

**DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES IN THE CONTEXT OF
MEKONG HYDROPOWER DEVELOPMENT:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

Woraya Som-Indra

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation	Development Discourses in the Context of Mekong Hydropower Development: A Critical Discourse Analysis
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The study investigates the notions of “development” in the context of Mekong Hydropower Development. Through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study aims to examine 1) What are the notions of Development constituted in the context of Mekong hydropower dams found in the news articles? 2) What are the discursive strategies employed to establish the notions of development in such context? 3) What are contending discourses generated under development discourses in such context? 108 extracts of news related to Mekong hydropower development were collected from two databases: the NewsCenter and the Google search Engine. The selection of the news was produced from 1995 to 2017.

The analysis was conducted under using two theoretical frameworks: Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Van Dijk’s Sociocognitive Approach (SCA). The analysis is divided into three levels: sociocultural practice, discursive practice and text using ideological discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2009) to analyze news text. The result revealed eight ideological discursive strategies constructed ideological representation of social groups: 1) Negative lexicalization, 2) Hyperbole, 3) Negative Comparison, 4) Generalization, 5) Concretization, 6) Warning, 7) Norm and Value Violation and 8) Presupposition. Among the eight discursive strategies, three distinct discursive strategies that most frequently employed in the news headlines and leads, they are 1) Presupposition (74 news), 2) Negative lexicalization (52 news) and 3) Warning (32 news) respectively. The study also reveals the key social players interplayed in the context, in which they are crucial to

constitute contending development discourses or development notions in such context.

The analysis on discursive strategies help to establish understanding on the discursive practice and sociocultural practices of the context. The identification of the key social players and their diverse discourses reflect various interpretations of “development” co-existing in such context. The findings that trace the origin of the contentious discourses awareness of various options held by stakeholders of dam constitution in the region.

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ABBREVIATION

(ADB)	Asian Development Bank
(AOP)	Assembly of the Poor
(APG)	Asean Power Grid
(CA)	Critical Linguistics
(CDA)	Critical Discourse Analysis
(EGAT)	Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand
(GDP)	Gross Domestic Product
(GMS)	Greater Mekong Subregion
(GATT)	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
(IMF)	International Monetary Fund
(IBRD)	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
(LMB)	Lower Mekong Basin
(LMC)	Lancang-Mekong Cooperation
(MEA)	Metropolitan Electricity Authority
(MW)	Megawatt
(MSL)	Mean Sea Level
(NGOs)	non-governmental organizations
(PEA)	Provincial Electricity Authority
(PDP)	Power Development Plan
(PRC)	People's Republic of China
(SCA)	Social Cognitive Approach
(UN)	United Nations
(WBG)	World Bank Group
(WCD)	World Commission on Dam

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The Mekong River has played a crucial role to Southeast Asia in a wide variety of dimensions for centuries. As the Mekong runs through many countries i.e. China, Burma, Lao PDR, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, the river is a lifeblood line of multicultural ethnic communities located in many nations. For the region, Mekong is also a main traderoutes, water transportation, fishery, water source for agriculture, and one of the richest and diverse cultural sites. Mekong is significantly characterized by high fish biodiversity (Valbo-Jorgensen et al., 2009). Currently, there are 279 new species of fish have been discovered (WWF, 2009). Mekong is found as the second richest river for its fish diversity after Amazon River in Brazil (Baran, 2010). According to its significance above, whatever activities occur on the Mekong are bound to affect a lot of people, thus they are being watched by the world's civil society. One movement which brings about strong impact to the Mekong is the hydropower development. The impact of the project leads to the world's attention in terms of environment concern and several socio-cultural conflicts. Therefore, the hydropower development project on the Mekong mainstream and lower Mekong has triggered controversial debates in terms of its inevitably bad light environmental and socio-cultural impact to the Mekong community in which refers to several nations who share the Mekong River.

Back in late 1990s, as its inception of the projects with the vital supports from Asian Development Bank (ADB), the hydropower dam project is initiated by the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) with the claim that the region is in need of energy resource endowment and power demand, so the energy is identified as one of the significant development plans in the GMS Program which covers nine areas of sub-region cooperation (agriculture, energy, environment, human resource development,

investment, telecommunications, tourism, trade facilitation, and transport). GMS also claims that energy supply generated from this power system is economically and environmentally friendly to the region as it helps to slow the growth of carbon emission (Asian Development Bank, 2012). In this light, the claim of seeking for energy security for the region of the GMS could be seen as the use of development discourse to help legitimize regional policy to process hydropower dam project in practice.

Later on the project's interest was shifted quickly to the regional power trade, energy trading became the major focus of the project, and energy is completely viewed as "product" to sell (ADB, 2012). The governments of China and Lao PDR are the pioneer who started to build hydropower dam for trading, and in the near future, China plans to construct more hydropower dams on the international rivers such as Brahmaputra and Amur Salween or Nu, and including the Mekong. China is acting as "hydro-hegemon" on the Brahmaputra River this means that China's plan on dam construction for the hydropower development on the international rivers is operating without any consensus from partnership of its neighbors who are stakeholders of the rivers (retrieved from <http://www.chinafolio.com/hydro-power-and-hydro-hegemony>). As such, GMS's policy in establishing the power grid in the region alongside with the ADB's policy in enhancing economic growth and reduce poverty in the region seem strong enough to claim the legitimacy to process the development plans in the region, in which one of them is the hydropower dam project.

The hydropower dam project is also tied with many discourses i.e. development discourse and national building discourse. As development and poverty reduction are crucial policy both national and regional level, therefore any development project seems to be legitimized by the discourse that spins out from the theme of nation building appeared in the national policy. It can be seen that development discourse is raised as a primary national agenda which gradually becomes a mainstream idea guiding national policy. At this point, state or government has employed a discourse of national building as a powerful device to gain legitimacy, power and control to process government projects. It can be viewed that the discourse of nation building is derived from and controlled by discourse of development. Therefore, the case of the hydropower dam project on the Mekong River is a perfect

example reflecting the interface between development discourse and national building discourse.

It is undeniable that the term “development” has been extensively used in heterogeneous areas because the term renders such superb images and positive attitudes to the audience. By its denotative meanings, development signals growth, maturity, advance, construction and improvement, and it also includes economic and social advancement (retrieved from <http://www.encyclopedia.com>). Thus, development entails the process of change and improvement for better conditions of life and prosperous society. Additionally, the concept of development has also evoked other concepts i.e. modernization, industrialization and capitalism in which these concepts heavily encourage economic competitiveness in the globe..

According to Arturo Escobar, the term development was used as discourse since 1940s in the period of the Second World War (Escobar, 1995). Development was employed as discourse in order to become a powerful and clever mechanism to colonize other countries in the post-colonization era. Escobar argues that development discourse claims itself as a new and better creation which can emancipate people beliefs from superstition in the old world regime, to introduce them to the new world regime of advance science and knowledge. Development discourse is seen as systematized relations among institutions and practices. He contends that be to able to have a clear perception of development discourse, we need to take emphasis on ones need to the system of relations constituted among them. The systematic creation of objects, concepts and strategies which index what can be thought and said. These relations have constituted between institutions, socio-economic processes, forms of knowledge, and technological factors. These determined the condition under which objects, concepts, theories and strategies can be united into the discourse. On the one hand, the system of relations constitutes a discursive practice which controls the rules of the game- it determines who can speak, from what viewpoint, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise. It is the rules that generate the problem, theory or object to be named, analyzed, and transformed into a plan or a policy at the end (Escobar, 1995, p. 87).

Providing an insight perspective into development theory known as one of the grand theories, Escobar posits that the main stream ideas of development and

modernization were promoted as a premise for western style development. With the similar view of Hart, development refers to the change toward the Western way of living, and development aims to against the backdrop of third world intervention, decolonization and Cold War (Hart 2001, as cited in Savitri, 2004). On the other, it can be seen as the exertion of the hegemonic power of the European countries over the third world (Melber, 2014, as cited in Savitri, 2004). This ideology has pervaded to the East by the conditions of economy and financial aids as well as the diffusion of political ideology.

Later on, the concept of development has passed into the era of globalization, where development is defined as a process of capitalism dealing with other elements i.e. agricultural development, industrialization, commerce and trade, monetary and fiscal policies, population and resources, and technology. These reasons provide supports that why the first world countries need to offer their hands to help them. As such, in order to help them, they proposed that the supplies of capital system need to be improved by providing infrastructure, industrialization, and modernization of society. Within the process of the third world's development, the cultural is taken into account-education assists to nurture modern culture values. Additionally, development has also engendered other concepts i.e. modernization, industrialization, urbanization and capitalism (Escobar, 1995, p. 90).

From the aforementioned, development concept which stems from the western ideology assumed that the articulation of development discourse attempts to affirm the Westerner's perspectives of how they view the world and how they constitute society. Thus, development discourse can be viewed as a western invention which assists them to change and shape other regions to fit in western ideologies, by following the better model and under the west supervision. In the same vein, development discourse can be viewed as the valuable token of the world powerful group to retain legitimacy, power and control over other groups in other parts of the world (the West and the Rest). In terms of worldview, traditional perspectives, indigenous cultures and wisdoms are gradually ignored and replaced by the new thinking of development which centrals to Western ideologies. Thus, ideological development discourse and its practices tend to shape and reshape people's perspectives in how they view the world into the same trace under the concept of

development delivered from the West. Henceforth, indigenous cultural and identities tend to lessen and are put in a position of inferiority, local communities are located in a marginal arena in terms of participation in the development plan.

Although basically the term “development” seems to be a beam of hope to people and the whole society for a better living as it generates positive images; having education, eradicate poverty, more convenient life with advanced technology, on the other hand, development does generate social problems as well. As mentioned earlier, development is the point of the departure of several grand concepts as mentioned earlier, the significant one is modernity. Modernity was such an influential idea to generate industry revolution, and industry has become a core of modern society. Industrial development does tremendously create strong economical competitiveness everywhere. From 16th century, human life was defined by market instead of tradition (Tucker, 2002, as cited in Gadavani, 2014). By 1900, social conditions had changed from traditional to the domination of industrial, national state and capitalism (Gadavani, 2014).

Capitalism inevitably has brought about the idea of materialism, in which people are urged to work harder and longer to possess things for their daily living. Instead to possess a better life, their living becomes tougher and more struggling in a material world. These consequences gradually form social problems at large, to the extent, at the micro level, the family unit has been broken down due to job opportunity struggle- parents leave their kids for job opportunities in a big city, their children were left with the grandparents, the villages are left deserted. For the macro level, industrial revolution could generate destructive structure, for instance social structure and ecosystem. Due to the urge of industrial system quietly form social inequality, the dichotomy between the rich and the poor, they are in the situation of class conflict or class struggle. Karl Marx who coined the term “class struggle” posits that production is the theme of industrial process, a group that own mode and means of production or Bourgeoisie is the powerful group in the society. Hegemonic power of the powerful group not only determine the economic drive but also and social norm (idea, perception and belief) and legitimate knowledge (Gadavani, 2014). In terms of eco system, industrial process requires massive natural resources as its crucial material. This way, natural resources have been destroyed and used up quickly by

development. The ecosystem has been severely disturbed and become gradually degraded. As a result, development practices which are central to economic development and highly competitiveness can generate family conflicts and social problems at large.

In this light, the concept of modernity (industry and capitalism) in the name of development practice not only performs positive aspects, but also casts shadow and failure brings to many areas. By employing discourse of development in the regional and national policy, government is authorized to operate mega projects with massive budgets. However, many projects not only failed but also generated several social problems e.g. poverty, unemployment, family breakdown, ecosystem and in the superstructure i.e. class conflict or class struggle. These consequences urge problematic question to “development” concept interpreted and claimed in a top-down direction i.e. government. As such, development discourse manipulated in the regional and national policy operated by the government is skeptical. Should development be interpreted and determined by only state or government? Should development practices be managed in a top-down direction only? Should development practice be shared by local communities and other parties of the society?

Development itself has generated several grand idea i.e. modernity, industrial revolution, capitalism and so on. In the name of development and for development sake, development discourse is now positioned as a mainstream discourse in the society. Development discourse is an affective device, it can generate such an strong ideological power to society at large, so that the elite group or the ruling class wants to employ it to gain legitimacy, power and control over other group. From the critical role of development discourse as dominant discourse of the society, development discourse has generated particular social activities, practices and ideologies. The hydropower dam project on the Mekong mainstream is an outstanding case which emerged from regional policy of the GMS underpinned by ADB and the World Bank (ibid). The project is now heavily operated by the governments of China and Lao PDR. The project is well illuminating the practice of development discourse embedded in a national building for the claim of poverty reduction (ibid).

Development discourse is used to claim as a vital concept to push forward the region and the nation to a better living and promising life, so that it is a core agenda in

national policy. By this way, the state or government has complete legitimacy to manipulate development discourse in order to upgrade the country and to gain legitimacy of state authority. In the same way, the state's authorization is legitimized by development discourse. The state or government is authorized to operate national projects under the national policy and under the regime of development discourse. At this point, the term "development" has clearly been projected to be an object of manipulation by the elite group (state or government) in order to legitimize their authority and control, allowing them to gain, maintain and exercise power over other groups.

