and epistemic doubt – the criticism must be checked for validity before any action can be taken (*Deshalb müssen die Wirkungen analysiert [werden]*). Positive but underspecified outcomes are represented throughout as existentially presupposed nominal processes (*Fortschritte, Erfolge, Verbesserungen, Aufwertung*), while criticism is always doubted or reduced

(*empfunden, möglich, einzeln*) and limited in scope as it may only concern the *Umsetzung*. The substance of criticism is also represented in a way not originally intended by reform opponents – *Überregulierung* and *stoffliche Überfrachtung* (this appears later in the document) are advocacy coalition terms, and are never used by opposition actors. In particular, *Überregulierung* can be read as a market ideological shifting of blame away from the reform's political advocates and onto the easy-to-dislike bureaucracies in HE institutions:

> Neben der Anerkennung erzielter Fortschritte und Erfolge wurde aber auch Kritik gegenüber empfundenen Überregulierungen und einzelnen Schwächen des Bologna-Prozesses laut. Deshalb müssen die Wirkungen analysiert und, wo nötig, Korrekturen vorgenommen werden. Dabei sind mögliche Schwachstellen in der Umsetzung aufzugreifen und zu korrigieren, ohne die erreichten Verbesserungen in der Lehre aufs Spiel zu setzen. Vielmehr müssen die Aufwertung der Lehre und ihre Verbesserung als entscheidendes bisheriges Ergebnis des Bologna-Prozesses stabilisiert und weiterentwickelt werden. (**text 52**)

The text then introduces a list of criticisms, and attributes them jointly to the 2009 Leuven conference as well as to student protesters. However, the Leuven communiqué, while it calls for improved mobility, employability, *student-centred learning* and attention to a *social dimension* of HE (EHEA, 2009: 3-5), contains no mention of the detailed points listed here, which pertain more directly to the situation in Germany. This is part of the *co-option* function, which seeks to recontextualize students as part of a larger team of constructive trouble-shooters within a pan-European advocacy coalition. The eight points named, though depersonalised, presented in the condensed-hypotactic register, and again explicitly doubted immediately afterwards, indeed reflect many of the grievances expressed by the *Reform der Reform* groups.

> Gegenwärtig werden insbesondere folgende Punkte kritisiert, die teils auf der jüngsten Bologna NachfolgeKonferenz in Leuven am 28./29. April 2009 eine prominente Rolle gespielt haben und teils durch Studierende während des „Bildungsstreiks" im Sommer dieses Jahres vorgetragen wurden:
>
> • stoffliche Überfrachtung, zu hohe Anwesenheitspflicht und Prüfungsdichte im Gefolge zunehmender Strukturierung und „Verschulung" des Studiums
> • zu geringe Ausnutzung der Bandbreite der Regelstudienzeiten für Bachelor- und MasterStudiengänge
> • Zugang zum Master-Studium (Leistungsvoraussetzungen, Kapazitäten, „Quotierung")
> • restriktive Anerkennung von Studien- und Prüfungsleistungen, unzureichende

Äquivalenzregelungen in den Studien- und Prüfungsordnungen

• Verschlechterung der nationalen und internationalen Mobilität

• Akzeptanz des Bachelors als ersten, berufsqualifizierenden Abschluss

• aufwändige Akkreditierungsverfahren

• Studienbeiträge in mehreren Bundesländern

Unabhängig davon, ob die öffentlich geäußerten Kritikpunkte in jedem Fall, an jeder Hochschule und in allen Bundesländern zutreffend sind, spiegeln sie doch eine nicht unerhebliche Skepsis in Teilen der akademischen Öffentlichkeit hinsichtlich des Bologna-Prozesses wider.

This list of problems is followed by a longer list of eleven solutions. Of these solutions, four (points 1,9,10 and 11) are without real content. Instead they simply express renewed support for the Bologna Process, announce a forthcoming conference, promise to engage in dialogue with HRK and praise the Akkreditierungsrat for holding an *Expertengespräch* on the reform. In points 2 to 8, the KMK expresses favourable views about:

- Increased financial support for students and stronger student bodies
- A relaxed *Regelstudienzeit*
- Improved *Studierbarkeit, Qualität der Lehre, Employability* (sic), all to be discussed with *Studierende*
- Improved Mobilität
- Fewer exams
- Enhanced *Akzeptanz* of Bachelor graduates on the labour market
- Better information for employers (with praise for the Bachelor Welcome programme of BDA, BDI and SDW)

Again, these are real issues, even though the fundamentals of the reform remain unchallenged. And some of the language used, e.g. the invocation to avoid a *kleinteiliges Prüfungswesen*, is repeated in the more significant revised *Strukturvorgaben* of February 2010 (**text 55**). For the other points listed, however, **text 52** deploys performative verbs (in the narrower sense originally defined by Austin, 1962) to weaken the directive-commissive illocution normally associated with KMK resolutions. While it is not a legislative body, the KMK is the de facto coordinator of education policy between individual states, and as such is more influential inside Germany than the BMBF. A senior KMK representative attended the first *Bologna-Konferenz* in July 2009, and much of **text 52**'s content draws on points admitted to the debate by federal minister Schavan (see **text 48**). If the KMK had wanted, it could have pushed much more forcefully for faster and more radical changes, but the linguistic choices in **text**

52 suggest that exactly the opposite was intended. First of all, the KMK does not take direct responsibility or suggest any specific legislative action in the *Länder*. Instead, it calls on *Hochschulen, Akkreditierungsagenturen, Fachgesellschaften* and *Fakultätentage* to take action. The performative verbs used are vague and non-committal:

> Eine Stärkung der Studentenwerke **hält die KMK für sinnvoll** ...
>
> Die Länder **fordern die Hochschulen dazu auf** ...
>
> Die KMK **befürwortet** die aktive Einbeziehung der Studierenden ...
>
> Die Länder **erwarten** vom Akkreditierungsrat und den Akkreditierungsagenturen, dass ...
>
> Zudem werden die Hochschulen **ermuntert** ...

This pattern makes it clear that actual policy change is not the perlocutionary goal. Instead, the KMK must be seen to address the salient issues, but should not disturb the consensus within the advocacy coalition. Too strong of a reaction would index a commitment to further-reaching change than anything to which other pro-reform actors would be willing to commit at this point. Almost immediately after **text 52**'s publication, the *Aktionsbündnis Bildungsstreik* responded (**text 126**), and accused the KMK of simply wanting to appear *kritikbewusst,* while in fact just 'kicking the can down the road':

> Mit den aktuellen Beschlüssen beauftragte die KMK wieder nur andere, etwas zu tun: Die Bundesregierung mit dem Bafög-Ausbau, die Hochschulen mit Anerkennung von Studien und Prüfungsleistungen sowie der Anpassung der Regelstudienzeiten in den neuen Studiengängen. (**Text 126**)

There is a different explanation that is, perhaps, even more cynical than the student activists' accusation – in **text 52**, the KMK is not shirking responsibility, it is *taking* responsibility. By doing the rhetorical work demanded by the reform discourse at its current stage of development, **text 52** manages to show that attention is being paid to problems, while also not promising anything, or addressing any of the deeper issues problematized by opposition groups. On the contrary, it brings a preferred definition of what counts as a problem into the foreground, and recruits students to its cause, as helpers in the fight against *Überregulierung*. The text praises the reforms, the *Akkreditierungsrat*, the three leading employers' groups, and, without excessive vitriol, chides some unspecified critics as being loud and subjective. The excessively mild performatives ensure that the perlocutionary effects of **text 52** are entirely discourse-internal. *Spreading good news* and *gatekeeping* are working hand in hand here, and

although there is a much heavier emphasis on *appropriation* and *co-option, delegitimation* and *discrediting* are implicitly present as well.

Texts 69 & **68**, which are analysed together here, are the introductory section of an edited research report published by CHE (**text 69**) and the press release announcing the report's publication (**text 68**). The introductory section contains two separate texts: a *Grußwort* authored by Thomas Rachel, a high-ranking civil servant of the BMBF, and an *Einführung* authored by Dr. Sigrun Nickel of the CHE. The report runs to 293 pages, and contains 21 pieces of original empirical HE research. The subtitle: *Analysen und Impulse für die Praxis,* indexes an actionable potential for the research results. The cover is shown in **figure 23**.
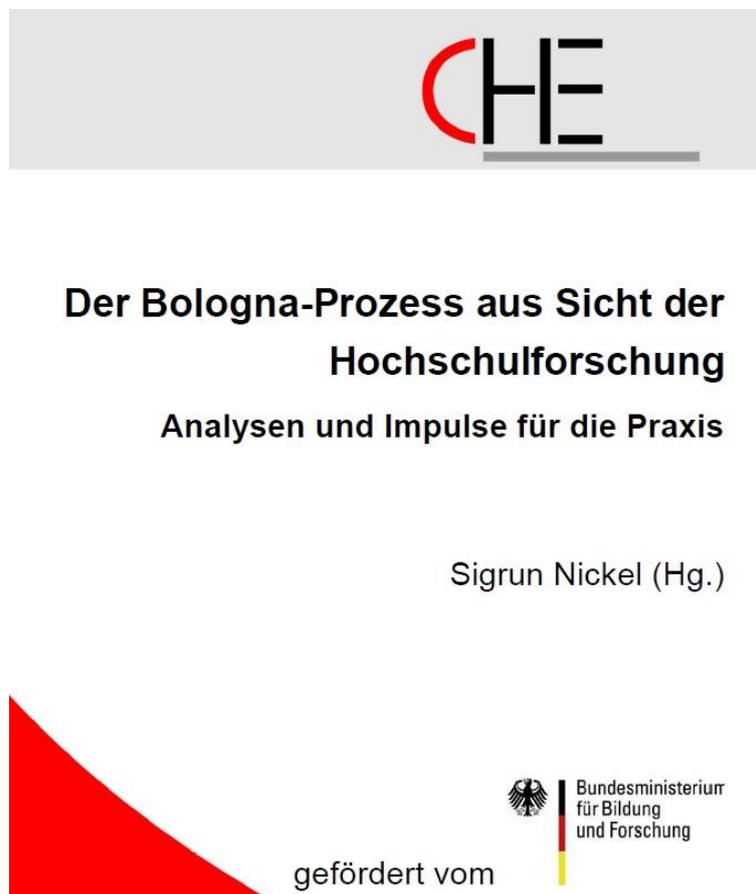
Figure 23: The cover of text 69 acknowledges BMBF funding and indexes rationality through the condensed-hypotactic register of the title and the plain design.