For centuries, development discourse is presented as a dominant global discourse of the world we are living now. It has been intensively employed as major claim of regional and national building during the Cold War period, so that it has become the main stream idea to promote state or government's policies into legitimated practices. Therefore, development concept and its practices written in national policy can be viewed as the one sided interpretation towards the concept of development the of elite and ruling class, development concept is a top-down interpretation without any shared viewpoints of varying groups who are truly stakeholders of the society. When development discourse is promoted as dominant discourse in the national policy, development concept is premise on economic development, while other aspects of development are less focused. This imbalanced development is dangerous and unsustainable because it may generate a huge gap of conflicts in the society as well as social problems.

In the past decades, development with its notion and concept is only interpreted by state or government (ruling class) in a single dimension. In the case of hydropower dam project on the Mekong mainstream and its downside impact to the region can be seen as a manifestation of top-down regional policy which comes from a monopolized interpretation of a powerful group in the society- capital group (Asian Development Bank and the World Bank) with the ruling class (government of China and Lao PDR). Top-down policy can be referred to the policy, in which it is implemented by that government that does not understand the actual condition and way of life of the people in the region.

In this light, the interpretation of development seems to be monopolized by the views of the powerful group in the society i.e. capital and governments. It is a top-down policy without any shared opinions from other groups in the society. According to this consequence, it urges the guest to revisiting the notion of development in multiple dimensions in a fair manner. Hence, the study is aiming at problematize the notions of development in the context of hydropower dam project on the Mekong mainstream for the hydropower development. People and communities who are the direct stakeholders of the Mekong River should have a sphere to represent their voices, and their opinions should not be taking for granted. They should be able to be active participants in the project, and their viewpoints should be heard before the project has started. Before the projects under the name of development will be processed, the concept of development should be interpreted and redefined in multiple dimensions by heterogeneous parties in society in an equal manner.

The study is aware of the potential impact of development discourse as a dominant discourse governing our social practices at large, so that the concept of development should not be interpreted only by a single party i.e. the ruling or powerful group in the top-down direction, but rather, “development” should be defined carefully in multi-dimensions by varying parties of the society. Henceforth, the study is aiming at revisiting the notions of development in the context of hydropower dam project on the Mekong River by investigating the discursive embedded in discursive strategies occurred in the media texts that related to the context of hydropower dam projection the Mekong mainstream. The study assumes that discursive strategies found in the media texts can reflect discursive practices and sociocultural practice of the key social players who have produced development discourses from diverse points of views. Others different public discourses occurring in the media texts are the representation of discursive practice of development discourse with different shades thinking employed by varying parties in the society. How each group assigns or reassigns meaning to “development” in order to constitute their development discourse, and how they manipulate this term for their own purposes and benefits.

1.2 Research Rationale

According to the discussion in the previous section, it is undeniable that development discourse from the western ideology has significantly become dominant discourse of the society. Development discourse produces development practices which influence social changes in several ways as mentioned in the earlier parts. Development discourse and its predominant impact guide people's perspective in how they view the world and how they organize the society. Development discourse and the epistemology of it has shaped and reshaped systems of knowledge, beliefs and ideologies, which constituted our social structure and social practices. Henceforth, it can be viewed that development and development discourse has a dialectical relationship- development concept constitutes development discourse and vice versa.

Consistent with what Fairclough has proposed, he postulates that discourse is socially constructed and constructive (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 62-65). In Gee's sense, discourse performs social activities related to cultures, social groups and institutions, therefore, discourses serve social activities. The discursive practices are a distribution channel of production and reproduction of social group, institutions, and cultures. When we communicate, the way we speak creates situation or context to fit our purpose, so that it means we fit our language to situation as our purpose. Gee posits that the social world is built and rebuilt through language, action, interaction, tools, objects and distinctive way of thinking, valuing, feeling and believing (Gee, 1999, p. 10). At this point, language and society are partially constituted on another, hence, discourse is socially constitutive and discourse is socially constituted (Fairclough, 1992).

Our society constitutes discourses and in the same way discourses construct social structure and practices. Since development discourse rooted from western ideology is employed as dominant discourse in our society, the idea of economic development is prominent among other aspects of development. The economic development gives values to GDP (Gross Domestic Product) as a primary indicator for country's economy health, thus it propels the world to economic race. As industrialization is marked as a salient process to push forward economic development, and energy is a key in industrial process, the whole region is in panic to

seeking for massive raw material and energy for massive production. Therefore, energy sought is fundamental idea in both regional and national policy. Later on, energy sought and alternative energy is not viewed as crucial element in industry, but today they are seen as product for trading.

The governments of China and Lao PDR are the pioneer who initiated hydropower dam project for power trading within the region. Considering about size and potential, the Mekong River mainstream is selected as a target of the project. The project significantly aims to produce energy supplies from hydroelectric power as it is an immense source of energy. Recently, there are three dams operating in China and another ongoing construction project in Lao PDR. However, there are several international debates and discussions on negative effects of the dam construction to Mekong watershed and the nearby communities along the river area. Several reports of the debates and discussions related to the issue are presented in forms of news articles, research articles, and journals. The majority of the reports show mutual concerns on environmental effects from the massive dam (s) construction on the Mekong mainstream. These mega projects for the hydropower development may create a profound threat to the livelihood of multicultural communities living downstream the Mekong River. The river is not only vital for several lives, but also crucial to communities in a wide range e.g. belief, culture, living resources, ecosystem, and etc. Moreover, the project profoundly affects the physical shape of the river, the local fishery and agriculture, as well as food and economic security of the region. Additionally, the dam projects directly impact the ecosystem of the whole region involving several countries who are stakeholders of the Mekong River i.e. Thailand, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Burma and Cambodia. As such, the hydropower dam project with the claim of hydropower development on the Mekong River is viewed as social concern in terms of its tremendous threat to the region in several aspects as mentioned.

Among controversial debates on the negative effect of the project, the governments of China and Lao PDR are continuing the project under the name of development regime. It seems that the two governments are using development discourse rooted from western views to legitimize this development plan i.e. hydropower dam project. The project is obviously seen as the product or practice from

the development discourse. This phenomenon clearly defines that development practices that legitimized by government could generate social problems if those practices are processed as top-down dimension and without enough participation from the real stakeholders i.e. civil society. From this case, it portrays the example of monopoly of the interpretation of development concept by the state or government. Thus, discourse development performs as vital device underpins the elite/ powerful group to legitimize their practices.

In order to avoid further social conflicts and to minimize mistakes derived from the impact of development practices, the interpretation of development should not be monopolized by only any group in the society, instead it should be interpreted, defined and conceptualized by varying social parties in an equal manner. As such, development practices should be determined in such a social participatory manner by the civil society who is the genuine stakeholders of the offspring of development practices and consequences.

In this light, the study is aiming at analyzing the talk about development on the issue of dam construction to reveal the shades of development's notions and concepts as well as its discourse in the context of hydropower dam project for the hydropower development on the Mekong basin. This research stands on qualitative method and relies on Critical Discourse Analysis approach (CDA). The study explores the texts containing reports relevant such context. CDA believe text is discourse production and a part of social practice, the analysis is focused on the discursive strategies that are employed to form discursive practice, in which renders a particular meaning of the development in such context.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study argues that the language use occurring in a variety of media texts is regarded as a form of communicative events which provide a huge field for discursive practices. The discursive practice is the process of the text production, distribution and consumption. Then text and together with discursive practice can lead to explain social practice. As such, through the lenses of critical discourse analysis, language is a manifestation of the discursive practices and social practices (Fairclough, 1992).

Text is potentially significant for discourse analysis and is an empirical evidence as the mediated between language and society (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 277). Therefore, to study discursive strategies of the news article related to the context of hydropower dam project for the hydropower development on the Mekong River would shed light on discursive practices and social practices of development discourse in such a context.

I argue that development discourse found in the hydropower dam project is heterogenous due to the controversial debates on its impact to the region. Thus, the study propose to investigate development discourse performed in such context, its formation, how its meaning is constituted, how its meaning is interpreted by whom, and how development discourse is manipulated by different groups relevant to the context. The study aims at exploring discursive strategies set up development discourse (in such context) found in a public sphere i.e. news articles. With the CDA approach, it assumes that the texts related to the context have generated discursive practice and the meaning of development discourse. This way helps to illuminate development discourse, its structure, its manipulation, and including social actors and actions interplayed in such context.

The main objectives of the study are: 1) to investigate discursive practices of development discourse performed in the context of hydropower dam development on the Mekong River found in a public sphere i.e. news articles 2) to analyze discursive strategies used to establish discursive practice and the notions of development in such context 3) to reveal other shades of development's notions relevant to such context constituted by varying parties i.e. capital groups and other stakeholders i.e. civil society.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 What are the notions of Development constituted in the context of Mekong hydropower dams found in the news article?

1.4.2 What are the discursive strategies employed to establish the notions of Development in such context?

1.4.3 What are contending discourses generated under Development discourses in such context?

1.5 Analytical Framework

In order to decode development's notions embedded in development discourses in a context of hydropower dam project on the Mekong River, the study looks closely at discursive practices performed in the texts i.e. news articles which related to such context. With the proposition that language and society has shared a dialectical relationship, discourse and discursive practices are representation of social practices. Therefore, in order to delineate interwoven relationship between language and society in social phenomenon, Critical Discourse Analysis approach is selected as the overarching analytical tool in this study. Critical Discourse Analysis approach (CDA) is an interdisciplinary research sitting on problem-oriented. CDA is an interface among the semiotic perspectives of injustice, power, abuse, and political-economy or culture change in society (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). As CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that crucial on social critiques, it is an appropriate approach to employ as an analytical tool in this study.

Perceiving development as discourse- language beyond sentence level (Cook, 2004), thus the interpretation of discourse of development is seen through the interrelationship of language, society and power. By adopting structuralist and post-structuralist approaches: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Socio-cognitive approach (SCA) to form the analytical framework to employ in the study of development discourse in a context of dam construction projects for the hydropower development on the Mekong River. The study assumes that the use of discursive strategies used in the public discourse published in the media texts is able to reveal the different shade of development discourse employed by varying parties in the society. How each group assigns or reassigns meaning to "development" in order to build up their development discourse, and how they manipulate this term for their own purposes and benefits.

The data in the study is analyzed at two levels: macrostructure analysis and microstructure analysis. At the macro level, the study combines the approaches of

Fairclough's CDA and van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach to uncover language and social relationship, and unequal power in the society. Fairclough's CDA deals with three aspects: text, discursive practice and social practice. Van Dijk's SCA explains how social cognition and social structure are employed to legitimate the discourse. The micro level, the analysis uses discourse approaches i.e. transitivity, nominalization, verbal process, lexis and metaphor to analyze discursive strategies occurring in the news articles. The core data of the study is public texts from the news articles related to the issue of dam construction projects on the Mekong mainstream for the hydro power development. The data should be a representation of voices and perspectives from varying parties of the society i.e. governmental and capital sectors, the local multicultural communities of Mekong River and academic sectors toward "development" in such a context. The data collection range is limited within the news article published within 2013-2015. The collection of data is extracted into transcription, and then the analytical tool is employed in the process of data analysis.

1.6 Data and Data Collection

The major data of the study is texts presented in the news related to the context of the Mekong hydropower dams. The selection of the news article (online) is from two main online sources: the news database NewsCenter and search engine Google. Without year restriction of the news, the news searching was made through the key words "Mekong hydropower dams". The searching displayed loads of news from various websites, but the researcher needed to select only related news from the real new agencies. From the careful selection, there are 108 news extracts.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The news searching was made through both data base under the key words "Mekong hydropower dams". The searching resulted load of news which seemed to relevant to the particular context, but in fact the researcher needed to skim and scan thorough every news and selected only news relevant to the particular context i.e. hydropower dams on the Mekong mainstream.

The study proposes the analysis of discursive practice of development discourse related to the hydropower dam project for the hydropower development on the Mekong River which appear in the news article. News is regarded as a language use, as well as a public sphere, where development discourse is produced and reproduced as a dominant discourse. As such, news articles are considered as a representation of public interests, voices and perspectives of varying parties in the society (i.e. capital groups and civil society) related to the issue. According to the limitation of accessibility and possibility, the scope of the study focuses on the language use related the issue of dam construction projects on the Mekong River for the hydropower development found in news articles.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I have introduced about the term of “development” and how the term is incorporated in the dominant discourse as development discourse. To answer the research questions: 1) What are the notions of Development constituted in the context of Mekong hydropower dams found in the news article? 2) What are the discursive strategies employed to establish the notions of Development in such context? 3) What are contending discourses generated under Development discourses in such context?, therefore this chapter provides the information about the context of Mekong River environmentally and economically. Then it proceeds to discuss the nature of discourse which is the major data. Finally it ends with the discussion of theories and methods related to this topic.