The headline of the press release summarizes the main claim of the texts: Research shows that the Bologna Process is a good thing:

Forschungsergebnisse zeigen: Bologna-Reform geht in die richtige Richtung (**Text 68**)

This view is repeatedly presented as a 'finding', and contrasted with a *pauschale[s] Negativurteil* to be found in other quarters. The report is praised as an empirically grounded piece of rationality in a sea of rhetoric. The sharp contrast is facilitated by the technocratic view of *Wissen* as a quantifiable good:

> Eine Gesellschaft, die sich der außerordentlichen Bedeutung von wissenschaftlicher Qualifikation und exzellenter Forschung bewusst ist, muss auch über möglichst viel Wissen darüber verfügen, wie diese zentralen Ressourcen entstehen und welche institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen besonders förderlich sind. (**Text 69,** *Grußwort*)

This is in line with **text 7** (Jürgen Rüttgers' 1996 policy proposal) and conforms to the neoliberal conceptualization of *Wissen* discussed in **chapters three and four**. From this perspective, it is easier to engage in *gatekeeping* by representing criticism of the reform as unfounded, emotional and *vehement*. This is realised in a dense network of intertextual connections using near-identical wordings. Opposition claims are represented, not as *argumentieren* or *konstatieren*, but as *beschwören*:

> In zahllosen Büchern und Artikeln wird der Rückgang der Studienqualität **beschworen**, ausgelöst durch die Einführung von Bachelor- und Masterabschlüssen ... (**Text 68**)

> In zahllosen Büchern und Artikeln wird der Untergang der Universität **beschworen**, ausgelöst durch die Einführung gestufter Studienstrukturen ... (**Text 69,** *Einführung*)

The refutation of these represented claims effectively combines the *delegitimation* function with *spreading good news,* using existential presuppositions to produce simple paradigmatic oppositions:

> Doch empirisch lässt sich **dieses pauschale Negativurteil** nicht halten, so das Gesamtfazit einer neuen Publikation ... Alles in allem zeigen die Analysen, dass **die tatsächliche Studienqualität** in deutschen Hochschulen weit besser ist als **die kursierenden Meinungen und Stimmungsbilder** oft **vermuten lassen**. (**Text 68**)

> 4. Fazit
>
> Setzt man **die aufgezeigten empirischen Ergebnisse** der Bologna-Forschung mit **der eingangs geschilderten Bologna-Kritik** in Beziehung, so zeigt sich, dass **die tatsächliche Studienqualität** in deutschen Hochschulen weit besser ist als **die kursierenden Meinungen und Stimmungsbilder vermuten lassen**. (**Text 69,** *Einführung*)

A similar binary pattern is visible in the following three excerpts, which represent the report as a rational rescue mission in an otherwise irrational debate. The opposition: *empirische Evidenz* vs. *subjective Eindrücke* is present throughout with slight alterations in wording. Also of interest here is the use of a narrative structure to realize the *delegitimation* function. This structure is instantiated by the temporal progression from past tense to present tense verbs (in two cases, the thematic progression reverses their presentation), and in the choice of the temporal markers *bislang* and *nun*. The minimal definition of narrative is the representation of a temporally distended change of state, and in two cases below, this change of state is characterized as a *Versachlichung*, a making-factual or making-businesslike of the debate. As every change of state also presupposes an aforegoing absence of the end state, the necessary implication is that the debate so far has been neither factual nor businesslike.

> Die Publikation **liefert** empirische Evidenz, wo **bislang** subjektive Eindrücke **überwogen**. Sie leistet damit einen Beitrag zur **Versachlichung** der Debatte ... **(Text 68)**

> Die nationale Hochschulforschung ... **liefert** empirische Evidenz, wo **bislang** feuilletonistische Eindrücke **überwogen**. Sie **kann so nachweisen**, dass in Bezug auf „Bologna" die Lage an den deutschen Hochschulen deutlich besser ist als oftmals öffentlich behauptet. Sie **versachlicht** somit **die – in den letzten Jahren manchmal hitzig geführte – allgemeine Hochschuldebatte**. **(Text 69, Grußwort)**

> **Wurde** die Diskussion **bislang** vorrangig auf Basis subjektiver Meinungen und Eindrücke geführt, **liegen nun erste** Forschungsergebnisse vor. **(Text 69, Einführung)**

The density of intertextual connections in the above excerpts, both thematic and directly quotative, recasts the named authors as *animators* (Goffman, 1981 [1979]). The issue of actual *authorship* of these 'mix and match' *Textbausteine* – possibly an unnamed scribe in the CHE's PR department – is less interesting here than the question of the *principal*: to whom or to what should this shared narrative of rationality-defeats-subjectivity be attributed? Ultimately, this cannot be answered satisfactorily, since the horizon of discursive origin shifts further away for every step we take towards it. But an awareness of the *principal* question is useful in that it focuses our attention to the transtextual realization of discursive iterations over time: a similar classification of valid and invalid arguments is present in texts **47, 54, 57** and **58** (this chapter). Going back further, the criteria for this classification, which make the *gatekeeping* strategy possible, are already present in early advocacy texts, such as **text 7** and

text 29 – in which the CHE makes clear its disdain for the humanities (see **chapter four**). There is no ultimate single source for the now hegemonic position of the technocratic-instrumental definition of *Sachlichkeit* in HE systems, but it was arguably the earliest texts of the Zöllner-Erichsen working group that first opened the door to the *colonization*, as Wodak has it, of HE by the ideology of evidence-based instrumental rationality. This ideology enables pro-reform actors to dismiss the more abstract arguments on the left as subjective or simply irrelevant. As has been argued above, however, and as will be shown again below, an ideological devotion to evidence can make it rhetorically necessary to embellish or to omit important evidence in the service of a perlocutionary goal.

Nickel's *Einführung* is longer than the *Grußwort*, and in it, she develops the themes already mentioned. To begin with, the text allows that the reform process has been more complex than expected – the sting in the tail here being the implication that those opposed to Bologna are perhaps the ones least capable of understanding it. Accordingly, opposition is characterised as negative, aggressive and simplistic:

> ... insofern wundert es nicht, dass die Bologna-Reformen **Kritik, Unverständnis und Gegenwehr** auslösen. Die **Vehemenz** jedoch, mit der diese Auseinandersetzungen geführt werden, ist bemerkenswert.

> Wer die bisherigen Veröffentlichungen zur Umsetzung des Bologna-Prozesses in Deutschland sichtet, stößt fast ständig auf **apokalyptisch-reißerisch klingende Titel** wie „Humboldts Alptraum" (Schultheis et al. 2008), „Endstation Bologna?" (Keller et al. 2010) oder „Akademischer Kapitalismus" (Münch 2011).

While titles such as *Alptraum* or *Endstation* might understandably be called *reisserisch*, it is hard to see how *Akademischer Kapitalismus* fits this description. It is also worth noting that an author insisting on *Sachlichkeit* is here dismissing books on the basis of their titles, while ignoring their content. A survey of Schultheis et al. (2008) would show that beyond a polemic title and introduction – something it shares with **text 69** – *Humboldts Alptraum* is simply a collection of empirical articles, e.g. Wuggenig (2008), some of which would not be fully out of place in a CHE publication. And *Akademischer Kapitalismus* (Münch, 2011), while contextualised by its cover 'blurb' as part of the anti-Bologna movement, is in fact an empirical study of the new forms of interaction between universities and the private sector from a political-economic perspective, and does not treat of the *Studienstrukturreform* in any

detail. This aversion to the term *Kapitalismus* is curious, given that its meronyms, such as *Arbeitsmarkt, Arbeitgeber, Konkurrenz* and *Nachfrageorientierung* are used so frequently in pro-reform texts, in particular CHE texts.

The text seeks explanations for what it calls these *heftig geführte Debatten*, and finds the answer in the universities. Here, *Fachhochschulen* are praised for their dutiful compliance. They are *unauffällig*, while the universities are *lautstark*, a paradigmatic contrast one might associate with adults commenting on children's behaviour:

> Wohlgemerkt, die Rede ist in diesen Beiträgen vorrangig von „der Universität" und nicht von „der Fachhochschule". Während die Hochschulen für angewandte Wissenschaften die Bologna-Reformen offenbar pragmatisch unauffällig umsetzen, ist im Universitätsbereich ein laustarker Kulturkampf zwischen Bologna-Gegner(inne)n und Bologna-Befürworter(inne)n ausgebrochen.

The opposition from universities is explained in three ways: the call for applicability (*Anwendungsorientierung*), the focus on teaching and the newly enhanced role of HE management. The first explanation constructs a clean dichotomy between applicability and independent intellectual development. This disregards the fact that German universities have for centuries been the only institutions licensed to carry out the *Staatsexamen*, the stringent entry requirements for state-regulated professions. The leading principle of this system has always been that, in order to be allowed to serve in a legal, medical or pedagogical capacity, students must first develop the ability to think independently in an abstract & scientific manner. As discussed in **chapter three**, a university degree has always been a guarantee of employability for the vast bulk of students, and this calls into question the 'ivory tower' accusation being aimed at university professors here. It is also not mentioned that the principle: *Lehre und Forschung sind frei* is enshrined in the German constitution, and not just a notion clung to by the *universitärer Milieu*.

> Was in den ohnehin anwendungsorientierten Fachhochschulen bereits zum Selbstverständnis und damit zum Alltagsgeschäft gehörte, stieß im **universitären Milieu** auf erhebliche Kritik, die bis heute anhält. Mit seiner Forderung nach einer größeren Praxisnähe des Studiums greift der Bologna-Prozess **ein historisch gewachsenes wissenschaftliches Selbstverständnis** an, wonach **Lehre und Forschung frei** und nicht der unmittelbaren Verwertung verpflichtet sind.

The second explanation given, that professors do not want to be seen to be acting like teachers, cites the talk given by Uwe Schimank at the HIS conference in 2009 (**text 112**). As

mentioned in **chapter five**, without prejudice to his arguments per se, it is in its transtextual function as an *Argumentationshilfe* for pro-reform actors that Schimank's contribution has made its impact here. The Bologna Process is now credited with a

> Lehre ... die sich stärker an den Bedürfnissen der Studierenden orientiert. Das bedeutet, die Lehre soll Studierende aktivieren, Lernziele sollen klar und nachvollziehbar offengelegt werden, die Zusammenfassung einzelner Lehrveranstaltungen zu Modulen soll größere Zusammenhänge deutlich machen

Although students are to be 'activated' by this new teaching, the third explanation, which charts professorial opposition to new organisational structures, contains a passage suggesting a more passive role for students:

> Mussten sich Studierende ihren Weg bis in die 1990er Jahren hinein noch vorwiegend selber und in einem z.T. sehr zeitintensiven Prozess durch das curriculare Angebot suchen, sollen sie heute mittels eines strukturierten Lehrplans und einem studienbegleitenden Prüfungssystem in einem verlässlichen Zeitrahmen zum Abschluss geführt werden.

It would be quite easy here to reformulate the above narrative, even without changing some of the words used, to present a story of how students who used to develop independent organisational abilities as a result of being treated like adults have now had their freedom removed and instead are being led by the nose through a predictable series of hoops within a preordained timeframe. In this instance, the passive voice correlates with a general passivisation of *Studierende* in discourse.

Once again, this is not intended as an exercise in 'arguing with the data'. Indeed, a critical analysis of intellectual elitism using the example of the DHV can be found in **chapter five**. But, as Verschueren (1999a) points out, every linguistic choice made invokes its possible alternatives, and this holding up of a rhetorical mirror to such a subjectively formulated passage reveals a puzzle which researchers must address. How can observers of linguistic choice-making account for the glaring contradictions in a text which first insists on the highest standards of empirical evidence, and then immediately proceeds to string together some commonplace anti-intellectual clichés into a narrative for which no serious evidence is presented?

It must be remembered that **text 69** is an introductory overview, and that the 'evidence' being referred to here is possibly to be found in the research reports themselves, which are not part of paratext. However, just as in the case of **texts 50** & **59** above, the claims made in paratext about the results of the research contained in the publication are not supported by the research reports themselves:

> [Die Autoren] stellen [] das Berliner Evaluationsinstrument für selbsteingeschätzte studentische Kompetenzen (BEvaKomp) vor und **weisen empirisch nach, dass** dieses die Kompetenzorientierung in Lehre und Lernen tatsächlich fördert. (**text 69**)

> Die Wissenschaftlerinnen **können zudem nachweisen, dass** die soziale Herkunft für den Studienerfolg eine weit geringere Rolle spielt als bisher angenommen. (**text 69**)

Anyone who reads the actual research articles will find them to be full of caveats about the problems associated with method, datasets, and interpretation of results. At no point do any of the authors claim to have 'proven' anything. To do so would be to violate best practice in academic writing.

So we must return to **text 69** and attempt to explain these apparent contradictions. Here again, I submit that from a rhetorical perspective, there is no contradiction. Just as the antihegemonic oppositional texts (e.g. **151, 152, 158**) base their arguments on unsupported assumptions, knowing that their readers are unlikely to challenge them, the CHE authors also base their choices on educated guesses about the composition of their audience. Busy decision-makers do not need to know what is truly known: they need to know whatever it is that would need to be known in order for them to be able to argue for and pursue an agenda which has already long-since been decided upon. In producing and repeating the assertions in the paratextual complex of **texts 68** and **69**, in combining narrative structures, polemic lexical choices and audience design to enable targeted recipients to argue for evidence and rationality, the CHE has effectively maximised perlocutionary effect, and thereby achieved rhetorical success.

Text 60 is the transcript of a talk given at a BDA conference in October 2010 by the late Prof. Dr. Klaus Landfried, who was president of the HRK from 1997 to 2003. Landfried was present at the 2000 event which led to **text 18** (see **chapter four**), with which **text 60** shares an urgent concern for HE's role in maintaining economic competitiveness. The title uses

lexically realized deontic modality to demand a change of state – the presupposed proposition being that there is currently insufficient creativity and excessive whingeing:

> Bologna braucht weniger Gejammer und mehr Kreativität!

This crass rhetorical opposition primes the audience for the polemic extremes of emotive negative-other presentation to come. The idiosyncratic style of **text 60** can be explained by the fact that, as a retired high-ranking official speaking in a personal capacity, Landfried's linguistic choices face fewer institutional constraints than those of other emittents in the corpus; indeed, the polemic register, realized in strongly evaluative lexical terms and vivid imagery, is more situation-appropriate than would be the detached, technocratic language of a **text 45**, with which **text 60** is perfectly aligned in propositional terms. **Text 60**'s pro-reform stance conforms closely to that of other advocacy coalition texts, and the *delegitimize* and *discredit* functions occur as one would expect based on the initial assumptions above.

Landfried does all he can to place the blame for the reform's problems on elitist professors, as he had already done in the national press:

> Fast alles, was **die Jammerer im Elfenbeinturm** (und einige ihrer journalistischen Gefolgsleute) da an Beschwerden vorbringen, haben sie, die Profs, selber erzeugt. (Landfried, 2009)

In his talk, Landfried renews this accusation, and names three possible causes for the botched reform, using existential presuppositions, and a disclaimer: he does not know which factor was responsible for which particular problem, but the implication is that each played a role. The causes are presented as a three-part list in increasing order of deplorability, moving from incompetence, to negligence, to criminality:

> Wo **schlichte Ahnungslosigkeit**, wo jeweils **simple Durchsetzung enger und auch individueller Fachinteressen**, wo **Sabotage** die Quelle der Missgriffe war, will ich hier nicht entscheiden. (**text 60**)

He then names two opposition positions, and applies epistemic criteria to delegitimize the arguments in line with the *gatekeeping* strategy. This is made easier by the 'straw man' tactic – hyperbolic formulations play up the opposition stance, and quotative forms (here the *Konjunktiv I*) are used, though no sources are named.

While the 'argument by appeal to authority' tactic of citing the INCHER study (Schomburg, 2009) is problematic for reasons already discussed above, the second refutation, in which Landfried rejects the *Ökonomisierung* argument, raises more complex issues related to the epistemic criteria used for *gatekeeping*: The charge that education has been placed in the service of the economy is rejected on the grounds that there is no evidence available:

> ... Bologna sei ja gut gemeint gewesen, habe sich aber „immer stärker auf die seit Beginn darin ebenfalls enthaltene Optimierung der wirtschaftlichen Wettbewerbs-Situation Europas konzentriert." Das habe der **Ökonomisierung der Wissenschaft Vorschub geleistet und eine „manische" Kultur der Konkurrenz, des Ehrgeizes und der Konzentration auf Elitenförderung** hervor gebracht**. Beweise für die Behauptung? Außer ihrer steten Wiederholung kenne ich keine**. (**text 60**)

Landfried goes on to call this *das Gefasel von der Ökonomisierung der Wissenschaft*. But it is not the propositional content of this claim, rather its interpretation which is being refuted, even if the demand for *Beweise* initially obfuscates this: The observation that HE should contribute to the *Optimierung der wirtschaftlichen Wettbewerbs-Situation* is taken as read. It is the characterization of this fact as *Ökonomisierung*, bringing with it a *manische Kultur*, which Landfried so stridently rejects. The next paragraph confirms that the attempt to devalue HE's new role as a site of competitiveness is what is really under attack here. Before competitiveness can be defended, however, its critics must be put in their place:

> Wer **das Ziel internationaler Wettbewerbsfähigkeit** abwertet, erinnert an den Mann, der am Aste sägt, auf dem er sitzt. Oder deutlicher: die selbstreferenzielle Arroganz **steuerfinanzierter, universitärer Obergurus** und frustrierter Journalisten ...

The imagery used here portrays the *Professorenschaft* as self-absorbed, self-regarding and self-destructive, while confirming that economic competitiveness is indeed considered a legitimate goal of HE. The comment that professors are publicly financed serves as a reminder of 'who is boss', the implication being that when salaries are drawn from a given source, those drawing them are obliged to contribute to that source's ongoing ability to continue providing salaries. This view, whatever one's own stance on it may be, is at odds

with Landfried's rejection of the *Ökonomisierung* claim – in fact, the illocutionary force of the *steuerfinanziert* comment as a criticism of professors is only felicitous under the assumption that the education system *should* stand in a vassal-like relationship to the economic system – the very definition of *Ökonomisierung*.

This apparent contradiction makes it necessary for **text 60** to resort to alternative rhetorical resources in pursuit of its perlocutionary goals – the discrediting of fundamental opposition and a defence of the advocacy coalition's definition of the HE-economy relationship. This explains the presence of an isotopic field, maintained throughout the text, which deploys anti-intellectual motifs likely to be well-received by the business-friendly audience at a BDA event, and which may draw attention away from discrepancies in the argument:

> abgehobene[] und lächerliche[] akademische[] Kleinkariertheit
>
> arrogant
>
> aufgeblasen
>
> durch geisteswissenschaftliche Bildungslabyrinthe getrieben
>
> frustriert
>
> Gefasel
>
> Gejammer
>
> Oberguru
>
> schlichte Ahnungslosigkeit
>
> selbstreferenziell

These rhetorical attacks gain legitimacy through their contextualization by the fact that the speaker is himself a professor of political science. This indexes a kind of privileged access to insider information, and lets Landfried appear as a kind of whistleblower, morally compelled to reveal to a sympathetic audience his profession's efforts at sabotage.

Landfried then reintroduces the topic of competitiveness, now purged of antihegemonic demons, confirming that he is fully in favour of HE's economic prerogative. In a participle attribute, the redefined *Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* is presupposed to be needed for 'our' survival, and through its placement after *auch*, is recast as a secondary goal of the overdue reform. It is as if a respected community member is being rehabilitated after a public exorcism: *Kapitalismuskritik* has been banished to the ivory tower whence it came, and competitiveness is a life-giving force once more:

> Dass eine Hochschulreform, die seit mehr als 30 Jahren überfällig war, **auch** die unser Überleben sichernde Wettbewerbsfähigkeit **im Auge haben muss**, will ich nicht nur nicht bestreiten, sondern loben. Die unreflektierte, geradezu törichte Parole „Bildung statt Ausbildung", ... entspringt der gleichen Abgehobenheit einer sich selbst genügenden akademischen Subkultur wie das Gefasel von der Ökonomisierung der Wissenschaft.

The rest of the talk focuses on the positive achievements of the reform process, and concedes that many aspects of its implementation have been less than perfect. *Studierende* are presented as the ones who have suffered most under the regime of stubborn, elitist professors, and the ones who have most to gain from strengthened cooperation between HE and industry. **Text 60** instantiates a powerful assertive-expressive illocution, attacking opponents and defending the pro-reform line: Using the *gatekeeping* strategy, it delegitimizes dispreferred arguments and discredits their authors, then champions the role of HE as a guarantor of competitiveness. It achieves this in two carefully executed steps: First it recontextualizes fundamental criticism from antihegemonic quarters as the temper tantrum of a self-absorbed elite incapable of seeing the bigger picture. Their accusation of *Ökonomisierung* must be rejected. The ensuing refutation, which argues from lack of proof but does not deny the propositional content, coextends with the deployment of an array of emotion-laden clichés about academics – a kind of conjuring tactic which draws attention away from the logical inconsistency. Then, having banished the antihegemonic demons, the text praises the pro-reform definition of education's economic prerogative, and expands on the benefits to be shared by *Studierende* and their future employers. The perlocution – as is so often the case – is not necessarily to recruit new supporters, but to hold the line against dispreferred criticism, affirm the alliance between advocacy coalition actors, and to encourage employers' groups to take a positive view of an increasingly successful policy programme.

Text 96 is an open letter to Horst Hippler, who was elected president of the HRK in 2012, from the *Landesrektorenkonferenz der Fachhochschulen NRW*, and signed by the LRK president Martin Sternberg in the name of all *Fachhochschulen* in NRW. Hippler, though he never opposed the reforms, was known to be an outspoken Humboldtian when it came to educational standards. He promised a reinvigorated debate about the reform, and reportedly declared he had had *Genug von der Konsens-Soße* shortly after being elected (**Text 140**).