The study problematizes the notion of “development” in the context of dam construction for the hydropower development. The study ultimately aims to unwrap the manipulation of development discourse as it is used as dominant discourse in the context of dam construction for the hydropower development on the Mekong. By doing this, the study intend to reveal contending discourses evolving around the concept of development related to the issue, occurring as public discourse in the news media. Those development discourse emerged in the news is a representation of diverse public voices and perspective form varying parties of the society as they are real stakeholders of the development. This study draws upon Critical Linguistics or Critical discourse analysis approach which aims to uncover the manipulation of development discourse related to the issue. The analysis is central to the discursive strategies occurred in the news articles. News media is regarded as a huge public sphere where public discourses from varying parties of the society come into play. Wahl-Jorgensen (2004) posits newspaper provides a historically important place for public discourse (as cited in Hoffman & Slater, 2015).

This chapter is divided into seven sections. The first section starts with socio-cultural and economical context of the Mekong River, and then discusses why the dam construction projects for the hydropower development have become such a problematic social issue in the study. The second section presents discourse studies as a frame thought in the study, additionally, the study touches on ideology and hegemony as concepts to provide better understanding on discourse and its manipulation. The third section illustrates development and capitalism, other related concepts as ground knowledge to understand development in such context. The forth section discusses development discourse as a public global dominant discourse. The fifth section postulates about media and society- the interplay between media, discourse and society. The sixth section points news discourse as a public sphere and a representation of public diverse voices in the society. The seventh section presents Critical Discourse Analysis as a major conceptual framework of the study. The last section proposes language and discourse as the analytical frameworks which emphasis on Fairclough's CDA and van Dijk's SCA as a crucial analytical tool of the study.

2.2 The Social Context of Dam Construction Projects for the Hydropower Development on the Mekong

This portion attempts to yield why and how dam construction projects for the hydropower development on the Mekong River have become a social concern and global debatable issue. This section consists of the following arguments:

- 2.2.1 The Sociological review of the Mekong River
- 2.2.2 The Mekong River and its significance to the region
- 2.2.3 Dam construction for the hydropower development in the Mekong basin
- 2.2.4 The changing environment of the Mekong Basin and its impact to the region

2.2.1 The Sociological Review of the Mekong River

Mekong is originated from the Tibetan Plateau in China, flows to southeast through six nations with the approximately length of 48,000-kilometers and finally releases into the South China Sea (Adamson, Rutherford, Peel, & Conlan, 2009). The Mekong is an international river as it goes through several nations. This trans-boundary river is the world's tenth longest river. The river originates from the Tibetan Plateau to the Mekong Delta, it runs through six countries i.e. China's Yunan province, Burma, Lao PDR, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam before releasing into the South China Sea. The Mekong River encompasses seven portions -the Tibetan Plateau, Three Rivers Area and Lancang Basin form the Upper Mekong Basin, the Northern Highlands, Khorat Plateau, Tonle Sap Basin and Mekong Delta make up the Lower Mekong Basin (retrieved from <http://www.mrcmekong.org>).

The Mekong Basin is divided into two areas: the Upper Mekong Basin and the Lower Mekong Basin. The Upper Mekong Basin is described as the area of the Mekong Basin of China and Myanmar (Radosevich & Olson, 1999). It is about fifteen million occupied thirty percent of the area of the basin. The Lower Mekong Basin is so called the "Golden Triangle" referring to the area of the Mekong Basin within the nations of Lao PDR, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam (Elhance, 1999). Around another sixty million people reside in the seventy percent of the area of the Mekong Basin (MRC, 2010a).

2.2.2 The Mekong and its Significance to the Region

Mekong is extensively significant to the region in multi dimensions. The Mekong provides opportunities the region's inhabitants with agricultural plantation, sources of local food, carrier and income, fisheries and etc. The Mekong is a salient bloodline for several ethnic communities lived along the Mekong River, their daily lives basis totally depending on the Mekong. In terms of hydrology, the river is a headwater for main important rivers in several countries, and those rivers are accounted for crucial vein for the livelihood of the people in the regions in terms of agriculture, fishery, trading, transportation, beliefs and culture, and so on. For the ecosystem, the river contains the world's largest inland fishery is the habitat for various kinds of Mekong fish species. Additionally, after the Amazon, the Mekong is

regarded as the second most diverse area on earth. It is reported that there are 20,000 plant species, 430 mammals, 1,200 birds, 800 reptiles and amphibians and an estimated 850 fish species. And in the following years, there are still more new plant, fish and bird species, and including reptiles, mammals and amphibians. Henceforth, in terms of ecology, society and culture, Mekong is not only significant to the multicultural communities in the region but the area is described as one of the most abundant and more diverse areas in the world (retrieved from <http://mekong.waterandfood.org>).

In terms of fishery, the Mekong is regarded as the world's largest freshwater fishery (ICEM, 2010a, p. 95). Fish and rice are crucial as foundation of food security in the region (Sarkkula et al., 2009, p. 227). The four Lower Basin nations are regarded as the highest consumer of freshwater fish in the world (ICEM, 2010a, p. 96). Fishing is economically importance in the Mekong. Therefore, these make a whole region as important as the regional food security, and it also enrich the locals' economic benefits. It is reported that, twenty-five percent of locals in the Mekong are able to earn income from fish selling; it is the second of income of their daily basis (MRC, 2010a). Besides their primary income from agriculture, money from fish selling is the second source of income which is saved in ordered to buy rice seed for the paddy season (MRC, 2010b). The local fishing provides opportunities for ones who deal in the manufacture, sale, and repair of fishing equipment (MRC, 2010a). A study points that the poorest people are heavily rely on hydro resources i.e. fish. As such, the changes in river flow and availability of hydro resources is really impact to their life (MRC/WUP-FIN, 2007, p. 81). Thus, benefit from fisheries is severely important to the communities of the Lower Mekong countries, for instance, in the Tonle Sap region of Cambodia (Sarkkula et al., 2009, pp. 242-243).

In terms of agriculture, around ninety percent of all people in the Lower Basin do agriculture as their major career (Blake, 2001). Food and economic security of sixty million people are depending on the Mekong basin (Pearse-Smith, 2012). Main occupation of eighty-three percent of the population in the Lower Mekong Basin is involving in an aquatic resources. It can be said the Mekong basin communities' daily basis rely on the river-rice farming, fishing, collection of freshwater fish and wide

animals and plants, other related fisheries products i.e. net and boat making/repairing and farm labour (MRC, 2010a, p. 48).

According to the current report, seventy-three percent of Lower Basin locals do agriculture as their main important occupation. Fifty percent of the Mekong's locals said that the income from selling rice is most income of their daily basis (MRC, 2010a). Agriculture is therefore tremendously important in the Lower Mekong basin nations as it renders the loca'ls opportunity of employments, around sixty-five to eighty-five percent are the labor in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Lao PDR (MRC, 2010a, p.48). Rice is major meal for most Asian, thus, rice farming is salient to the region (MRC, 2010b, p.8). In the Lower Mekong, they use more than ten million hectares to cultivated rice (MRC, 2010b). The Mekong delta is profoundly significant agricultural region in the Mekong Basin regarding to the major food production of Vietnam (Cabrera, 2003). The Mekong delta is fifty percent of the rice farms of Vietnam, so any threat to the agricultural productivity of the delta could generate problem for the country at large (MRC, 2010a). During the dry season, the locals grow a wide variety of fruit, vegetables and other crops in the gardens on the riverbank, this provides additional food source for them (Roberts, 2001; Jenkins, McGauhey, & Mills, 2008). Agriculture is a foundation economic activity in the Lower Mekong Basin (MRC, 2010b, p. 8). According to the mentioned fact, people lived along the Mekong is described as the river-based livelihoods due to the fact that their daily basis is heavily rely on agriculture and fisheries (Shoemaker, Baird & Baird, 2001, p. 59). The Mekong is clearly a blood line of the region and the locals' daily basis heavily relies on the river.

2.2.3 Mekong Hydropower Dams

The hydropower is claimed as a promising alternative energy. Among the intense economical competition of the global basis today, many nations are seeking for energy security to enrich the nation's industrial development. With the fact that the old tradition of energy such as oil and coal are degrading and inefficient, it gives rise to alternative energy. Consequently, the hydropower is claimed to provide a massive sustainable source of energy. According to a special report on Renewable Energy Sources and Climate Change Mitigation (SEREN, 2011), it points some

information on the hydro power proficiency as follows: hydropower is able to reduce carbon emissions. The hydropower remains the largest source of renewable energy in the electricity sector. By the end of 2008, the capacity of hydropower contributed 16% of worldwide electricity supply. Nowadays, the potential of the hydropower is likely to further deploy in the near future. Hydropower is currently competitive in the world economically energy market. On the spot at development, hydropower can produce more energy than what electricity supply can do. Between the years 2000-2030, the capacity of the hydropower is likely to significantly increase. In short, the hydropower generates the following aspects:

Table 2.1 General benefits of Hydropower

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- 1) Hydropower is a renewable energy source where power is derived from the energy of water moving from higher to lower elevations,
 - 2) The total worldwide technical potential for hydropower generation is 14,576 TWh/yr (52.47 EJ/yr) with a corresponding installed capacity of 3,721 GW, roughly four times the current installed capacity,
 - 3) In the past, hydropower has acted as a catalyst for economic and social development by providing both energy and water management services, and it can continue to do so in the future,
 - 4) Environmental and social issues will continue to affect hydropower deployment opportunities,
 - 5) Technological innovation and material research can further improve environmental performance and reduce operational costs,
 - 6) Hydropower can provide important services to electric power systems,
 - 7) Hydropower offers significant potential for carbon emissions reductions
-

Source: SEREN, 2011.

Due to the report, the hydropower is claimed as an alternative energy-environment sound and renewable energy, it is seen as a promising energy to invest for the future energy demand. Therefore, in the 1990, it gave rise to the hydropower development on the Mekong, the projects were funded. This hydropower development was clearly commercial partnerships between the governments and private sector developers (Hirsch, 2011). Consequently, there are now, there are now twenty-five operational hydropower dams and an additional ninety-nine tributary hydropower projects at various stages operating in the Lower Basin (ICEM, 2010a; MRC, 2010a). Additionally, it is a plan to place and complete several Mekong tributaries' cascades of dams by 2030 (ICEM, 2010a).

Since 2006, the interest in hydropower development in the Lower Mekong Basin (LMB) is established, and more private sectors are collaborating in the projects by increasing investment in power infrastructure. China has built the first four hydropower dams up to 8 dams on the Mekong mainstream. By 2030, 71 cascades dam projects are planned to construct along tributaries of Mekong River. Last few years, twelve proposals of hydropower projects for LMB mainstream were proposed by investors and developers from China, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam (ICEM, 2010). Ten proposed mainstream of dam construction projects will be operated on several river channels – eight dams in Lao PDR, and two dams are on the Lao-Thailand borders and two dams in Cambodia. Another two dam projects will be constructed near the Khone Falls in Lao PDR and partial in (Don Sahong) or a diversion (Thakho). In Yunnan province of China, eight dams are under planned and construction in Lancang River (Mekong River) (ICEM, 2012).

Dam construction projects on the Mekong River Basin are on three stages: existing, under construction and planned. There are three existing ones- Manwan (China, 1992), Dachaosh (China, 2003), Jinghong (China, 2010). Two dams are under construction- Nuozhadu (China, 2014), Xiaowan (China, 2002) located in (Yunnan Province, China) on the Lancang River (Upstream Mekong River). The planned ones are 14- Gongguoqiao (China), Ganlanba (CHN), Mengsong (China), Pak Beng (Lao PDR), Luang Prabang (Lao PDR), Pak Lay (Lao PDR), Sanakham (Lao PDR), Pak Chom (Lao PDR), Ban Koum (Lao PDR), Lat Sua (Lao PDR), Don Sahong (Lao

PDR), Stung Treng (Cambodia), Sambor (Cambodia) (Pearse-Smith, 2012). The figure of dam construction projects is shown below.

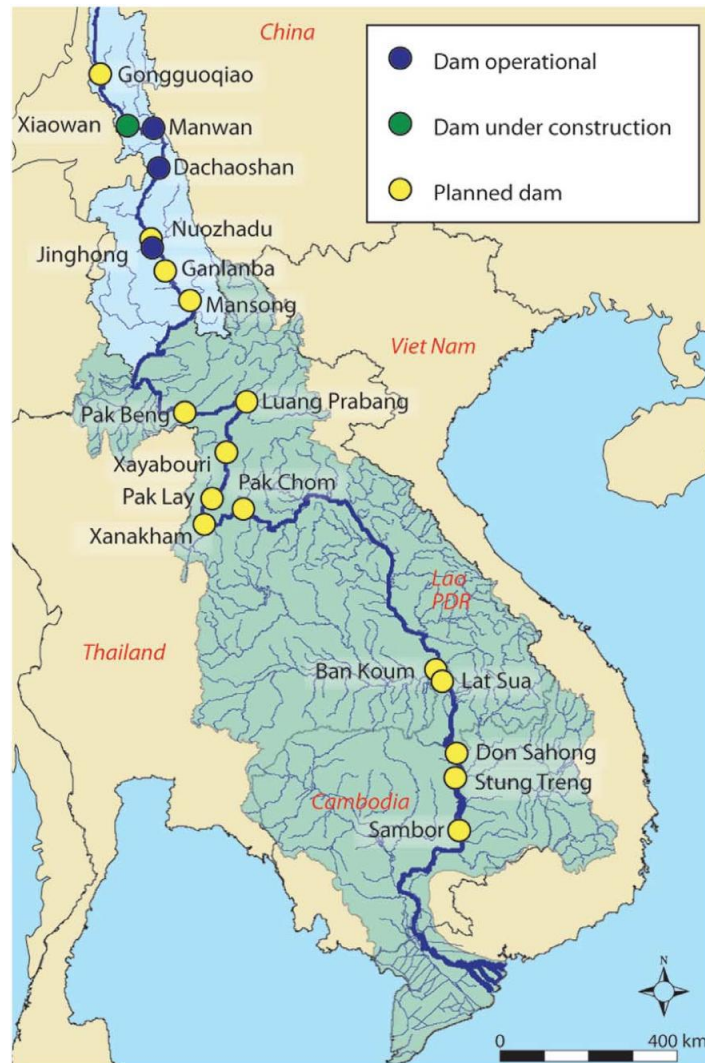


Figure 2.1 Current and Proposed Mainstream Mekong Hydropower Dams

Source: Lee & Scurrah, 2009.