Hippler's public statements were as significant for their break with norms of discursive behaviour as for their content: in his new role as HRK president, he freely expressed his own

views of the reform. On the television news programme *Tagesschau*, he criticized a *Verschulung* and called for the Masters to be treated as the *Regelabschluss* at universities (Tagesschau.de, 2012). In interviews with the DSW (**text 139**), the DUZ (**text 140**) and the Süddeutsche Zeitung (**text 142**), he expressed views closer to those of the DHV than to the pro-reform advocacy coalition, drawing clear distinctions between universities and Fachhochschulen and insisting that a Bachelor's degree from a university should not be treated as a full professional qualification:

> Ich bin jemand, dem es wichtig ist, dass unsere Absolventen Qualitäten erwerben, die nicht nur auf Fachwissen beruhen, sondern dass sie Persönlichkeiten sind, die ihre Verantwortung in der Gesellschaft auch tatsächlich übernehmen können – sei es im politischen, sozialen oder auch wissenschaftlichen Kontext. Das ist etwas, was das deutsche Hochschulsystem immer ausgezeichnet hat, und da sollten wir keine Abstriche machen. Wenn es sich dahin entwickeln sollte, dass wir die Hochschulen in reine Berufsausbildungsstätten verwandeln, dann machen wir alles falsch. (**Text 139**)

> Eine Universität muss mehr leisten als Ausbildung, nämlich Bildung. Das tut sie mit dem Bachelor nicht (**Text 140**)

> Man muss sich entscheiden, ob man eine Hochschulausbildung rein berufsbezogen will, wie sie die Fachhochschulen bieten – was dort gut funktioniert. Oder ob man eine andere Art der Ausbildung will wie an den Universitäten ... Ein Bachelor in Physik "ist nie im Leben ein Physiker" (**Text 142**).

At interview, Hippler confirmed these views, but strongly refuted any suggestion that they were intended to devalue students' qualifications. He did not doubt graduates' ability to perform scientifically relevant functions in the workplace, but questioned their status as scientists in the sense of independent thinkers within a discipline. The Bachelor, he argued, should be a practical certificate awarded by Fachhochschulen, while the Masters should be the norm for those wishing to become physicists, chemists or engineers with an *erkenntnisgeleiteter Abschluss* (Hippler, 2014).

The response to Hippler was fast and scathing. Education minister Schavan hastened to assert that Hippler's view was not the view of the HRK (**text 140**), and this is also the main point made by the *Landesrektorenkonferenz* in **text 96**. The departure from the *Konsenslinie* is at least as egregious as the criticisms themselves. Hippler's public remarks have resulted in a

form of explicitness enforcement, by which the advocacy coalition is compelled to state openly what should be taken for granted – *we agree amongst ourselves and we do not disagree in public*.

> seit Ihrer Wahl zum Präsidenten der Hochschulrektorenkonferenz haben Sie sich wiederholt mit kritischen Äußerungen zur Bologna-Reform an die Öffentlichkeit gewandt. ... **Damit haben Sie die Konsenslinie verlassen**, die bislang innerhalb der Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) eingehalten wurde.

A second line of attack concerns the content of Hippler's criticism. Here, the gatekeeping strategy can be observed, as the LRK rejects what it sees as *pauschale Kritik*, and redefines critical remarks about the BA structure as a slight to students who have graduated under it. Hippler is accused of devaluing HE and undermining students and employers, but most significantly, of failing to recognize *die Realität*:

> Die Landesrektorenkonferenz der Fachhochschulen in NRW hält **Ihre pauschale Kritik** an der Bologna-Reform und insbesondere an der Qualifikation der Bachelorabsolventinnen und -absolventen für nicht akzeptabel. Ihre Beurteilung **verkennt die Realität, entwertet die Arbeit der deutschen Hochschulen und verunsichert in unverantwortlicher Weise Studierende wie Arbeitgeber**.

The *Realität* is then described in more detail: BA degrees are praised as *wissenschaftsbasierte, berufsqualifizierende und persönlichkeitsbildende Bachelorstudiengänge*, and it is claimed that they have been broadly accepted by students and employers. The evidence offered in support of this claim is from a study carried out by the IDW Köln (*Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft*), which charts employer acceptance and lists average salaries of BA graduates, which are only slightly lower than those of MA and *Diplom* graduates. There is certainly empirical truth in the IDW study, but there is nothing in it which contradicts Hippler's critique of the reform per se. What is indexed here is an ideological belief that economic utility renders other arguments irrelevant, and that it is therefore unnecessary to engage with the substance of broader critiques, which may be dismissed as *pauschal*. As in **text 60**, it is not just the propositional content which is being refuted.

The text then switches to a concessive mode, and recontextualizes the problems of the *Studienstrukturreform* as the inevitable result of an otherwise positive process. The scope of reference is broadened to include all positive processes of change, with a conceptual

metaphor of light and shadow, together with the evidential sentence adverb *natürlich*, realizing the origo-shifting epistemic modality:

> Natürlich ist überall da, wo Innovation gelebt wird, nicht nur Licht, sondern auch Schatten.

The idea of light inevitably casting shadows leads to a recontextualization of the reform not as the cause of the problems, but as an illuminator of salient issues. Specific problems, all of which fall within the range of legitimate grievances so far accepted by the advocacy coalition, are treated as corruptions of the reform, not results of it. This again functions to strengthen the idea that a *pauschale Kritik* fails to see the new reality, and therefore need not be taken seriously. This is all happening in the service of *Studierende*, a notional group which must be understood here again as a rhetorical construct since actual students have no voice in **text 96**.

> Übermäßig verschulte und überfüllte Studiengänge, möglicherweise mit Anwesenheitspflicht, sind **Fehlentwicklungen, die zu korrigieren sind und auf einem falschen Verständnis der Bologna-Reform beruhen**. Gut gemacht ist ein Studium heute zielführender und erfolgreicher zu durchlaufen als in der Vergangenheit. **Die Bologna-Reform hat den Fokus auf die Studierenden gerichtet sowie das Bewusstsein für Studierbarkeit, Qualität der Lehre, Aktualität und Relevanz der Inhalte und wissenschaftliche Methoden geschärft**.

The rhetorical *Studierende* are again used to cast Hippler's demands for higher standards in education as an attack on hardworking young people:

> Junge Menschen sind heute zu Recht stolz auf „ihren" Bachelorabschluss. Wir bedauern sehr, dass Sie das schlecht reden, was von Studierenden mit Fleiß und Mühe an unseren Hochschulen erworben wurde.

The LRK then resumes its main attack on Hippler. Simply put, he is out of line. His statements have precipitated a more explicit than usual assertion of a guiding transtextual principle indexically present throughout the pro-reform literature: the advocacy coalition relies on an internally coherent and self-reinforcing guarantee of joint action, in which mutual support must always take precedence over critical analysis of the programme being advocated. Power defines knowledge, and when rogue elements of power attempt to question that knowledge, a rare discursive explicitness is the result. The sharp tone of the extracts below seems to be reserved for traitors who need to be put in their place:

> Sehr geehrter Herr Hippler, wir sind davon überzeugt, dass Sie mit Ihrer grundsätzlichen Kritik am Bologna-System, die in der HRK in keiner Weise abgestimmt ist, nicht die Gemeinschaft der Hochschulen im Sinne Ihres Mandats als Sprecher repräsentieren. ...
>
> Wir sorgen uns um die Einheit der HRK, die eine Stärke des deutschen Hochschulwesens ist. ...
>
> Wir sorgen uns aber auch um unseren Wissenschafts- und Wirtschaftsstandort, wenn Sie als führender Vertreter des Zusammenschlusses der deutschen Hochschulen durch inakzeptable Pauschalisierungen dem Ansehen der deutschen Hochschulen und ihrer Absolventen im In- und Ausland schaden.

By using an open letter to address an internal dispute the LRK seem to be fighting fire with fire – Hippler went public, and now so must they. This is still part of the coordinative discourse because it is part of the policy debate between advocacy coalition actors, but the publicly visible conflict yields insights into discourse-linguistic phenomena which may otherwise have gone unnoticed.

In July 2013, a BMBF press release (**text 98**) called the Bologna Process *eine europäische Erfolgsgeschichte*. In what might be considered the final word on *Bologna 2.0*, the German reforms – with all their imperfections – were contextualized once more as part of the wider European movement. The statement ends with a call for further improvements in all countries:

> Viele der genannten Ziele sind in den Bologna-Ländern **zu einem großen Teil** schon umgesetzt. **Dennoch** gibt es sowohl für Länder, die sich erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt dem Bologna-Prozess angeschlossen haben, als auch für langjährige Mitgliedsländer noch **Umsetzungsaufgaben**. Dies betrifft etwa ... die Steigerung der Mobilität oder die Verbesserung der Berufsqualifizierung (Employability). Des Weiteren muss in Zukunft auch verstärkt den geänderten Rahmenbedingungen insbesondere in Bezug auf Demographie und Globalisierung Rechnung getragen werden. Chancengerechtigkeit und Durchlässigkeit des Hochschulsystems – die soziale Dimension des Bologna-Prozesses – **müssen weiter verbessert werden.**

The perspective entextualized here is the result of the advocacy coalition's coming to terms with criticisms from within the CoP. Success is highlighted and praised – but lexicogrammatically hedged, an indexical acknowledgement of imperfection. Any and all fundamental critique of the reform is ignored. Specific procedural issues are acknowledged, and any corrective measures are contextualized as part of an ongoing improvement. The reform process can only ever be updated, never rebooted.

This chapter has shown how a series of interconnected discourse strategies have been applied by pro-reform actors in the post-protest period, and have resulted in this transtextual assertive-commissive macro-illocution, presenting the reforms as a huge but unfinished success story, and committing actors to their further improvement in an unspecified timeframe. It should be expected that this process will never truly be finished, that new critiques will be absorbed, discursively managed, and perhaps in part even find their way into policy.

7. Chapter seven – Conclusion

7.1. Contributions to transtextual linguistics

This dissertation has inquired into the relationship between text and discursive change. The foci were *semasiological* (how language makes the world) and *onomasiological* (how the world makes language). The goal was to shed light on these issues using a thick description of discursive change. The analysis was multifactoral, essayistic in style, and guided by the pragmatic principle of indexicality. The contributions to the field of pragmatic transtextual analysis are empirical, methodological and theoretical.

The empirical contribution is a close textual analysis of an original corpus of textual data pertaining to the case in question. Background research showed that the *Studienstrukturreform* is a domestic German phenomenon, which ran parallel to similar processes in other countries, and that the European dimension or Bologna Process is of secondary importance, though its value is frequently referenced in pro-reform arguments, particularly about transnational comparability of degrees and recruitment of foreign students. For this reason, the texts analysed are all internal to the German case; "Bologna" texts were referenced only where corpus data made it necessary to do so.

The methodological contribution can be summed up in three points. Firstly, paratext is an exceptionally useful source of data for discourse analysis as it exhibits a high density of propositional claims indexing key discursive knowledge. Future projects could involve a larger number of texts, and analyse only their peritextual elements. This dissertation has gone some way towards this, but not entirely. Secondly, 'outside-in' contextualization, i.e. corpus-external readings of historical and other interdisciplinary literature is an important and valuable means of finding out more about salient context of primary data. The risk of an external 'imposition' of categories can be alleviated if the choice of secondary literature to be used is based on a first reading of primary data. Thirdly, the adaptation of Schmidt's *coordinative discourse*, a form of CoP in which policy actors are focused on shared goals, allowed for a functional, genre-transcendent analysis, and this in turn facilitated many of the interpretive findings below, e.g. that the journey of propositions through discourse in a range of distinct text types is constitutive of discursive change.

The theoretical contribution is presented below as *ten theses on the transtextual field*, whose aim is to offer some explanation of how knowledge is accessed and reproduced in discourse, and of how texts in a coordinative discourse come to be the way they are. The theses relate specifically to the corpus examined here; useful transferability is aimed for, but not claimed. It is also not claimed that the theses break significant new ground. They are, however, fully authentic, reflect a distilled version of the most important findings from the discussions in the analytical chapters, and are perhaps unique in their present configuration. They are presented first in short form, then discussed.

7.2. Ten theses about the transtextual field

1. For knowledge to become fixed in discourse, it must be rhetorically separated from its historical contingency.

2. Arguments are only partly encoded.

3. Markedness reversal requires an intermediate stage.

4. Choir effect: When propositionally aligned texts compete for primacy, this strengthens the transtextual illocution.

5. "Show me who your friends are and I'll show you who you are": A text's adjacency to and association with other texts codetermines its perlocutionary value.

6. The journey of the propositions: as a proposition becomes fixed in discourse, it is re-iterated in a variety of different registers, text types, and illocutionary types.

7. Register realizes stylistic isotopy and indexes modes of participation in discourse.

8. The hegemonic force within a coordinative discourse has a gatekeeping function.

9. Institutional context makes text. Language comes to us with a lot of work already done.

10. Rationality is a rhetorical performance.

1. **For knowledge to become fixed in discourse, it must be rhetorically separated from its historical contingency.**

Discourse is in flow, and knowledge is ever changing. Language can *fix* – or partially fix – knowledge over time (Zienkowski, 2012), so that it becomes sticky, and thereby suitable as a contextual object. This happens in a number of ways. The most obvious is the use of nouns, which represent the *things* of the human world, such as rainbows and shadows, whose existence can be tacitly agreed on regardless of deeper ontological issues. The examples:

> *Tradition* **(text 143)**
> *Bildungsuniversität* **(text 118)**
> *Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* **(text 60)**

are *context dependent*, since these are nouns that have already been used before, so their referents are being nominated as tokens of a type, and this anchors knowledge of them in the mental lexicon, which will store them in a network of existing associations. This web is constantly being updated, however, and this makes the examples *context creating* at the same time – in the case of *Wettbewerbsfähigkeit*, the word is not new, but the association with Higher Education is. The updated knowledge schema is part of discursive change. The more often the association is repeated, the stronger the new schema will become.

Nominal process presentation is trickier. It usually involves a noun phrase predicated by a deverbal noun. This does everything the above examples do – shifting the referent from an authorial perspective to part of an indexed encyclopaedic knowledge schema, and thereby anchors these processes as intersubjectively recognisable things.

> *Versachlichung der Debatte* **(text 68)**
> *Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform* **(text 4)**
> *Vermarktwirtschaftlichung des Universitätsstudiums* **(text 153)**

Beyond this, these complex noun phrases trigger interrelated presuppositions, both existential and change-of-state. This goes beyond "nominalization" and *terminologizes* "kinds of things that can happen". Note that the three processes above happen within different timeframes – the first within a single text, the second within the reform process, the third in historical time, but in each example the terminologization lifts the process out of its historical uniqueness. So

the making-rational or *Versachlichung* in **text 68** is not a one-off affair, but a token of a desirable type of discursive action rooted in an ahistorical lawlikeness.

This function can also be observed in **text 45** (see **chapter five**), which uses an imperfective *präsens* to transform the current discursive iteration of the value of Higher Education into a scientific principle. Similarly, the adjectives

> *unvertretbar* (**text 1**)
> *nicht nachvollziehbar* (Bundestag, 2004)
> *nicht weiter hinnehmbar* (**text 117**)

shift the origo of knowledge schemata away from authorial subjectivity and anchor it in an intersubjective discursive *principal*, as does the frequent occurrence of factive presupposition e.g. *Zu erkennen ist, dass*, (**text 157**). These functions do not in fact remove knowledge from historical contingency; this is just a rhetorical tactic, which, when deployed successfully, lends an air of "objectivity" or at least "social proof" to the claims being made.

2. Arguments are only partly encoded.

In **text 1**, the step from increased demand to an *Änderung der Studienstruktur* is not elaborated, even though the two steps are joined by *deshalb*. Similarly, in **text 4**, the premise that degree times are too long is supported by the presupposed importance of *Konkurrenzfähigkeit*, though the implied claim of causality is not operationalized. On the other side of the debate, in **text 146** and **text 153**, it is argued that the focus on employability prevents students from achieving intellectual complexity, though it is not explained how this works. Later, in **text 47**, the conceptual metaphor of forward movement is used to index a taboo on fundamental criticism of the reform: it is argued that returning to the pre-reform problems would be counterproductive, although nobody has called for this. The idea of increased funding and investment without structural change is thereby avoided.

In all of these examples, crucial steps in the argument are a matter of receptive inference. They are unlikely to be scrutinized too critically by readers with a predisposition to agree with the premises and the conclusions, or with an interest in doing so. The inferable propositions – respectively that to be economically useful, young people should receive less education, that making a practical plan for your life prevents you from thinking clearly, or that critiquing solutions is the same as ignoring problems, cannot withstand much

disinterested analysis. It can be concluded from this that the indexing of ideological common ground is a crucial ingredient in discursive change, as it smoothes the transition to updated knowledge schemata by discouraging disruptive critical reflection. The same applies to presupposed common ground which serves as the starting point for narrative sequences.

Another mechanism here is the complete exclusion of debate on the value of the reforms, which is managed by a quick transition to a debate on *Umsetzung* – the implementation of the reforms. This discourse strategy, prevalent throughout the pro-reform texts, has the double effect of expediting the process and of making critics of the reform seem irrelevant for not addressing the "question at hand".

3. Markedness reversal requires an intermediate stage.

Markedness reversal moves through several stages. If normed knowledge is present in discourse but *unmarked*, i.e. a default assumption, it first needs to be made explicit before it can become *marked* in the sense of becoming the non-default variety of knowledge. Battistella's example of lexical markedness reversal (1990: 58 see **chapter two**) does not mention any transition period, though presumably there must have been one, unless the reversal took place overnight.

In the corpus, the idea of *Bildung durch Wissenschaft* begins its journey as a default assumption, which had been present as the norm in German Higher Education at least since Spranger (1910: see **chapter three**). **Text 1** explicitly praises the *Selbstverständnis der Universität*, and **text 3** contains a reassurance that the reform does not aim to downgrade universities to training academies. This foregrounds knowledge of the Humboldtian ideology and thereby nominates it as a topic available for discussion. After this, Rüttgers (**text 13**) describes the Humboldtian ideal as *zwar nicht irrelevant, aber unzeitgemäß*, and shortly thereafter declares: *Humboldts Universität ist tot*. It is only after this discursive turning point that an outright rejection of Humboldtianism and a corresponding lampooning of professorial privilege comes into the pro-reform mainstream, e.g. in **texts 57** and **123**. Moving in the other direction, if an idea is unmarked and *absent from* the discourse, it must first be brought up with caution and described in moderate terms before it can become unmarked knowledge. Shorter degree times, described in **text 5** as an *angemessene zeitliche Ordnung*, are "marketed" by association as a positive development in **text 23**: *Kürzere Studienzeiten,*

weniger Abbrecher, mehr Absolventen, and assumed as a goal in **text 25**. A decade later, in **text 91**, short degree times are listed as evidence of success, i.e. their value is unmarked.

These are examples of markedness reversals which have endured and thrived in the discursive ecosystem. The analysis from the ex post facto perspective is not meant to suggest some kind of inevitability; there are other ideas which did not take hold and accordingly did not become unmarked, such as the suggestion to limit access to Masters programmes. What is being said is that when knowledge moves from being unmarked to being negatively marked, or from being absent to being unmarked, the management of change through language will involve an intermediate stage during which the knowledge becomes visible and thereby available for discussion.

4. **Choir effect: When propositionally aligned texts compete for primacy, this strengthens the transtextual illocution.**

A coordinative discourse is a process of "getting the story straight". This applies to agonic processes such as opposition and the reaction to it, but also to processes where much agreement is involved. The broad chorus of agreement in the early part of the reform discourse between participants of different kinds at different levels of decision-making may originate in a feeling of competition between actors, but its effect is a transtextual illocution which cannot be achieved by any one participant alone. A similar effect can be observed within specific strands of argument in the two opposition camps, both the antihegemonic left and the *Reform der Reform* participants. This may involve a planned coordination, and usually shows up in joint publishing activities marked in peritext. It can also involve unplanned coordination, in which texts are constituted by each other in the ongoing discourse. This is usually visible in patterns of meta- and intertextuality. From the semasiological perspective, this leads to further questions about the knowledge-constituting perlocutionary effects of transtextual illocutions. From the onomasiological perspective, the question is how come a given text comes into being in the way it does at the time it does. The fact of its contextualization by other texts seems to be part of the answer.

5. **"Show me who your friends are and I'll show you who you are" – A text's adjacency to and association with other texts codetermines its perlocutionary value.**

As above, the perlocutionary effect of any given text is magnified by its place in a chorus of agreement. Going beyond this, the perlocution can be different, depending on the immediate transtextual environment of the illocution. The clearest example of this is **text 112**, in which a sociological analysis of the debate as a whole is transformed into a critique of the Humboldtian ideology by virtue of its inclusion in the records of a pro-reform conference. A less radical transformation is the legitimation as discourse participants of all actors participating in the 2004 parliamentary hearing (Bundestag, 2004).

6. **The journey of the propositions – as a proposition becomes fixed in discourse, it is re-iterated in a variety of different registers, text types, and illocutionary types.**

For an idea to become stabilized in discourse, it must travel through a range of different iterations. Roughly, the longer the time period in which a unit of knowledge is present, and the more diverse the range of text and illocution types in which it occurs, the more stable this knowledge can be said to be. This applies more clearly to knowledge which is expressed propositionally. Accordingly, the central propositions of the reform begin as hypothetical proposals in an exploratory document (**text 1**). They become the object of a statement of intent (**text 4**) and are reinforced by new voices in the "choir" (**text 5**). **Text 7** transfers the proposals from the world of expert panels to the political arena, and in doing so, changes the emphasis, introducing a stronger focus on economic processes and the *Wissensgesellschaft*. Central elements – including exact wordings – of **text 7** appear in a party newsletter (**text 8**) and a white paper (**text 11**) before becoming part of the Hochschulrahmengesetz (**text 14**). **Text 14** again changes the focus, as the commissive illocution of the law is limited to the technical details of the *Studienstrukturreform*. Because perlocution is institutionally guaranteed, the legal wording can be recognized as part of the reform discourse stripped of rhetoric. After this, the reforms can be enacted in KMK regulations and state laws, and discussed in detail by HRK, WR, KMK and CHE. It is only now, after the most important steps in the implementation, that any serious opposition begins. Something similar happens with the criticisms of the reform in the antihegemonic texts discussed in chapter 5, many of which survive in a moderated form to act as an epistemic background to the demands made by *Reform der Reform* participants. These transformative re-iterations are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the successful stabilization of knowledge in discourse – more targeted research would be needed to make any such claim – but they are a striking feature of the propositions produced and reproduced in the discourse covered in this corpus.