At present, without any mutual consensus from the nations who have shared the international Mekong River, some nations are operating their dam projects i.e. China and Lao PDR. China is the first nation that has built dams on the mainstream Mekong, and recently, the first four dams up to eight hydroelectric projects are already construction. The Xiaowan dam is a case showing China's ambition as the

world leader of advanced technology in terms of engineering. This dam will be the world's highest arch dam. This dam construction will make the historical record of the hydrological regime development to Mekong Basin as (ICEM, 2010a, pp. 26-27). There are twelve hydropower development projects in the Lower Mekong Basin proposed by private sector developers (MRC, 2009a). Ten of eleven proposed projects are planned for Lao PDR, and the other two projects in Cambodia (ICEM, 2010a). For Xayaburi dam, Lao PDR government and Thai developer are incorporating. Currently, it is in the process of site preparatory of earth works and resettlement, and a plan of selecting land for the dam's construction (Pearse-Smith, 2012). In this vein, the dam construction projects for the hydropower development on the Mekong basin are clearly seen as a strong cooperation between the state and the private capital group. It can be seen that these national mega projects operating by the state's authority are legitimated by the national development discourse and development discourse.

2.2.4 The Changing Environment of the Mekong Basin Due to the Hydropower Development's Impact

The hydropower development on the Mekong basin via dams building along the Mekong main stream has rapidly changed the environment of the Mekong River. The changing environment of the Mekong in terms of hydrology and ecology vitally impact inhabitants of the Mekong in a wide variety of ways such as fisheries, agriculture and forest land. These effects strongly threaten multiethnic communities residing along the Mekong in terms of food security, economic security, and the overall region's eco-system. According to Pearse-Smith (2012), for centuries, the Mekong's aquatic system has been crucially supported the balance of climate and the ecology of the basin (ICEM, 2010a). The ecosystem of the basin has been stable with predictable seasonal fluctuation of the river (MRC, 2009b). Since the hydropower development projects began the aquatic system of the basin has changed (UNEP, 2006; ICEM, 2010a). Dam constructions on the mainstream and its tributaries have altered the river's flow, the projects have generated profound impact to overall ecosystems, social systems and economies. The construction of four mainstream dams on the Upper Mekong has already altered the timing and scale, and natural

features of the system of the Mekong. The proposed mainstream hydropower projects of the Yunnan Cascade and the Lower Basin mainstream hydropower projects could crucially interrupt the Mekong's flow and its ecology at large (ICEM, 2010a).

The changing environment of the Mekong basin due to dam construction projects for the hydropower development crucially impacts people and communities who live along the basin in several ways. The environmental change of the Mekong lead sto the decease of fishing and agriculture. The changing Mekong hydrology will reduce a wide variety of the basin's natural resources, such as number of agricultural lands and forested lands, fish stocks, natural nutrients, so that they are crucial matters to either agriculture or fishing (Pearse- Smith, 2012). Hydropower development affects the productivity of agriculture in several ways. It degrades a number of agriculture lands, and reduces natural resources that are the important agricultural matters. The hydropower development constrains agricultural productivity by degrading the supply of agricultural land. Due to the proposed Lower Basin mainstream dams, a threat is expected as at least 9,000 hectares of agricultural land could be flooded (ICEM, 2010a). Life will be more struggled as it is already difficult for the poor habitants of the Mekong basin if their major land of rice paddies is flooded by the dam construction projects. Rice is a daily meal for the Mekong's locals as well as most Asians (MRC, 2010b,). In the Lower Mekong Basin, more than ten million hectares is used for rice farming (MRC, 2010b). More than a major dietary, rice is instilled in their ways of life and its importance socially and economically contributes to their daily basis.

In terms of hydrology, the dam construction projects affect the unpredictable flooding and destroy necessary resources for of the agricultural land. Crops and livestock can be washed away by flooding. The hydropower development on the upstream could increase salt-water into the Mekong delta such as a case in Vietnam (Wyatt & Baird, 2007; Rix, 2003; Hoanh, Facon, Thuon, Bastakoti, Molle & Phengphaengsy, 2009). Besides the flood, the intrusion of salt-water is also increasing in the agricultural land which impacts the fertility of the soil, and in the worse cases, the soil's quality is decayed, so that the land is no longer suitable for agricultural purposes (UNEP, 2006). As such, to continue the hydropower development projects could severely harm Mekong agriculture by reducing the availability of clean

freshwater. Finally, this will lead to a profound problem on agricultural productivity by limiting the amount of water available for irrigation.

The agriculture on the Mekong basin is threatened by the hydropower development, the natural nutrient supply was degraded at the end. The change of the river tide and flow due to the dam will decrease the natural nutrients supply which enriched soil's fertility. Consequently, this will constrain agricultural products (Blake, 2001). Dams certainly trap and block natural nutrient from reaching the floodplains (UNEP, 2006). If the projects continue, the proposed mainstream hydropower development projects will be reduced the current nutrient load by seventy-five percent by 2030 (ICEM, 2010a). The construction of the Yunnan cascade in China could be a massive threat to the supply of nutrients downstream. It is reported that normally around fifty percent of annual sediment load from China would be stored on the Mekong Basin. The reduction in the wet-season flood due to the dams also would constrain the natural distribution of nutrient supply by floodwaters (Goh, 2004).

In terms of fisheries, the proposed Lower Mekong Basin mainstream dams could profoundly affect to the number of fish catch (Sarkkula et al., 2009, p. 243). The dam projects will reduce agricultural product and diversity of Mekong fish species (ICEM, 2010a, p. 16). As such, hydropower development has two main impacts on fisheries; it creates physical wall that blocks the fish's migration, and it also changes the fish behavior (Sarkkula et al., 2009). The decreasing of number of the fish catch and agricultural products are certainly a threat to food security of the local livelihood as well (Sarkkula et al., 2009). There is a concern about malnutrition to the poor in the basin if they hardly access to the free of nutrition sources and if the number of fish catch is continue decreasing. Consequently, the number of fish catch would certainly impact the decreasing of the fish products in the region, due to the threat by the dam construction for the hydropower development. Additionally, the fish products would be delayed because the altered river flow caused by the dam would confuse the local fishing techniques, this would lead to the decreasing of the fish catch in the basin (Wyatt & Baird, 2007). Moreover, a case of downstream from the Yali Falls dam (in Vietnam), which could impact to unexpected and unpredictable flooding. In a case of the Yali Falls dam, the fishing equipment,

including crops and livestock are washed away by flooding events and unpredictable flow fluctuations of the altered river (Lauridsen, 2004).

In terms of ecosystem, an absence of forested land and the riverbank area are a consequence of hydropower development, this can further constrain the number of agricultural product. As seen in the cases of the Pak Mun (Thailand) and Yali Falls dams, the dam also impact to deforestation in the area (UNEP, 2006; Wyatt & Baird, 2007).

According to the discussion above, it illustrates that dam construction for the hydropower development on the mainstream Mekong leads to massive environmental change of the Mekong basin. The profound change to the Mekong's environment tremendously generates crisis to lives and multiethnic communities. The major concerns are the reduction of fisheries, agricultural productivity, and clean fresh water for irrigation, as well as the unpredictable flooding, deforestation, and the profound hazard to the overall aqua ecology of the Mekong. Clearly, dam construction projects for hydropower development have become threats to the whole regions for several dimensions such as food security, economic security, and ecology security. The rapid change of the Mekong has formed hazardous impact to not only people and animal kingdoms who reside along the Mekong basin, but also to multiethnic communities who have been sharing the river in several countries where the river run through. Recently, the environmental changes of the Mekong Basin due to the dam projects impact to the decreasing number of fish catch in the Mekong. The locals claimed that fish populations are reducing in the Mekong Basin since Yunnan cascade construction has begun (ICEM, 2010a). Therefore, the Mekong River is in severe danger resulted from the threat of dam constructions. However, the governments of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand are still planning to construct more eleven hydropower dams on the Mekong River basin. If the projects are still continuing, the dams would block major fish migrations. The Mekong's aquatic and ecosystem will be severely threatened by the dam projects, and people who depend upon the Mekong will be in risk in terms of food security and income (retrieved from <http://www.savethemekong.org>).

The Mekong River has played a vital role to the region for very long time in multi-dimensions as mentioned earlier. Therefore, the project of dam construction in

Mekong River operated by governments of China and Laos becomes the major concern of many countries who are stakeholder of the river and people who care about the world environment. Although the project is processed under the idea of national development in terms of energy supply, the effect of the dam construction addresses mutual concern in many countries in the region. This triggers several national debates on the effects from the dam construction project to the region. Those debates and discussions on this issue are still presented pervasively in many public sphere i.e. journals, articles, seminars and news media. Henceforth, this social issue strongly calls the attention to the study dealing with dam construction in Mekong River. The study is conducted under the language regime of critical discourse analysis, aiming at investigating the development discourse in the context of dam construction in Mekong watershed regarding how this discursive practice occurred as the public discourse in newspapers' reports can illuminate the people's perspective of the development.

2.3 Discourse Studies

Historical Context

Tracing back to the historical context of Discourse Studies, and Critical Discourse Analysis, several prominent scholars e.g. Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Jürgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu, Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault are influenced by Marxism and Neo-Marxism tradition and critical perspective. As such Marxism is considered as a point of departure of the Discourse Studies and Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical theory premises on: 1) the society in its historical specificity 2) improving understanding of society by entwining subjects multidisciplinary. CDA is influenced by Marx, Foucault, Bourdieu respectively

According to Bourdieu, Critical theories or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) enriches "critical knowledge that allows human beings to uncover themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection". Thus, the discipline purposes to establish "enlightenment" and "emancipation" as a paramount. The theories not only describe and explain, but also abolish a certain kind of delusion. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "violence symbolic" perceives that Critical theory aims generating

consciousness in agents of their own needs and interests (Bourdieu, 1989). CDA is interdisciplinary work which purposes to gain understanding of how language is functioned as establishing and passing on knowledge in organized social institution or the power that exists (Graham, 2002; Lemke, 2002; Martin & Wodak, 2003)

There are three salient and constitutive concepts of CDA: power, ideology and critique. The diverse roots of CDA instill on Rhetoric, Text linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics (Wodak, 2009, p. 1). CDA shares seven perspectives in common (van Dijk, 2007; Wodak, 2008):

- 1) An interest in the characteristic of the naturally occurring of the language use by the real language users (not to study from the artificial examples which invented)
- 2) An emphasis on larger units of isolated words and sentences and, new units of analysis i.e. texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts, or communicative events
- 3) The extension of linguistics beyond sentence grammar involving action and interaction
- 4) The extension to non-verbal (semiotic, multimodal, visual) aspects of interaction and communication i.e. gestures, images, film, the internet, and multimedia
- 5) A focus on dynamic (socio)-cognitive or interactional moves and strategies
- 6) The study of the function of (social, cultural, situative and cognitive) contexts of language use
- 7) An analysis of a diverse number of phenomena of text grammar and language use i.e. coherence, anaphora, topics, macrostructure, speech act, interaction, turn-taking, signs, politeness, argumentation, rhetoric, mental model, and many other aspects of text and discourse.

Broadly speaking, Wodak contends that discourse can be anything from a historical monument, a policy, political strategies, narratives in a restricted or bound sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversation. Ground knowledge in CDA is to transparent ideologies and power through the systemic and investigation

of semiotics data (written, spoken or visual). CDA practitioners can employ different grammatical approaches to the study. The definitions of the terms discourse, critical, ideology, power are also diverse (Wodak, 2009, pp. 2-5).

2.3.1 Notion of Discourse

According to Fairclough and Wodak, CDA views “language as a social practice” and emphasize on the “context of language use”. Here is a popular quote of CDA definition: CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects-that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

2.3.2 Discourse, Power, Ideology and Hegemony

Discourse, power, ideology and hegemony share dialectic relationship, in which it is crucial concepts leading to conduct the analysis of CDA. There are three scholars namely Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Michael Foucault, who contribute prominent argument related to the mentioned terms.