7. Register realizes stylistic isotopy and indexes modes of participation in discourse.
Register is difficult to pin down, and usually occurs in hybrid form. In this corpus, the lynchpin register type is *condensed hypotaxis*, which, as has been shown, derives from the ideology of textual rationality associated with institutional discourse in the German-speaking world (see **chapter two**). Texts emitted by publicly funded organizations such as HRK and WR, and from state actors such as BMBF and KMK are predominantly written in this register. The texts presented by the CHE, DEBIS and BDA typically combine elements of condensed hypotaxis with shorter, punchy sentences and business-oriented catchwords (see **chapter four**). The indexical value of this register is to signal an authoritative, rational voice which values clarity and substance. So it is not surprising that of the opposition texts, those seeking to influence the development of policy typically use this register too (see **chapter five**). Silverstein (2003) comments that when combined with lower status and power, formal registers impose much tighter constraints than when combined with higher status and power. This explains why the contributions of DSW, GEW and fzs to the 2004 Bundestag hearing (**texts 104** & **105**) are so much more formal than the arguments presented by the retired *Ministerialdirektor* Hans R. Friedrich, and why the retired president of the HRK Klaus Landfried is free to wax lyrical with asides about opera in **text 60**. Conversely, when there is no desire to participate in the main stream of policy formulation, register constraints disappear entirely. This explains why an otherwise intelligent analysis in **text 163** is accompanied by abusive language.

8. The hegemonic force within a coordinative discourse has a gatekeeping function.
In a deliberative setting, the hegemonic strand of discourse is not merely more prominent than the others; it also actively dominates them. Conceding some ground allows the dominant participants to adjust the definition of opposing arguments, appropriate them, and co-opt their (semiotically reconstructed) authors as allies to the hegemonic cause. Conversely, rejected arguments are delegitimized and their authors discredited. This process is facilitated by a number of metapragmatic functions such as metatextual commentaries on standards of argumentation and "legitimate" ways of arriving at conclusions. The grounds on which opposition arguments are selected for appropriation or delegitimation are ostensibly epistemic, but closer analysis of the hegemonic arguments show that dominant discourse participants do not practice what they preach. It can be concluded from this that other factors are at play, most likely the maintenance and management of power. In a deliberative democracy, power

must be legitimated on epistemic grounds, hence the requirement of being seen to have the better arguments. This issue was explored in detail in **chapter six**.

9. Institutional context makes text.

Language comes to us *with a lot of decisions already made* (Duranti, 1997: 32). It also comes to us with a lot of *work already done*. Recurring wordings in the texts published by WR, CHE and BMBF, as well as other strong networks of intertextual connections make it clear that in a coordinative discourse, complex concepts, once entextualized, are re-used several times. Language is used in familiar and predictable ways, based on the resources available to a speech community. By extension, the constraints imposed on language use by the coordinative discourse, particularly, but not only, within the advocacy coalition, are highly pronounced, and therefore constitute a salient contextual factor in textual production.

In addition to this, texts are guided by quite specific constraints, decided on and managed by the publishing organizations (see discussion of text types in the corpus, **chapter three**).

10. Rationality is a rhetorical performance.

In all the findings discussed so far, there has been a clear common thread: context makes text. Every text is a reaction to other texts in the transtextual field of which it is part. The transtextual field in this case emerges at the intersection of competing strands of knowledge which we might also call ideology – the Humboldtian, the neoliberal and the textual, to name but three important sources. A fourth is the social-democratic idea of fairness, which had arguably already been subsumed by the neoliberal discourse before the emergence of the transtextual field examined here, and for reasons not connected to Higher Education reform in particular.

Whenever political change occurs, it must be entextualized, and when it occurs in a democratic polity such as Germany, the entextualization must reflect values of free expression and fair argumentation. The most compelling arguments must be seen to win the day. However, the arguments used will themselves always reflect other arguments which have been used before. This explains the prevalence of indexical signs in the corpus, which entextualizes an elaborate dance in which various actors position themselves and their ideas about Higher Education in relation to preferred aspect of *Big-D* Discourse. That the *Studienstrukturreform* awards power to businesses and employers is clear. What this *means* is

not fully clear. A remodelling of university life along business lines is emancipatory in the eyes of some, dehumanizing to others, and a simple inevitability to others still.

The argument over what the *Studienstrukturreform* means may never be finally settled. In a democratic system, arguments are ongoing, and that is as it should be. But for the time being, one side of the argument must carry the day, and for now, it is the pro-reform lobby who have done so. A cynical analysis – one that would no doubt be shared by Flyvbjerg (*Power is knowledge* 1998) – is that the whole debate, especially after the HRG reform of 1998, was a sham. Everything important had already been decided, now it was just a matter of doing it. The core advocacy coalition had mobilized as early as 1992, and had – without any great effort to inform the public – produced a coordinated reform agenda which was then implemented. Students were not consulted. Trade unions were not consulted. Decision makers at a high level had committed themselves to change long before political action was taken, long before the reforms were transposed to the European level, and long before those affected by the reforms had a chance to say anything about them. When that time did come, opposition groups were only listened to after repeatedly raising their voices and mobilizing hundreds of thousands of students to protest against the reforms.

And yet, rhetorical work is always visible. Even the early texts contain the same arguments that would later be used to justify the process. Even a decade and more before students entered the debate, reformers were already talking about what the benefits for students would be. And when students did enter the fray, a certain limited number of their demands found their way in to actual policy, as long as these demands were framed as improvements to a basically correct idea. As the analysis has shown (especially in **chapter six**), the arguments used by the advocacy coalition to make the pro-reform case do not always conform to the high standards of rationality they themselves call for when later delegitimizing the dispreferred opposition. But this does not make these arguments null and void, it simply means that any analysis must seek a frame of reference which helps explain this apparent contradiction. A naïve requirement that every argument must make its premises explicit, present clear evidence, and explain the operations that warrant the claims it is making, does not do the trick. Something else must be happening. What emerges from the analysis is that every argument is an appeal to some pre-existing form of knowledge shared in Discourse. An argument might appeal to the authority of a respected figure or of a respected profession,

such as that of the empirical researcher. It might also appeal to a system of knowledge, be it religious, political or practical.

And so it is in the present corpus. Early advocacy points to the needs of the market, and, by associating these in its arguments with the needs of students, draws on a Discourse of economic rationality. Traditionalist opposition points to a vision of HE as a community of scientific practitioners to justify its arguments – that this community has been a fiction for decades is not important, as long as the Discourse in question yields up the picture being sought. The pro-reform pushback against the opposition cites a mass of confirmatory evidence. Even where this "evidence" is in fact equivocal and subjective, it indexes a claim that an argument's authors are committed to scientific best practice. This indexing of preferred discursive positions is all the more effective when expressed in institutionally constrained registers, themselves indexing centuries of authoritative rationality. The indexical value of all language use means that argumentation is, literally, a rhetorical *show,* ultimately indexing our status as articulate mammals. Every text directs an arrow made of language towards the part of discourse to which readers are being invited to orient themselves.

7.3. Future research – knowledge of textuality

In coordinative discourse, examining the coming together of discursive and institutional forces offers much that is salient for the onomasiological explanation of textual forms. But in any comprehensive research programme, the cognitive management of linguistic resources to mediate between conflicting discursive values must also be investigated in detail. Text linguistics – and discourse linguistics – must seek to address Verschueren's demand (1999a) that any pragmatic perspective address the *cognitive, social and cultural* factors which codetermine any instance of language use. It would be a mistake to isolate the cognitive side, though certain insights have been gleaned from psycholinguistic investigations of textual comprehension, (e.g. McNamara and Magliano 2009). Relevance theory (e.g. Wilson and Sperber, 1993) also provides an elegant model of cognitive function. What is required is a sociocognitive approach which attempts to unify the wide range of different factors which go into making text and discourse be the way it is (e.g. van Dijk, 2014). This is a hugely ambitious undertaking, whose goal is to explain the cognitive factors enabling humans to become literate, produce and understand text, and engage in the ongoing construction of discourse by textual means. Quine (1960) points out that privet hedges trimmed to look

identical on the outside remain quite different from each other on the inside. I have argued in this dissertation that that the social 'hedge trimmers' of institutions and registers are more salient to the emergence of socially shared forms of textuality than the 'twigs and branches' of cognition. The fact that two shrubs with unique configurations of twigs and branches can present themselves as identical twins in the lifeworld suggests that unifying cognitive and social perspectives will always be difficult. It therefore remains to be seen whether a stronger focus on the cognitive correlates of textuality can shed as much light on situated language use as the social and historical investigation in this discourse has; whether it can help researchers achieve a better understanding of the complex, interrelated phenomena of rhetoric and rationality.

Appendix 1: List of participants in coordinative discourse

Discourse participants Organisations whose documents are used in the corpus. Brief information and comments. Listed alphabetically.		
Name / Acronym	Link	Full Name, Translation and Comments
ANBW	http://www.bwh-hamburg.de/wir-ueber-uns/gesellschafts-und-bildungspolitik/anbw.html	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Norddeutscher Bildungswerke der Wirtschaft *Working group of North German Business and Vocational Education organisations*
Antifa	http://antifakoeln.blogsport.de/ http://www.antifa.de/cms/	Antifaschistische Aktion *Anti-Fascist Action* Leftwing activist organisation
ARD	www.ard.de	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Rundfunkanstalten Deutschland *German Broadcasters' Working Community* Germany's largest Public broadcaster
BDA	www.arbeitgeber.de	Bund der deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände *Federation of German employers' associations.*
BDB	http://www.bb-goettingen.de/781	Basisdemokratisches Bündnis *Alliance for grassroots democracy* Critical student blog site
BdWi	http://www.bdwi.de/bdwi/index.html	Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler *Union of democratic academics* Group of critical academics, affiliated with leftwing groups
Bildungsstreik	http://www.bildungsstreik.net/	Bildungsstreik *Education Stirke* Coordinating organisation for the education strike in 2009

BMBF	http://www.bmbf.de/	Bundesministerium für Bildung & Forschung *Federal Ministry for Education and Research* Publications available online include documents published by CHE and HIS. Numerous webpages about the Bologna Process, links to HIS, KMK, HRK, CHE.
BPB	www.bpb.de	*Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung* – Federal centre for political education. State sponsored non-party agency providing information for educators and the public on political and social topics. Linked to from CHE – 2006 Witte article on Bologna.
Bundesregierung	http://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Startseite/startseite_node.html	German federal government
Bündnis90/Die Grünen	http://www.gruene.de/themen/bildung/hochschule.html	Bündnis90/Die Grünen *Alliance90/The Greens* German Green Party
Campusgrün	http://www.campusgruen.de/	Student group affiliated with the German Green Party
CDU	http://www.cdu.de/	Christlich Demokratische Union *Christian Democratic Union* German Christian Democrat party
CHE	http://www.che.de	*Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung* – Center for Higher Education Development. Private policy think tank funded by BMBF and Bertelsmann Foundation. Website links to CHEPS (Twente), BPB (ApuZ, Witte) and DHV (Forschung und Lehre 2003 – but *only* to the pro-Bologna argument, written by ex-CHE chief Müller-Böling).
DEBIS AG	http://www.deas.de/	Former subsidiary of Daimler-Chrysler Corporation
Der Bewegungsmelder	Inactive link	Der Bewegungsmelder *The motion detector* Leftwing student publication