According to Marx, ideology is the dominant belief that is commonly held in the society. However, it usually reflects the interest of the dominant group. Thus, it is argued to be a tool to sustain class inequality and suppress class struggle. Ideology refers to the process in which the dominant ideas within a given society reflect the interests of a ruling economic class, and it is the way that the given society has

adopted the ideas and interests of the dominant economic class (Marx, 1977 as cited in Stoddart, 2007).

Marx's ideology illustrates how the subordinate classes take relations of production for granted, and also the way the capitalist classes use the idea of exchange value as a condition to the labor social labor in order to produce goods for them. The concept of exchange value also links to the concept of the fetishism of commodity, in which material or objects from the production are valued, the human's value is relocated into objects they have produced or so called the economy of exchange value within the capital mode of production (Marx 1977 in Stoddart, 2007).

Ideology rooted from historical-materialist perspective, and material reality is a foundation of social consciousness. Historical materialism refers to developments and changes in human society in terms of humans collectively produce the necessities of life. The human's society that became material conditions: producing and reproducing. This I called the union of its productive capacity and social relations of production in Marxist terms (Grollios, 2011). Material reality refers to through which the ideas that may accepted as important in a given society setting by the dominant ideologies of capitalism that the working classes take for granted their daily basis within the economic structure of inequality. The crucial point of material reality center on human productive labors, in which is the key resources for the production of goods as a social life basis. Within production of the capitalist, the most important social relations are those between the members of the working class and the capitalist class. The working class refers to the productive labors but they do not have access to the means of production or the basic survival like clothing, food or shelter. The capitalist class refers to the owners of factories and machines, and they are the ownership of the means of the production (Marx, 1977 as cited in Stoddart, 2007).

The production of capitalism is ideological in the sense that it transforms the material production of human labor into the capital's subordinate classes, by this process the workers have only an option to view their value through the use of their labor in order to exchange with commodities. Ideology, therefore, functions to secure the subordinate classes in exploitive relations of production. This is the way Marx thinks that how the ruling groups secure the consent of the working classes for their own exploitation. Workers exchange their labor power for wages, which they use to purchase the commodities that they produced, but the capital class owns and sells.

Gramsci argued that power is sustained by ideology. Once the social group is able to modify the ensemble of these relations and make it “common sense”, it is creating the hegemonic order. He defines the State as “the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintain its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules” (Carnoy 1986, p. 65).

Ideology demonstrates how social power is operated throughout the cultural production in the given society. Ideological system ties people into the social networks of oppression and subordination. Building upon the Marxist tradition, the notion of hegemony portrays the reinterpretation of the concept of ideology.

The distinction between Marxist’s ideology and Gramsci’s ideology can be seen in the focus of the ideology’s notion. Marxist may see the ideology through the class struggle and the capitalist mode of production, while Gramsci’s may see ideology as hegemonic power that has perceived implicitly as “common sense” and it is historically unfinished and inherited combination. Gramsci’s ideology or hegemony is more an everyday common sense in the daily activities i.e. work, school, church and family that assist to secure the capitalist’s subaltern classes (Stoddart, 2007).

Gramsci’s Hegemony (1992, p. 137) makes distinction between coercion and consent as alternative mechanism of social power. Coercion refers to the State’s violence which use to against those who refuse to cooperate in capitalist relations of production. On the other hand, Hegemony appears as a “common sense”, hegemonic power functions to convince individuals and social classed to accept social values and norms in the inherently exploitation system of the capitalist group (Gramsci, 1971, p. 333). Coercive power appears in the domain of the State, the institutions of civil society, such as Church, schools, the mass media, or the family, those institutions are responsible for producing and maintaining hegemonic power. Gramsci argues that hegemonic power does not always to process by the ruling class, instead it can be the reproduction of the social action (Stoddart, 2007).

Gramsci uses the concept of hegemony to explain how the state and civil society produce and maintain consent to the class hierarchies of capital society (Hall, 1992). Hegemony emphasizes the inherent conflict involved in constructing networks of power through knowledge (Stoddart, 2007).

Michel Foucault states “power is everywhere, and it comes from everywhere.” He argues, power relations are embedded in social life, and is in everywhere in all social relations and all social relations are relations of power e.g. family, government and other social institutions (Foucault, 1991, 1998).

Foucault states that the power relation correlates with constitution of a field of knowledge. Surveillance was coded as a discourse, a terrain of thought, a system of knowledge, a kind of language that allowed what can be said and cannot. Foucault’s of power in in a similar line of thought of Althusser’s ideology and Gramsci’s hegemony because governs by consent (Foucault, 1991, 1998).

His works investigates sexuality, sickness, criminality, madness and morality, he investigates to reveal how dominant power structures maintain their superiority over the creation of particular discourses on the issues mentioned, and how conflictual and contradictory historical in relations to discourses or institutions assist to established such ideas. He is interested in historical dimension of discursive change, how various forms of knowledge have occurred and been replaced (Foucault, 1991, 1998).

He argues that conventional notion of power is based on “juridico-discursive model” or the statement of the law. But for Foucault what makes power so effective and accepted is not by law but technique, normalization, and control, this is the new method of power that he mentioned. Thus, power-knowledge discourse is a relationship that shows how certain knowledge is suppressed and other knowledge is produced through power. Power produces knowledge as well as suppressed knowledge. Foucault’s conception of power has discussed on sexuality (Foucault, 1991, 1998).

Foucault, therefore, views the notion of power and mode of relation between power and knowledge differently from Marx. For him, power is not simply as coercive power using weapon or violence by the state or capital, power rather has several characteristics. First, power is not a macrosocial phenomenon, it rather operates throughout a multiplicity of sites at a local level. Second, power is not a form of repressive or a tool of control over the subordinate classes, power rather flows in multiple directions. When power is mobilized, there are chances for resistance. Third,

power in Marx's sense creates untenable resistance, but for Foucault, power is relational that determines the relationships between partners (Foucault, 1991, 1998).

For Foucault, the production and circulation of discourses are mechanism of social power, and social power is exercised by using discourse. The regulation of discourse deals with who is allowed to speak on a given topic and in which forms of knowledge that used in the production of truth. The mechanism of power requires knowledge apparatuses in which it is forms, organized and put in circulation. Discourses are sites for social power exercise (Stoddart, 2007).

2.3.3 Summary

Ideology is a crucial concept in Critical Discourse analysis. It is conceived as cognitive system, and defined as social representation shared by members of group. Ideology may influence what are understood or accepted as true or false. Ideology is a process of logic system of a person's worldview. It directs people to behave in a certain way that they perceived as common. Ideology also refers to a person's beliefs, disposition, expression of feelings (non-verbal) (Van Dijk, 1998).

Ideology is a particular way of representing and constructing society which produced unequal relations of domination and exploitation (Wodak, 1996). Ideology contains non-discursive and discursive elements. The discursive elements refer to the cognitive or conceptual processes, such as ideas, beliefs. The non-discursive elements refer to ritual performance, non-verbal communications (Geuss, 1981; Van Dijk, 1996, 1998, 2001).

Thus, discourse is power-oriented and hegemonic. Van Dijk posits that discourse is "manufactures the consent of others" this can be implied that discourse has tied people's mind together in a certain sense (Van Dijk, 1996, p. 85).

In this light, CDA's critique aims at revealing structure of power relations and to emancipate human form ideologies. Habermas claims that language mediates domination and social force. It severs to legitimize relations of organized power. "The legitimizations of power relations... are not articulated... language is also ideological" (Habermas, 1967, p. 259). Van Dijk (1998) views ideologies as the "worldviews" that constitute "social cognition"-systematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes related to the social world (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 258).

Fairclough with the same vein of Marxist, views ideologies as particular perspective: ideologies are representations of perspectives of the world which generating and sustaining relations of power, domination and exploitation (Fairclough, 2003, p. 218).

Billig (2008) posits CDA touches power in terms of it analyzes power the language use of those in power and those who deal with the existence of inequalities. CDA researchers are triggered to investigate how discourse (re)produce social domination- the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively against such abuse. CDA researchers are challenged by questions of how they understand power and what moral standards allow them to make distinction between power use and abuse (as cited in Wodak, 2009, p. 9). Michel Foucault (1975) focuses on “technologies of power” or technologies of surveillance which was developed during the 18-19th centuries. Power is exercised with intension- but it is not individual intension. Foucault focuses on what is accepted knowledge about how to exercise power. Violence is one of crucial mechanism of power (as cited in Wodak, 2009, p. 9).

CDA contends that power as a central condition in social life (Iedema, 1997; Iedema and Wodak, 1999; Muntigl et al., 2000). Power is seen as a particular form of control (of action) in modern societies which sometimes remains invisible. CDA perceives that social structure determines the social action manifestation. Therefore, CDA is interested in the relationship where the social power and language are interfaced (Fairclough, 1989/1991; Wodak, 1989) As such, CDA remarks that language is firmly woven in social power in several ways: language manifests and expresses power wherever there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power doesn't not necessary to emerge from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to abolish it, to alter distribution of power in the short and long term. Language generates the device for constituting differenced in power in hierarchical social structure (Wodak, 2009, p. 9.)

2.4 Concepts Related to Development

2.4.1 Development: Concept and Definition

The various nuance of the term development can be found in Agbo's paper which gathered various definitions of development from different researchers. Malchup (1970) posits the terms "development" and "growth" are used interchangeably. He points that for developing countries, the concept of economic development means economic growth (as cited in Agbo, 2005). Therefore, Fagerlind and Saha (1989) point the term development only signals change in a specific direction that the researcher regards as crucial to the welfare of society (as cited in Agbo, 2005). Rostow (1990) defines development as social structures of the countries that are advanced in education, science, technology, and industry (as cited in Agbo, 2005). Other researchers like Inkeles and Smith (1974) regard development as the process of modernization which changes the traditional society into a modern one (as cited in Agbo, 2005). Harrison (1988) views development as what is actually happening in modernization. United Nations General Assembly during the proclamation of the Second United Nations Development Decade on January 1, 1971 (UN, 1971) declares elements related to the concept of development: 1) a minimum standard of living compatible with human dignity; 2) underpinned improvement of the well-being of the individual; 3) sharing of benefits by society at large; 4) more equitable distribution of wealth and income; 5) a greater degree of income security; and 6) the safeguard of the environment (as cited in Agbo, 2005). In this light, the process of development involves many aspects both at individual and social levels. At the social level, it focuses on economic growth and the expansion of infrastructures to increase the capacity of industry. It is believed that the ideas of modernization and development can help to make better income and promote a better standard living at the individual level.

2.4.1.1 Knowledge and Technology as Tool of Development

Other concepts relevant to development's mechanism are knowledge and technology. Both knowledge and technology help to nurture schooling system, which is a salient tool in terms of transmitting development's ideology. Development is no longer a concept, but a constituted knowledge with systemic process in which it

requires assistance from technology, trainings and experts. Development program, therefore, is widely studied in many institutions and universities in parts of the globe. Advanced technology is also key element in development knowledge and the process of it. Educational system is trustworthy and effective mean to transmit knowledge of development in which attached with western's ideology.

Western perspective views education as a way to liberate individuals by scientific knowledge. Therefore, to overcome the backward society of the third world countries, formal schooling system was encouraged to be established in the developing countries to teach them development thinking (what does development mean and how to achieve it). McQuail (2000) sees modernization as the process of expanding education (as cited in William, Gyaase and Falch, 2012). Moore (1963) posits that the concept of development is to transform the traditional society to a technologically advanced society with economic prosperity (as cited in William, Gyaase & Falch, 2012). As such, knowledge, advanced technology, experts, institution, including schooling system are one of salient processes in modernization, these elements are used as a mediated means to transmit western ideologies to the rest. This truly reflects the power relations interwoven connection with the ideologies. Ideology is therefore a certain form of power domination of one group over another.

2.4.1.2 Institutionalization and Experts as a Distribution Channel of Development and Western Ideology

Gupta notes that "developmentalism" as a form of power practice, activated by institutions or governments which embed hegemonial aspirations (as cited in Unger, 2010). In Ludden's work (1992), he addresses a "development regime", as a form of power which is institutionalized within a state, it system ideologically committed to progress from the conduct of development (as cited in Unger, 2010). According to Gupta and Ludden, they tend to view state or government institutions i.e. schooling system as a crucial means of communication between the state and the civil. In national building, this communication channel is legitimized and certainly controlled by state as a channel to distribute and convey government's messages on national policies and state ideologies.

Zanasi (2007) states that the processes of internationalization and civilization are advocated by "international development experts" (Zanasi, 2007, as

cited in Unger, 2010). Unger (2010) mentions that political agendas are transmitted through some international institutions e.g. Center for International Studies at MIT, funded by both public and private agencies. The scholarships are set and sent to underdeveloped countries as a distributions channel of political ideology transmission. The institution nurtures several significant representatives of modernization theory. Another example of modernization's agent is the United Nations where organizes important forums and discussion on the development evolution. The hegemony of the nation-state as the lead promoter of modernization as well as modernization discourse is transmitted through this channel. Therefore, foreign aids are set and offered to the third world countries. By this way, foreign aids in terms of experts and financial supports from international organizations as development agents push the third world countries closer to westernization. In this line, the schooling system is a formal form of state's institution which crucially acts as the best tool to transmit the state's ideology. Other state or governmental institutions i.e. schools, universities, institutions, hospital, military are counted as places legitimized to produce and implant experts in many fields. Thus, government institutions act as a crucial agent of state power legitimacy and as a channel to project national policies and political ideologies which are in line with Western's political ideology of democracy.

Development concept and the process of it has become a crucial dominant indicator that combines other concepts in it, such as economic growth, industrial revolution, democracy regime, etc., as a dominant indicator, development is raised to be a dominant knowledge that many nations need. It became a necessity of all nations in the globe to escape from being underdeveloped (losers). Development as knowledge then instills in educational system, and development program is widely studied in many institutions and universities. By this means, knowledge is crucial tools in order to transmit development concept rooted from western's ideology.

2.4.2 Modernization

2.4.2.1 Modernization: Formation

Escobar (1995) contends that modernization is a process of transformation of a traditional society into modern society with assistance of technology to become the "advanced" economically politically country of the West

World (as cited in Naz, 2006). The term modernization emerged in 1950s, during the Cold War when many European countries were already tired of doing wars, time and money were wasted in war, and rapidly their national economy and societies were in decline. The actual fight with physical violence of war was fading and gradually replaced by the clash of ideas of thought in the age of the Cold War. The Cold War was not only the representation of the competing political regimes of the two major powers: United States and the Soviet Union, it was a sphere of modernization competition between the capitalist and socialist models, as well as the contending discourse between democracy and communism. Hence, this competition is still going on up until today. The foundations of modernization theory can trace back to the age of Enlightenment or age of Reason (the 17th and 18th centuries) when there was a cultural movement of intellectuals, it first emerged in Europe. Advanced knowledge of scientific thought and methodology was promoted to challenge ideas grounded in tradition and faith, and to oppose superstition and abuse of power by the church and state (Goorha, 2017). Thus, the ideas of Enlightenment have a great impact towards many changes in the Western world, especially it has changed their ways of thinking and the way they view the world. The idea from the Enlightenment age has been developed and embedded in social construction of western societies, and it continued through subsequent eras.

Giddens, Inglehart and Baker propose modernization theory in the 1950s. The theory has dealt with economic development, literacy, cultural development and national identity development. The theory has engaged three evolutions or phases of its development. The first phase was economic development in which the west expanded technological and social innovations to the third world. The cultural development is the idea to establish positive mindset to modernity through literacy, essential skills and techniques from the west to the developing world. Transmitting this ideology to the new nations from being decolonized was premised on national identity development (as cited in William, Gyaase & Falch, 2012). According to Inglehart and Baker, modernization theory in the 1970s state that to transfer the western ideals of development to the third world countries. The second phase was critical of influence of western idea of modernization. Giddens (1991) posits that the third phase of modernization theory was given rise in the 1990s (as cited in

William, Gyaase and Falch, 2012). Therefore, from the era of colonization (1500s-1900s) when Western countries wanted to strengthen and pervade their power over many areas i.e. Asian, South African and Latin American countries passing through the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945), following by the era of decolonialism and the Cold War period (1947-1991) when different strong political beliefs were competitive for its hegemonic power, this was the point of departure of modernization theory. In other words, modernization is a new form of cultural hegemony and imperialism- in terms of changing and shaping other societies, so that the west is able to influence and control the rest.

2.4.2.2 Modernization as a Concept

As mentioned earlier that Modernization derived from western perspectives since the Age of Enlightenment, it reflected how they view the world and how they want to construct realities in the social world. Modernization is always attached with the concept of development, in which they are both considered influential western ideologies which have been developed and embedded in western society for long time as their social structure and realities. At that time, the world was controlled by two different ideas which were influenced by the two competing political regimes of the world power: liberalism (capitalism) and communism. It is clearly that political regime has a whole part affected to the whole model of society, and with different political regime, it constructs different model of social structure. Therefore, with a strong belief of the West that their perspectives toward social structure and political system are the best ideas of social constitution, the west (American and European countries) strongly attempted to pervade the idea of democracy to other societies by employing and promoting the discourse of development. Henceforth, the concepts of modernization and development are vital tools to permeate the west power to the rest. As the process of modernization is embedded in the concept of development, hence modernization as well as development explains the state of being developed country.

According to Moon's paper which gathered main concepts of modernization from various Modernization theorists: modernization is a process of state building (Tilly, 1975; Hall & Ikenberry, 1989), the advent of modern capitalism (Narin, 1977; Rostow, 1956), industrialization (Gellner, 1983), capitalism (Anderson,

1991), Westernization (Kedourie, 1960), and advances in technology (as cited in Deutsch, 1953 and Moon, 2004). According to Eisenstadt (1974), modernization theories were given rise after the Second World War to portray the economic development in Western countries and North America. Suburb society was replaced by factories and urbanization (as cited in William, Gyaase & Falch, 2012). According to Kendal (2007), modernization is a process of urbanization and industrialization (as cited in William, Gyaase & Falch, 2012). From the Western views, they looked at other continents as uncivilized and backward societies. According to So (1995), modernization school based on the western viewpoint assumes that what is going on in the third world countries is not correct such as traditional culture, overpopulation, little investment, and lack of achievement motivation, therefore, they see the third world countries as backward society. At this point, the Western countries assume themselves that they are more capable and experienced compared to the rest, so that they need to help the less experience and less capable ones i.e. the third countries. The Western countries need to mentor the third world countries until they reach a stage of modernity. One aspect to become modernize is to develop the mode and means of production i.e. capitalism basis, therefore, to do this, the advanced knowledge and technology can help to manage with mass production.

Tipps (1973) distinguishes between two versions of modernization theory; one uses a measure of social change such as urbanization or industrialization, as an indicator of modernization, and the other conceptualizes modernization as a dichotomous process of transformation from traditional to modern societies. He also distinguishes between three levels of argument. First, modernization theories portray as an ethnocentric world view of the west; there are many similarities with accounts of barbarity giving way to “civilization”, and modernity is superior to tradition. The progress of nations continues to be evaluated by their proximity to western, Anglo-American values and institutions. He concludes the nature of modernization theory reflects the development of a single society i.e. the United States. The second a form of critique refers to the erroneous empirical content of modernization theories. Since the definition of tradition was constituted from the genuine observation but rather under the assumption of modernity: “traditional societies”. The final form of critique concerns methodological issues. He notes on the modern side, there are national

territorial states; on the traditional side, civilizations, culture areas, empires, kingdoms, and tribes (as cited in Miller, 2002). According to Giddens et al, the proponent of Modernization theory assumes that the process of industrialization affecting Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries has expanded to other countries. Modernization is therefore the ideal pattern for all other countries and societies to follow (as cited in Moon 2004).

The crucial concept of modernization is the process of social change in the line of western perspectives. Therefore, this applied new images and characteristics to the traditional society which considered “backwardness” to modernity. Those new characters are free market of capitalism, economic growth, advanced knowledge and scientific technology, urbanization and democracy and etc. At this point, the economic growth and industrialization seem to be an urgent agenda toward becoming modern society. The traditional and agricultural society was replaced by new economic regime of free market, capitalism and urbanization. The way of mass production using machines in industry replaced human labor and homemade products. Traditional society tied with kinship system was replaced by individualism. Indigenous wisdoms and beliefs were replaced by scientific knowledge and formal schooling system. These changing aspects were replaced as new characteristics of the modern society.

Modernization concept is embedded in an actual process of development. Both concepts of modernization and development are rooted in Western views. The idea of modernization emerged in the Enlightenment era when traditional and religious beliefs were replaced by advanced scientific knowledge, and the concept of it was continuing to into decolonization and until today. The knowledge from the Enlightenment era has generated new practices and social values which influenced a great impact to big change in western’s society. The practices and ideologies that the Western society strongly holds became an ideal model as “social change” for other societies due to western monopoly during the succeeding period. At the same time during the period of the Cold War when the two powerful political regimes were strongly competing (i.e. the US and the Soviet Union), each side profoundly believed in their political and economic system as well as their social practices as the best model of a good society; they therefore attempt to push forward their two different

ideas to the rest of the world. This resulted in the power hegemony between democratic and communist political systems. In this light, modernization theories and practices were inevitably seen as western invention- the device of power control of as the theories were conducted by the western views. Based on the lenses of western knowledge, practice and ideologies, they viewed other regions and societies as backward and uncivilized, so that they attempt to help in changing the social structure to attain better life and decent society. Therefore, modernization concept is not all only modernization process but also it promotes the concept of development under the democratic regime.

Modernization theory centralizes the process of economy and industrial development in capitalism terms where the system of free-market, industrialization and urbanization are promoted. The capitalism focuses on the process of mass production for mass population, therefore human labor were replaced by machines, agricultural societies were replaced by the increasing of the new life style of urbanization. The expansion of the infrastructure was promoted as a bigger means of products distribution. All these ideas of modernization and development of the west have transmitted through the third world countries in a form of foreign aids i.e. financial supports, technology supports, experts, scholarships and so forth. As was mentioned earlier, the Marshall Plan was an example of the model of foreign aid to third world countries. The projects of foreign aid examined the process of modernization and development, but the destination of the projects also resulted in a hidden agenda to push forward westernization (western ideologies) via a form of organizations and institutions (domestic and international). Hence, in terms of institutional structure, the schooling system is believed to be a salient process of national building. In this sense, education is a vital means of state or government to control their people, a channel to push the national policies, and to make sure that they have received correct message, selected ideologies from the government, especially in terms of political regime. Additionally, the context of media and mass media, the theories of Political-political and Manufacturing Consent are examples of the explanation of the way how media and mass media becoming the media industry in a sense that mass media is utilized by state's purposes (e.g. national building and political ideology). As a result, mass media is seen as a device for the ruling class and

bourgeois to control the working class, as mass media can produce “false consciousness” and the product of it is the propaganda which can manipulate mass population. Mass media is a producer of selected ideologies and interests of the ruling class.

At this point, modernization process has generated benefits in many areas of development concept. The central ideas of modernization and development focus on industrialization, capitalism, urbanization and democracy. It is undeniable that modernization is an effective silent device of westernization as the whole ideas of development are based on western perspectives. On the one hand, the downside of modernization is reflected as economy and political hegemony of the west over the rest. It is including cultural imperialism when traditional societies and indigenous cultures are replaced by the global culture in the flux of globalization. Thus, development process as a product of modernization or vice versa has an immense impact to homogenization as it reduces cultural diversity. As a result, the point of departure of modernization, development and globalization are the emergence of the hegemony: economy, politics and culture of west to the rest. Its consequences have profoundly provoked the emergence of universal culture or homogenized world, which shaped and reshaped individuals and social structure as a whole.

2.4.3 Political Regime and Democracy

The idea of the West in modernization ties closely with the purpose to create a distribution channel of political regime to the rest. America and European countries all want to gear toward democracy as a vital agenda to modernize the third world countries. Lipset (1959, 1960) posits modernization theory have established the links between modernization and democracy. He postulates that modernization is the relation between socio-economic development and political democracy. The role of the middle class is emphasized by social mechanism in the society. Modernization is a process of changing social conditions to one that fosters a democratic culture. The idea of modernization and development are clearly activated after the Second World War, when many countries in Europe were profoundly affected by the damages of the war. Their economic systems were destroyed, agricultural productions were ruined as a whole, and the European social structures were totally collapsed. The US was the

only major power which was not severely damaged from the War, therefore, they established a project to offer financial aid to recover European countries. The Truman's Speech was a remark as a point of departure of the foreign financial aid policy, as well as the distribution channel to transmit political ideology of the West to the rest (Lipset as cited in Wucherpfenning & Deutsch, 2009).

From the characters of modernity proposed by many researchers, the concepts of modernization have changed the old ways of thinking and practices. Traditional authority system was replaced by political system, and power structure has changed into hierarchy. The formal educational system was set and economical skills were promoted. Traditional religious belief was replaced by new knowledge, and family structure became loosened. As a result, the economic regime of capitalism in modernization has immersed effects to the change of social structure as a whole. Good example of subject that promote modernization under the democratic regime is the "Marshall Plan" (as cited in Wucherpfenning and Deutsch, 2009) Laak states that in the imperialistic context in the 19th century, development was viewed as a device driven by investment of capital in the "underdeveloped" areas. Providing infrastructure meant much more than building railroads and bridges, it was the idea to open up the empty land and develop it with technological innovations (as cited in Unger, 2010).