DGB	www.dgb.de	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund *German Federation of Trade Unions* Documents available on all areas of policy, including Higher Education.
DHV	www.hochschulverband.de	Deutscher Hochschulverband *German Higher Education Association* Interest group representing professors, who enjoy a privileged professional status separate from the academic 'Mittelbau'.
DIHK	http://www.dihk.de/themenfelder/aus-und-weiterbildung/schule-hochschule/hochschule	Deutscher Industrie- und Handelskammertag *German federation of chambers of commerce and industry*
DSW	www.studentenwerke.de	Deutsches Studentenwerk *German Students' Council* Focuses on issues affecting students, e.g. loans, housing, etc. Some documents address HE policy.
DUZ	www.duz.de	Deutsche Universitätszeitung *German University Paper* Independent sectoral publication. Special editions cover Bologna conferences, a 2012 article discusses the Hippler controversy.
Eurozine	http://www.eurozine.com/	Critical online publication
FES	http://www.fes.de/themen/bildungspolitik/hochschulpolitik.php	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung *Friedrich Ebert Foundation* Academic foundation affiliated with the CDU
FOM Essen	https://www.fom.de/	Fachhochschule Ökonomie & Management *University of Applied Sciences for economy and management*

fzs	http://www.fzs.de/	freier zusammenschluss der studentInnenschaften *free unified student representative bodies* (orthography as on fzs website). Umbrella association of student representatives in Germany. Treated as interlocutor of choice by pro-Bologna advocacy coalition.
GEW	www.gew.de	Gewerkschaft für Erziehing und Wissenschaft *Union for Education and Science* Trade union whose members include schoolteachers, university *Mittelbau*, educational management and administrative staff. Website links to BMBF, national and European Bologna Reports.
GKS	http://versust.blogsport.de/	Gruppe kritischer StudentInnen *Group of critical students*
HIS	http://www.his-he.de/ http://www.dzhw.eu/	Hochschulinformationssysteme *Higher Education Information Systems* Since 2013 DZHW – Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung – *German centre for HE and science research* Publicly funded body providing empirical research and technical information for use by policymakers and HE management. Availability of instrumental technical information which presupposes the value of the reforms' foundations is relevant to the discursive power of the pro-Bologna advocacy coalition. The present corpus contains only documents which are directly relevant to the *Studienstrukturreform*.
Hochschule NRW	http://www.fh-nrw.de/	Landesrektorenkonferenz der Fachhochschulen *Conference of rectors of universities of applied sciences in NRW*

HRK	http://www.hrk.de/	Hochschulrektorenkonferenz *Higher Education Rectors' Conference* Organisation representing HE institutions. Runs *Projekt Nexus* – a public relations campaign promoting the *Studienstrukturreform*. The page: http://www.hrk.de/en/press/hrk-in-der-presse/bologna-interviews/ links to press coverage of the Hippler controversy. The HRK has no official position on Hippler's 2012 remarks.
IHF Bayern	http://www.ihf.bayern.de/	Institut für Hochschulforschung Bayern *Institute for HE Research Bavaria*
Jusos	http://www.jusohochschulgruppen.de/	Student group affiliated with the German Social Democratic Party
KFBT	http://www.fachbereichstag.de/	Konferenz der Fachbereichstage *Conference of faculty Associations* Organisation representing the „legitimate interests of different disciplinary cultures". Focus on engineering and technical subject areas. Lists BMBF, HRK, WR and Akkreditierungsrat as interlocutors.
KMK	http://www.kmk.org/	Kultusministerkonferenz *Conference of Education Ministers* Standing conference of education ministers of German *Länder*. One of several remit-based confederated policy coordination bodies (others address agriculture, policing, etc.), separate from the federal government, whose role is to ensure nationwide compatibility of policies implemented at state level. Publishes position papers and *soft law* guidelines for policy implementation practice (see discussion of *soft law* in section X.). Webpages and publications link to BMBF, HRK, CHE and fzs.

Kölner Erklärung	http://zlb.uni-due.de/wiki/images/c/cf/Koelner_Erklaerung.pdf	Kölner Erklärung *Cologne Declaration* Link to site with signatures is inactive. Original signed by over 400 staff and students of the university of Cologne. Wikipedia claims 1350 signatures by end of 2009 http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C3%B6lner_Erkl%C3%A4rung
Labandavaga	http://labandavaga.org/	Leftwing / Anarchist Student group, based in Freiburg
Linksunten	https://linksunten.indymedia.org/en/search/apachesolr_search/hochschule?filters=tid%3A1%20tid%3A50	Linksunten *Bottom Left* Leftwing organisation, publishing on indymedia.org
NRW	http://www.wissenschaft.nrw.de/hochschule/	Landesregierung Nordrhein-Westfalen *State Government of North Rhine-Westphalia*
SDW	http://www.stifterverband.info/	Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft *Union of supporters of German science* Group comprising business leaders, foundations and other fincancial backers of science in Germany
Studentenpresse	http://www.studentenpresse.com/apsp/index.php?page=news&show=02492	Student media website
Süddeutsche Zeitung	www.sueddeutsche.de	Left of centre national broadsheet
VDI	www.vdi.de	Verein Deutscher Ingineure *Society of German Engineers* Professional organisation of engineers. Links to KFBT.
WR	http://www.wissenschaftsrat.de	Wissenschaftsrat *Science Council* State funded body producing reports and position papers on all areas of science and HE.

ZME	http://www.zeitschrift-marxistische-erneuerung.de/	Zeitschrift für Marxistische Erneuerung *Journal of Marxist Renewal* Leftwing quasi-academic publication

Appendix 2: Full list of primary texts used in the corpus

Positions: 1= pro-reform. 0 = sceptical. -1 = antihegemonic

	Emittent(s)	Year	Title	Text Type	Position
1.	HRK	1992	Konzept zur Entwicklung der Hochschulen	Position Paper	1
2.	KMK (HRK)	1992	Durchführung der Studienstrukturreform	Position Paper	1
3.	DHV (Erichsen)	1993	Zur Reform der Studienstruktur	Position Paper	1
4.	KMK (HRK)	1993	Umsetzung der Studienstrukturreform	Position Paper	1
5.	WR	1993	10 Thesen zur Hochschulpolitik	Press Release	1
6.	WR	1993	Zehn Thesen zur Reform des Hochschulsystems	Position Paper	1
7.	BMBF (Rüttgers)	1996	Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert	Position Paper	1
8.	CDU	1996	Wettbewerb und Differenzierung durch Leistungsanreiz	Press Article	1
9.	DHV (F&L)	1996	HRG Reformdebatte	Press Article	1
10.	KMK	1996	Realisierung Hochschulstrukturreform	Position Paper	1
11.	BR	1997	Entwurf & Begründung Änderung HRG	Position Paper	1
12.	DHV (F&L)	1997	Gerhard Interview	Press Article	1
13.	HRK (Rüttgers)	1997	Hochschule als Verantwortungsgemeinschaft	Position Paper	1
14.	BR	1998	HRG - Studiengänge	Legal	1
15.	KMK	1999	Ländergemeinsame Strukturvorgaben	Legal	1
16.	WR	1999	Beschäftigungssystem und Hochschulausbildung	Position Paper	1
17.	WR	1999	PR - Beschäftigungsfähigkeit	Press Release	1
18.	DEBIS AG (Bensel & Weiler)	2000	Hochschulen für das 21. Jh.	Position Paper	1
19.	WR	2000	Empfehlungen zur Einführung neuer Studienabschlüsse	Position Paper	1
20.	WR	2000	PR Empfehlung zur Einführung neuer Abschlüsse	Press Release	1
21.	WR	2002	Empfehlungen Umbau Staatsexamen	Position Paper	1

22.	WR	2002	PR Umbau Staatsexamen	Press Release	1
23.	CHE (Witte et al)	2003	Argumente für eine rasche Umstellung	Position Paper	1
24.	CHE (Witte et al)	2003	Umstellung als Herausforderung	Position Paper	1
25.	KMK	2003	10-Thesen-Bachelor-Master	Position Paper	1
26.	KMK	2003	Ländergemeinsame Strukturvorgaben	Legal	1
27.	HRK	2004	Bachelor & Master auf den Zielgeraden	Publicity	1
28.	BDA	2005	Flyer Bachelor Master	Publicity	1
29.	CHE (Buch/Schmitt)	2005	Die neuen Studiengaenge und Arbeitsmarkt.	Academic	1
30.	DUZ (Bulmahn)	2005	DUZ special - Bologna - Berlin – Bergen Grußwort	Press Article	1
31.	HRK	2005	Was muss ein Bachelor wissen?	Press Release	1
32.	KMK (HRK BMBF)	2005	Qualifikationsrahmen Hochschulabschlüsse	Position Paper	1
33.	HIS (AUTHORS)	2006	Akzeptanz des Bachelors aus Sicht der Studienberechtigten	Academic	1
34.	FES (Rehburg)	2006	Hochschulreform und Arbeitsmarkt	Academic	1
35.	AKK	2007	Akkreditierungsrat Mission Statement	Position Paper	1
36.	BDA (DGB, HRK, fzs)	2007	Für klare Bekenntnis zur Reform	Position Paper	1
37.	BMBF	2007	Drei Für Bologna - Qualität Mobilität Transparenz	Press Release	1
38.	BMBF (BDA, BDI, HRK, KMK)	2007	Studierende Fit für den Job Machen	Publicity	1
39.	BMBF (BDA, BDI)	2007	Fit für den Job	Press Release	1
40.	HRK	2007	Pressemitteilung - Hochschulen haben noch viele Aufgaben	Press Release	1
41.	HRK	2007	Pressemitteilung - Präsidentin appeliert an Länder	Press Release	1
42.	BDA (HRK BDA)	2008	Beschaeftigungsfähigkeit Hochschulabsolventen	Position Paper	1
43.	HRK	2008	Pressemitteilung - HRK startet Infokampagne	Press Release	1
44.	HRK	2008	Entschliessung Bologna	Position Paper	1
45.	BAYERN IHF	2009	Hochschule und Arbeitsmarkt	Academic	1
46.	BDA (Oetker)	2009	10 Jahre Bologna	Publicity	1