The Marshall Plan emerged from the Truman Doctrine, a significant speech made by the United States President Harry S. Truman in March 1947. In the speech, Truman committed to recues any nations from the Communist takeover. The policy was constituted as Containment of Communism. The Marshall plan was premised on providing economic aid all European nations to support them to regain from the war (retrieved from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>). The plan was initiated by George Catlett Marshall who was the secretary of state of America. The Marshall Plan emerged during the 1948 to the 1952. Not only financial aid offered but the program also provided technical support through the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) of the United States. European nations received nearly \$13 billion financial aid, and including food, staples, fuel and machinery. Additional, the US gave big hand to recues the major industrial investment in Europe. During the time the plan was effectively processed, European economies grew at unexpected high rate which never

happen before. The North Atlantic alliance was formed from the trade relations. Coal and steel industries were premised in economic development which led to the establishment of the European Union. Marshall Plan funding ended in 1951 (retrieved from <http://www.marshallfoundation.org>).

The purpose of the Marshall Plan is to offer financial aid to help recover European countries' economy system, but another hidden agenda of the plan may result to permeate political regime's ideology of democratic system which has been the US's strongly held belief. Deutsch (1989) mentions that the program purposes to offer monetary aid as well as technical support to enhance productivity. The Technical Assistance and Productivity Assistance Programs were crucial in the recovery program. The program is provided in order to transfer skill, knowledge and technology to build up owners, managers and union leaders. Thus, the program not only provided information to recovery effort, but crucially the program was used as a channel to transmit the capitalism and democracy ideologies which help Europe economically achievement before the war. Hence, The Marshall Plan is inevitably viewed as a plan of the US interests, especially politically interest in order to prevent those countries who received aids from communism's influence, and to strengthen US's control over them. Moreover, the idea of foreign aid became a model of the emergence of world financial organizations e.g. IMF, IBRD and GATT. Moreover, the Marshall plan has embedded the concept of foreign aid in the discourse development, in which big scale of development needs foreign aid (money loan) from world financial organizations. And at the same time, that idea gradually generated domination over the underdeveloped countries. It allows those world organizations to have control over the underdeveloped countries not only in terms of economic but in politics as well (retrieved from <http://www.munfw.org>). In sum, the Marshall plan is used as one of devices of the US to extend its cultural and political hegemony (democracy and capitalism) over other countries.

2.4.4 Capitalism vs. Communism

According to the Marshall Plan, Secretary George C. Marshall presented economic development to help the destructive nations of Europe, the program was portrayed that the United States aimed not to "against any country or doctrine but

against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the existence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. However, the hidden agenda that Secretary of State left unspoken was that while the U.S. plan would be open to the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe, in fact the plan intentionally premised on the free market economy as the practice to economic reconstruction- it was an effective mechanism against communism regime in Western Europe. Congress responded to Marshall's proposal by authorizing the European Recovery Program, known as the Marshall Plan. (retrieved from <http://www.munfw.org>). As such the Marshall Plan is one mechanism to drive forward capitalism ideology to the rest. The concept of capitalism is woven firmly with the concept of modernization, development, as well as the political regime.

As defined by the Macmillan Dictionary of Modern Economics, capitalism means: political, social, and economic system in which property, including capital assets, is owned and controlled for the most part by private persons. Capitalism contrast with an earlier economic system, feudalism, in that it is characterized by the purchase of labor for money wages as opposed to the direct labor obtained through custom, duty or command in feudalism...Under capitalism, the price mechanism is used as a signaling system which allocates resources between uses. The extent to which the price mechanism is used, the degree of competitiveness in markets, and the level of government intervention distinguish exact form of capitalism (Macmillan Dictionary of Modern Economics, 1986, p. 54). To the extent, capitalism or free market depends upon the granting power of the state to open for to private actors, complete in and to exist from markets. To be productive, private economic actors must act upon the law which controlled by the state. Successful capitalism needs support from the state monopoly of powers (Scott, 2006).

On the other hand, for Marxism and communism, capitalism is viewed differently. According to Marx and Engel's Communist Manifesto, capitalism refers to class division and the profit motive. Capitalism is a social system by the process of producing and distributing goods which are controlled by a small minority of people i.e. capitalist class. The majority of people must sell their ability to work in return for a wage or salary (working class). In this light, working class is taking advantaged by

the capitalist class. (retrieved from <http://www.worldsocialism.org>). To extent, Marxists defines capital as “a social, economic relation” between people (rather than between people and things). In this light they seek to abolish capital. Revolutionary socialist believe that capitalism can only be overcome through revolution. Marxism disagrees with the principle of capitalism, therefore, they aim to eradicate capitalism and replaces it with different method with production and social organization, with the belief that the revolution is the only way to overcome the capitalism regime (retrieved from <http://www.boundless.com>). As such, the key understanding of capitalism in Marxism’ sense is to understand the mechanism of modes and means of production and the class conflict.

2.4.5 Political Economy of the Media

As mentioned earlier that scientific knowledge has been a vital influence from the Enlightenment age until the present societies, and the spread of industrialization was also significantly stimulated by the development of advancement of knowledge and technology. The advanced technology helped to make mass production in industry possible. Not only the advanced technology would help with economic development, it also profoundly supported the communication technology which made international communication plausible. The development of communication technology has generated the exchange of information, knowledge and ideas from one place to another. The development of communication technology is one of the steps in the process of modernization and development. The emergence of globalization has generated the spread of mass media in which it becomes one of the crucial mechanisms in the modernization process. Mass communication acts as a distribute channel of the West’s ideology in modernity, economic regime and political models to the third world countries. Hence, mass media is an effective mode of modernization to transform traditional societies to modernity. Mass media is a channel to distribute new social values which central to Western and American perspectives to the rest.

McQuail (2005) states that some of the histories of mass media institutions were seen as “western invention” regarding to its creating of distribution channel to transmit Western’s ideologies (e.g. modernization) to the rest of the world. Therefore, the mass media theory could lead to “western bias”. Mass media and mass

communication in modern and developed countries are mainly under democracies with free-market (or mix) economies which are involving with international economic and political relations, competition, domination or conflict. Traditions of media theory and media practice, including western media theory are seen as the hegemonic global media. In early twentieth century, as in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, the media were employed as a tool of change.) In this line, media is portrayed as a tool in promoting liberal lifestyle in Western countries, and communication is seen as bridges to make possible an extension of human activity and perception across distance in several ways (McQuail, 2005).

Golding and Murdock (1996) argue that Marxist analysis of modern media or so called “critical political economy” has focused on the question of power. In Marxism’s interpretations of mass media, it argues that communication is an instrument of control of a ruling class. In the same line with what has mentioned in Marx’s German Ideology, it is stated that the class who own the means and mode of material production has power control over the means of mental, in contrast, those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it (as cited in McQuail, 2005).

McQuail states that according to Marxism, mass media is employed as material production for mass society. Mass media is viewed as a means to transmit ideas and practices of the class’s interests. As mass media is a clever method (false-consciousness) to deceive people’s mind. The class who owned the power of mass production purposes to use mass media as a channel to send out selective ideologies of the class’s interests to the mass society who are considered as a lower class. Marxist theory remarks that a relationship between economic ownership and the assistance of the mass media advocate the legitimacy and the value of a class society. Revisionist of Marxist media theory in the twentieth century emphasized the ideological effect of media in a ruling class’s interests in terms of “reproducing” the manipulation and to legitimate the dominance of capitalism over the working class (McQuail, 2005).

Althusser (1971) proposes “ideological state apparatuses” (all means of socialization, in effect) advocates the capitalist state to survive without using violence (as cited in McQuail, 2005). Marcus (1964) argues that the media as mass production system deals with “selling”. When media ownership belongs to the bourgeois class,

and what media produces is only serve their class interests. Media and mass media are the product of the bourgeois class which produce and reproduce the selective ideologies of one group's interest and transmit to the mass receivers as false consciousness. Modernization sees media as a tool and power of the bourgeois class in order to control the working class or the lower class. The concept of mass media leads to the concept of political economy (as cited in McQuail, 2005).

McQuail (2005) again postulates that political-economic theory emphasizes on the interface between the economic structure and the media industries and the ideological content of media. It deals with the media control and structure of ownership and the way media markets forces operate. From this point, media institutions are considered as part of the economic system in relation to the political system. Mass media influences what most people believe to be reality or so called the theories of propaganda and ideology- the media role as generating a "false consciousness". Media provides strong advocate to promotion of nationalism, patriotism, social conformity and religion, which are parts of the social construction. Through the critical paradigm's lenses, media is a reproducer of hegemonic message. Mass media takes part to give definition to the social construction which means events, persons, values and ideas, leading to the (person) construction of larger pictures of reality. Here, the ideas of "framing" and "schemata" play their part. Therefore, mass media is seen as a powerful producer of ideologies, which dominates the working class (victim). Giddens (1991, pp. 4-5) emphasizes the key features of "high modernity". He writes: "In high modernity, the influence of distant happenings on proximate events, and even on the intimacies of the self, becomes more and more commonplace. The media, printed and electronic, obviously play a central role in this respect. Mediated experience of writing has long influenced in both self-identity and basic organization of social relation (as cited in McQuail, 2005). From what Giddens emphasizes, mass media is effective tool of manipulation as it is used as a channel to send out the upper class's interests to the lower class through mass society. Various forms of mass media i.e. printed, electronic and writing, are mediated experience to shape and reshape individuals and society as a whole.

Lerner (1958) notes that after the World War, when communication research was largely American monopoly, the mass media were commonly viewed as one of

the most promising channels of modernization (i.e. Westernization) and especially as a potent tool for overcoming traditional attitudes (as cited in McQuail, 2005). Global media- global imperialism- cultural imperialism shed light to a state cultural homogenization which is a certain form of cultural domination without connection with real experience for most people. Murdock (1989) notes about how the elite become a powerful group in the society. It is explained as the power control, because they enable to control mode and means of the production in the society i.e. economic institution, such as banks and stock markets, including other social institutions e.g. mass media (cited in McQuail, 2005).

Herman (2006) posits that Political economy originated from Marxist theory, the basic premise is the mass media system is largely concerned with the economics of the media and the economic and social power. Based on the Classic Marxist assumption, they investigate the means of production by considering economic institutions and how media is shaped by those institutions to fit their purposes and interests. Rooted in the Frankfurt school, Political Economy explains how economic influences the control over the mass culture produced and distributed through the media. Chomsky (1988) explains about Manufacturing Consent- the political economy of the mass media or “propaganda model” as a way to understand how the mainstream US media work, and how mass media acts as a powerful device to generate dominant ideological (as cited in Herman, 2006).

2.5 Development Discourse as a Dominant Discourse

This section aims to uncover the mechanism of development discourses in how their discursive practices are used to construct social realities and practices in development process, and finally becomes dominant discourse. The reviewed literatures and description related to development discourses will be illustrated in the following points: development discourse and its formation, mechanism, product and summary.

2.5.1 Formation of Development Discourse

Development discourse may be seen as such a powerful and clever mechanism to colonize other countries in the post-colonization era (Escobar, 1995). Escobar notes development as discourse was formulated in the 1940s and 1950s. Development discourse claims itself as a new and better creation which can emancipate people belief from superstition in the old world regime to the new world regime of advance science and knowledge. Development discourse therefore is such a forceful device to development process i.e. the concept of modernization, industrialization, urbanization and capitalism, in which all these concepts above are explained in the development theory- the process of capitalism with related aspects such as technology, population and resources, monetary and fiscal policies, industrialization and agricultural development, commerce and trade. The poor counties or the third countries are seen as inferiors who were in the need to improve the capital supplies to provide them infrastructure, industrialization, in order to reach modernization of society. Modernization concept was linked to cultural considerations- education is one cultural value which needed to be developed. This comes across to the reason for establishing institutions i.e. international organizations, such as World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, United Nations (technical agencies, also products of the mid-1940s) in order to support modernization's mission.

Escobar, as one of the most prominent thinkers in development studies, points that development discourse is seen as systematized relations between institutions and practices. To see development as a discourse, one must understand the system of relations- system that allows the systematic creation of objects, concepts and strategies (it determines what can be thought and said). These relations- constituted institutions, socio-economic processes, forms of knowledge and technological factors. All of these are defined under the condition of which objects, concepts, theories and strategies can be incorporated into the discourse. In sum, the system of relations generates a discursive practice that determines the rules of the game: who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise; it sets the rules that must be allowed for the problem, theory or object to emerge and to be named, analyzed, and transformed into a policy or a plan (Escobar, 1995). In this vein, development theory is one of the study fields in the modern world,

in which it acts as a salient device helps to establish the process of institutionalization-universities and other academic institutions.

According to President Harry S. Truman, the former US president, he had delivered a famous speech known as Truman's speech. This address was made, after the World War II had raged havoc to the world leaving many cities and countries in ruin. He addressed development and the mission of development practices which should be operated across the world in order to help recover the damage done by the war. Truman's speech which focuses on the conditions of being development had stressed the condition of being underdeveloped. The speech, therefore, has underlined the discourse of underdevelopment of the Third world countries. The Third World is seen as lack of development, technical knowledge, scientific advances and prosperity. Underdevelopment has been interpreted by the West as the absence of growth, basic needs, integrated rural development, structural adjustment, and sustainable development. In this sense, development discourse has nurtured the notion of underdevelopment- absences and deficiencies. "Developed world" is positioned in a superior position than the third or underdeveloped world. This is where the point of departure of development discourse has started. Henceforth, after Truman's speech, it made the point of departure of development discourse as a social dominant discourse. It is noted that development discourse models clearly articulated in the 1950s to 1960s (Escobar, 1995, as cited in Naz, 2006).