47.	BDA (BDI HRK SDW)	2009	Reform gemeinsam zum Ziel führen	Press Release	1
48.	BMBF	2009	Bologna Weiterentwicklung Presse	Press Release	1
49.	FOM ESSEN (Seng Fledderman Klump)	2009	Der Bologna Prozess – Titel & Grüssworte	Academic	1
50.	BMBF	2009	Gute Aussichten für Bachelor Absolventen	Press Release	1
51.	INCHER	2009	Bachelor – Geht Doch	Academic	1
52.	KMK	2009	Weiterentwicklung des Bologna Prozesses	Position Paper	1
53.	HRK	2009	Entschliessung Pro Bologna 11.09	Position Paper	1
54.	BMBF HIS	2009	Bachelor Zwischenbilanz	Academic	1
55.	KMK	2010	Ländergemeinsame Strukturvorgaben	Legal	1
56.	BMBF	2010	Zehn Jahre Bologna	Press Release	1
57.	CHE (Berthold DeRidder et al)	2010	Bologna als Chance nutzen	Position Paper	1
58.	HRK (Wintermantel, Müller, Greisler)	2010	Studienreform nach Leuven	Publicity	1
59.	BDA (BDI)	2010	Wirtschaft löst Bachelor Welcome voll ein	Press Release	1
60.	BDA (Landfried)	2010	Bologna braucht weniger Gejammer	Position Paper	1
61.	BDA BDI SDW	2010	Bologna Welcome	Publicity	1
62.	HRK	2010	Bologna Zentrum	Position Paper	1
63.	KFBT	2010	Stellungnahme KMK-Eckdaten	Position Paper	1
64.	BDA	2011	Kein Zurück zu alten Titeln!	Press Release	1
65.	BMBF	2011	Bologna Prozess	Publicity	1
66.	BMBF	2011	Umsetzung Bologna in Deutschland	Publicity	1
67.	BMBF (HIS)	2011	studierende_im_bachelor_studium	Academic	1
68.	CHE	2011	Forschungsergebnisse zeigen	Press Release	1
69.	CHE (Nickel)	2011	Hochschulforschung	Academic	1

70.	DIHK (Heidenreich)	2011	Erwartungen der Wirtschaft an Absolventen	Position Paper	1
71.	HIS (Rehn, Brandt, Fabian, Briedis)	2011	Hochschulabschlüsse im Umbruch - Einleitung	Academic	1
72.	HIS (Rehn, Brandt, Fabian, Briedis)	2011	Hochschulabschlüsse im Umbruch - Zusammenfassung	Academic	1
73.	HIS	2011	Pressemitteilung - Tagung BolognJa	Publicity	1
74.	HRK	2011	Bologna Zentrum Leitbild	Position Paper	1
75.	HRK (Müller)	2011	PROJEKT NEXUS - Kreative Vielfalt - Chance für Hochschulen	Publicity	1
76.	HRK	2011	PROJEKT NEXUS - Kreative Vielfalt - Gute Meister sind nicht Standardisierbar	Publicity	1
77.	HRK (Wintermantel)	2011	PROJEKT NEXUS – Kreative Vielfalt - Vorwort	Publicity	1
78.	HRK	2011	PROJEKT NEXUS Argumente pro Bologna	Publicity	1
79.	HRK (Wintermantel Zervakis)	2011	PROJEKT NEXUS Broschuere	Publicity	1
80.	KFBT (Schinke)	2011	Stellungnahme Titel Diplom	Position Paper	1
81.	KMK	2011	Auslegungshinweise Laendergemeinsame Strukturvorgabe	Position Paper	1
82.	KMK	2011	Bestandsaufnahme Bologna Prozess	Publicity	1
83.	KMK	2011	Download - Bologna	Publicity	1
84.	KMK	2011	Download – Wissenschaft und Hochschule	Publicity	1
85.	BDA (SDW) (Vorstände)	2012	Erklaerung-Bologna@Germany	Position Paper	1
86.	BDA (SDW)	2012	Personalvorstände Bekenntnis zum Bachelor	Press Release	1
87.	BMBF	2012	Hochschulstandort Deutschland	Publicity	1
88.	BMBF	2012	Initiativen des BMBF im Zusammenhang mit dem Bologna Prozess	Publicity	1
89.	BMBF	2012	Kabinett Beschliesst Bologna Bericht	Press Release	1
90.	BMBF	2012	Weniger Studienabbrecher in Zeiten von Bologna	Press Release	1
91.	BMBF	2012	Zukunftstauglich dank Bologna	Press Release	1
92.	HIS (Leszczensky Cordes Kerst Meister)	2012	Hochschulbildung als Grundlage technologischer Leistung - Einleitung	Academic	1

93.	HIS (Leszczensky Cordes Kerst Meister)	2012	Hochschulbildung als Grundlage technologischer Leistung – Executive Summary	Academic	1
94.	KFBT (Schinke Bühler)	2012	Stellungnahme Akzeptanz des Bachelorabschlusses	Position Paper	1
95.	KFBT (Schinke Bühler)	2012	Stellungnahme Bologna	Position Paper	1
96.	Rektoren FH NRW	2012	Offener Brief	Position Paper	1
97.	BDA	2013	Bachelor kommt in Unternehmen an	Publicity	1
98.	BMBF	2013	Europäische Erfolgsgeschichte	Press Release	1
99.	DHV	2003	Umstellung Pro und Contra	Press Article	0
100.	Fzs (Staak, Bretschneider)	2003	Offener Brief an KMK	Position Paper	0
101.	DGB (Röder)	2004	Gewerkschaftliche Bildungspolitik	Position Paper	0
102.	DSW	2004	Stellungnahme Bologna	Position Paper	0
103.	fzs	2004	Für eine qualitative Studienreform	Position Paper	0
104.	fzs	2004	Stellungnahme Bologna	Position Paper	0
105.	GEW	2004	Stellungnahme zum Bologna-Prozess	Position Paper	0
106.	fzs	2005	Stellungnahme Bergen	Position Paper	0
107.	fzs	2005	Zehn These zur Berücksichtigung sozialer Aspekte	Position Paper	0
108.	GEW	2007	Berufsbefähigung statt employability	Publicity	0
109.	GEW	2007	Zweifel Ausräumen	Press Article	0
110.	DSW	2008	Erfolgsmodell oder Sackgasse?	Press Article	0
111.	GEW	2008	Für einen Kurswechsel	Press Release	0
112.	HIS (Schimank)	2009	Humboldt in Bologna	Academic	0
113.	DGB (Sehrbrock)	2009	Offener Brief	Position Paper	0
114.	GEW (Keller)	2009	Chancengleichheit - Für einen radikalen Wechsel	Position Paper	0
115.	GRÜNE	2009	Studienrefrom aus Sicht der Studierenden	Press Article	0
116.	GRÜNE (Seidl)	2009	Bachelor und Master auf dem Prüfstand	Press Article	0

117.	Bildungsstreik Freiburg	2009	Kritik an Bologna & Aufruf	Publicity	0
118.	DHV	2009	F&L Bologna Ausgabe Sonderteil	Press Article	0
119.	GEW (fzs)	2009	Kurswechsel Forderung	Press Release	0
120.	fzs	2009	Bologna Konferenz Gefloppt	Press Release	0
121.	StudentenPresse	2009	Folgenreiche Versprechungen	Press Article	0
122.	Studis Online	2009	Klitzekleine Zugeständnisse	Press Article	0
123.	GEW (Keller)	2009	Bologna 2.0 Anspruch und Wirklichkeit	Press Article	0
124.	DSW	2009	Bologna 2.0	Press Release	0
125.	GEW	2009	Nicht Bologna ist gescheitert, sondern Bonn	Press Release	0
126.	Bildungsstreik	2009	Presseerklärung zur KMK	Press Release	0
127.	DHV	2009	Bologna 2.0 Forderungskatalog	Position Paper	0
128.	DHV	2009	Wissenschaftsrat gesteht schuld ein	Press Article	0
129.	GEW	2010	Jetzt Weichen für Kurswechsel stellen	Press Release	0
130.	NG-FH (Schwan)	2010	Wissen ist kein Feuerhaken	Academic	0
131.	Bildungsstreik	2010	Bolognakonferenz gescheitert!	Press Release	0
132.	DGB	2010	Neuer Kurs für Bologna	Position Paper	0
133.	Campusgrün (Jusos fzs)	2010	Positionspapier Bolognakonferenz	Position Paper	0
134.	GEW	2010	Bund muss in Bologna eingreifen	Press Release	0
135.	SDS	2010	Nicht unsere Show!	Press Release	0
136.	fzs	2010	Ausreichend Masterstudienplätze für Alle	Position Paper	0
137.	GEW	2011	Bologna Probleme Lösen	Press Release	0
138.	DGB	2012	Bologna Braucht Dringend eine Kurskorrektur	Position Paper	0
139.	DSW	2012	Hippler Intervew	Press Article	0
140.	DUZ (Himmelrath)	2012	Einer gegen alle - Hippler report	Press Article	0
141.	fzs	2012	Weiterentwicklung der Qualitätssicherung	Position Paper	0

142.	SZ	2012	Hippler Interview	Press Article	0
143.	DHV (Wieschhoff)	1997	Forschung & Lehre – Angelsächsisches Modell oder Selbsterziehung zur Bildung?	Press Article	-1
144.	DHV	1999	Zur Einführung von Bachelor und Master	Position Paper	-1
145.	Bennhold	2002	Reform als Unterwerfung	Academic	-1
146.	PROKLA	2004	Editorial	Academic	-1
147.	GKS	2005	Bildung ist eine Ware	Publicity	-1
148.	Basisdemokratisches Bündnis	2007	Schlimmer geht immer	Press Article	-1
149.	DHV	2008	Grundaussage Bologna	Position Paper	-1
150.	RLS BdWi fzs	2008	Bonner Thesen	Position Paper	-1
151.	RLS	2008	Vernichtung der freien Wissenschaft	Publicity	-1
152.	Schultheis et al	2008	Cover Blurb	Publicity	-1
153.	Schultheis et al	2008	Konstruktion und Folgen eines Europäischen Hochschulsystems	Academic	-1
154.	ZME (Hirsch)	2008	Bologna und der Kampf an den Hochschulen	Academic	-1
155.	ZME (Wernicke)	2008	Bildungsreform als Herrschaftsinstrument	Academic	-1
156.	Antifa	2009	Bildungsstreik International Baskenland	Publicity	-1
157.	Bewegungsmelder	2009	Studiengebühren sind rechts	Publicity	-1
158.	BFDIP (Lieb)	2009	Humboldts Begräbnis	Academic	-1
159.	HFKTW	2009	Deklaration FU Heidelberg	Legal	-1
160.	Kölner Erklärung (Lehrende Uni Köln)	2009	Selbstverständnis der Universität	Publicity	-1
161.	Labandavaga	2009	Das Elend der Studierenden Proteste	Academic	-1
162.	DHV (F&L)	2010	Mitschuld der Wissenschaft	Press Article	-1
163.	linksunten	2010	Fuck the University - warum Bildung im Kapitalismus immer Scheisse sein wird	Publicity	-1
164.	Krautz	2012	10 Jahre Bologna	Press Article	-1
165.	DHV	2012	Goldader Bildung	Press Article	-1

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