It has been several decades of development discourse that the interpretation and representation of the Third World are still determined by the controlled knowledge of the West (Escobar, 1995). Arndt (1987) argues that in fact, development discourse also generates the idea over the "civilized mission" of post-colonial projects, due to the idea that no one wants to be colonized and everyone wants to "develop" (as cited in Biccum, 2002). Henceforth, Escobar views development as the clever mechanism of Western domination by employing the use of forceful concepts and practices and gained wide acceptance. Through the production of images, speech and text, Western nations achieve a hegemonic domination that did not require enslavement, weapons or physical force (Escobar 1995). The concept of development which inevitably generates the concept of underdevelopment is a good invention of the west domination. The concept of under development generated

concepts of poverty, despair and destruction. Therefore, fighting underdevelopment is viewed as an acceptable and more legitimate intervention than using the idea of colonialism in many parts of the globe. He also reveals the way in which Third World countries started to believe the discourse of development and underdevelopment. Therefore, by the flow of development regime, the Third World countries are pushed to accept this invention i.e. the process of Westernization, and started to fight with their own illiteracy, cultural inferiority and poverty, and to willingly accept coercive interventions (Escobar, 1995).

To understand development discourse, dependency writers has proposed four assumptions on modernization inspired by development (Ziai, 2011):

- 1) The existential assumes that the term development is related to diverse social, economic, political and cultural phenomena signal process of development. The concept conjures up an image of other countries as poor and lack of development. This somehow links to power relations in the global political economy.

- 2) Normative assumes that “development is a good thing”. Development refers to the state of a good society.

- 3) The practice assumes that development can be achieved by the normative and practice assumption and the development business- institutions, experts, projects, etc.

- 4) The methodological assumes that the unit analysis of development can be identified by the index of developed and less developed units

The assumptions mentioned above explain the modernization process which inspired by the concept of development. Modernization is viewed as one of the products of development. To have better understanding the concept of development, Zaiia (2011) also proposes three development assumptions as follows:

- 1) The specification of goal: the industrialized countries of North America and Europe are developed. Other countries i.e. Asia, Africa and Latin America are less developed. These countries of the global South need “development”.

- 2) The specification of the process: the countries of the South need economic growth, industrialization and modernization in order to become “develop”. Therefore, the North needs to help them by transferring the development invention i.e. capital, technology and knowledge from the North.

3) The legitimacy of the process: the invention of development is made legitimately by the expert and knowledge of how to process development, how to make good life and a better society.

In addition, in the book of Escobar (1995) entitled *Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, he mentions that the emergence of the discourse and strategy of development is as a result of the problematization of poverty. Thus, in order to improve poverty in the Third world, Western experts are continually sent to the Third World and processing a discourse of development. This phenomenon allows development as a mechanism of development discourse to produce and reproduce the ideologies of development based on the Western perspective. In development regime, there are certain rules in the system which defines the hegemonies perspective of development, a worldview that expand and transforms the economic, social, and cultural of Third World countries (as cited in Naz, 2006). Consequently, it is the point of departure of the emergence of the historical complex of development discourse which reveals the decline of the colonial regime and the bloom of development. Escobar points the post-World War II discursive produce the notion of underdevelopment and Third World. The images of the third world countries are portrayed as lack of development; poor, illiterate, and primitive. As such, the third world countries are in the need to be improved, reformed and poverty eradicated. In this light, development discourse is viewed as a method to help the Third World, a legitimate form of intervention to recues underdeveloped countries, and a distribution channel to transmit Western ideologies.

2.5.2 Development Discourse Mechanism

Development discourse has engaged other related foundation mechanisms i.e. concepts of modernization, industrialization, urbanization, capitalism and so forth. Escobar (1995) points other forceful devices are institutionalization and experts which were deployed after the Second World War. The post-war period is perceived as “the era of development” of development organization, the development expert, the national development plan, and several university courses in development (as cited in Naz, 2006). Ferguson adds that in fact, development discourse is reproduced by the institutional interests of development organizations or “development agency”;

institutions and organizations launch interventions over the underdeveloped countries (as cited in Naz, 2006). There are more examples of development discourses mentioned in Gilbert Rist's book entitled *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, his work aims to investigate why and how the idea of development emerged, to examine the process of discourses and practices which led to the development era. Rist (2002) focuses on outlining the dialectical relationship between language, ideology and politics as their relation to social transformation. His study also premises on the conditions of production and the rules of expert discourse in international organizations specialized in development policies. He points the trick of discourse which attempting to portray how these official discourses enable to constitute their power and remains strong as a dominant force (as cited in Dimitri Faille, 2011).

Another influential factor of development mechanism is the establishment of the international institutions such as the World Bank. After the World War II, Development was determined by the World Bank and other post-war institutions. White or Euro supremacy is praised as the highest forms of human development, the Third World is shaped by the Development theory as backward, static, traditional and incapable to be wealthy, so that they are urgent to have supports from the West (Biccum, 2002). In this light, besides the concepts of modernization, industrialization, urbanization and capitalism which are crucial to development, institutionalization and experts are also forceful devices to drive development mechanism. Hence, it is clear that institutionalization and experts are also created to legitimize authority and action to manage development programs in underdeveloped countries, and with the supreme achievement of the west is to control the rest, it is therefore the point of departure of western cultural hegemony.

2.5.3 Development Discourse Product

Development discourse is not only a concept this concept also effect the surrounding social realities. Escobar (1995) posits in *Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Escobar said that Third World countries served as the basis for modern development strategies. He also argues that "Third World" is described negatively as, "powerless, inactive, poverty, hungry, needy,

ignorance, illiterate usually dark and lacking historical agency, lack of initiative, and traditions”, and they are waiting for the (white) Western to rescue them (as cited in Alexander, 2011). In addition, Escobar adds that the Third world is viewed as the otherness (“other”, someone that is different from “us”, someone who needs our guidance to be in the “right” path). This gives rise to the professionalization of Development, and the development of Development study is a program in universities as well as the establishment of universities in the third world to be “agents” of development. Consequently, the institution, experts and schooling system (e.g. schools and universities) are another good distribution channel to nurture and spread development ideologies; additionally, Development discourse has created the network of its power (as cited Bicchieri, 2002).

Zaia (2011) posits that the concept of development characterized as Eurocentric. It assumes European society as ideal models of development, and the Third World as the “otherness” are deviant from this norm (underdeveloped). European society claimed themselves as a universal model or the standard of the good society. Therefore, the West has established and owned the standard of development, claimed themselves as civilized while the poorer or traditional societies are located as underdeveloped and uncivilized. In this sense, development is the concept implies the European superiority, and pressing the rest with inferiority. Similar to Doty (1996), development is seen as the control of the rest by the West. Though development has created good images such as humanitarian and moral concern- the rich helps the poor to improve their life from poverty, this has created a sense that poverty is a threat; something that needs to be eradicated. In fact, behind the humanitarian image of development discourse, there is fear of poverty. Underdeveloped areas are described as inactive, as victims of diseases, poverty and stagnation. And by operating development programs with technical knowledge advance will rescue the “underdeveloped areas” from their primitiveness to modernity. Development has advocated such management and control over the Third World (as cited in Naz, 2006). In addition, Escobar postulates deconstructing the language used by the development agencies to show how the discourses have helped in securing the power of US and northern countries over the south. The countries of North America were regarded as the appropriate models for development for the “Third World” category

(countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America). The language used by development apparatus views culture of the Third World countries as backward, and which needs to be replaced by modern education and cultural values (as cited in Ghimire, 2009).

In a sense of Escobar (1995), development is viewed as an apparatus institutional construction of this apparatus. As illustrated in *Encountering Development Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Escobar posits that development should be studied as a historically experience along three trajectories: "...the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories and the forms of subjectivity fostered by the discourse..." (as cited in Ghimire, 2009). Again, Escobar (1987) proposes the dynamic of discourse and power as the representation of social reality: 1) the conformation of a new mode of thinking about social and economic life in those countries in the early post-World War II period 2) the new mode of thinking in Western economic practice 3) the institution practices through "development" functions create extension to culture and social realities. As a result, Discourses of development have generated a certain type of knowledge about development that has become hegemonic. To echo Foucault's thought, Escobar posits that development discourse and practices have constructed objects and has processed by creating abnormalities such as "illiterate" and "underdeveloped" which lead to threaten them and later on reform them. At this point, development discourse has produced its discursive practices as the strong agent to process actions in development (as cited Ghimire, 2009). As such, development discourse created by Western's perspective from how they look at themselves and others. The development discourse generates discourse of inferiority with negative images to the others i.e. backward, underdeveloped, uncivilized, illiterate, poor, powerless, and so forth. These discourses were splashed to other areas, so they feel the need to eradicate all discourses contrasted with development ideologies. As such these sequences are inevitably seen as cultural hegemony of the west to the rest.

At this point, development discourse has established discursive practices which gradually constitute new knowledge and power. Related to Foucault's (1977) idea on the relation of power and knowledge and how these manifest through discourses in a given historical context. He was interested in micro-politics of power and saw power emanating from the arrangements of social order.

According to Foucault, knowledge is a source of power as it speaks of others in an authoritative way. He views power and knowledge as inseparable. He writes “... there is no power relation without the correlative construction of field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time...” (as cited in Ghimire, 2009). Thus, discourse is an articulation of power and knowledge. For him, discourse is defined as a group of statements which create a language representing the knowledge about for a particular topic at a particular historical moment. According to Foucauldian thought, development is seen as a particular discourse, a particular viewpoint about the world and a particular form of knowledge, which not only reflects but constructs reality. Development is regarded as the Eurocentric view of the West which continues to exercise power and domination over the Third World by excluding alternative form of thinking. Therefore, discourse has been a real powerful control of mind-set and actions since in the past up until the present. And this made development discourse become the dominant discourse in most societies. This relates to Escobar positing that the idea of development has generated the most powerful global designs derived from local history of the modern Wes (as cited in Faille, 2011).

Escobar argues that discourse of development take emphasis on power and domination, as well as investigating the discourse’s conditions and its effects. (as cited in Naz, 2006). Similar to the discussion of Said (1979), he posits the definition of development illustrates the productive power of development discourse. The Third World and development are historical constructed, it describes social and political forces activated during the birth of the discourse, and this is such representation practice as a part of hegemonic politics (as cited in Naz, 2006). Additionally, Escobar adds development discourse allows new forms of power and control, the justification could be made under a humanitarian concern for development (as cited in Naz, 2006). Sachs also proposes “development ladder”; in the knowledge produced by the development discourse does not only influence the thoughts and actions of professionals and policy makers, but to forest the formation of both “development” and “underdevelopment” subjectivities. In other word, the development discourse works as self-understanding of inhabitants of both First and Third World countries. Hence, the development discourse is a key to its apparent hegemony- is its ability to develop the subjectivity of underdevelopment (Sachs, 2005).

In this light, development as dominant discourse is viewed as a silent and salient agent generating the process and mechanism of development. It has been a crucial device of the West to colonize other areas in the post-colonial era. Since the era of colonization, World War I and II, Cold War, development discourse is considered as the great invention of the west to control power relations in other countries. As the idea of development is rooted in the West and its concept was developed by the West's perspectives, thus, the articulation of development discourse is inevitably seen as a spread of Western's ideologies to other regions, and those ideologies have become such dominant perspectives to the society at large. At the point, according to the prominent work of Escobar and other related works dealing with development and development discourse, all of them shed light on development discourse through the view of political sciences based on Foucault's approach and critical theory. Additionally, as reviewing the literatures related to development discourse, there is no work that has touched on Development Discourse through the perspective of language and language use before, thus, the current study of Problematize the Notion of "Development" in the Context of Dam Construction of the Hydropower development on the Mekong River, which premises on the analysis of text through the lenses of Critical Discourse Analysis.

2.6 Media and Society

It is the aim of this thesis to investigate the meaning associated with their term development in public discourse. Since mass media is a channel for public communication, data are collected from it. However, as the recent paradigm, suggests, media is not just a channel than transmit message. It does have its role in the production and selection of the message. Hence, it is necessary to understand the media as an institution, whether to not and how its working affect its message, its discourse which is made public by its network.

According to Reardon (1981) mass media is representation of information and ideas (as cited in Shaver, 1995). According to Chomsky (1986) from his book of the "Manufacturing of consent", he points that mass media have rendered public discourse (as cited in Shaver, 1995). Therefore, public discourse is embedded in and

dominated by mass communication processes. News media is a certain kind of public sphere where a wide variety of public interests and concerns are presented. As the news media is a source of texts production, that is, the texts are produced and reproduced with their recording. Thus, the news media are considered as one of the source of public discourse that we can find in our everyday life.

The language of the media should not be conceived in the limited sense of grammar and lexicons. The articulation of language in “discourse”, in specific combination of themes and symbols is at stake here. Language does not construct reality, but rather its expression in certain cultural and individual histories, beliefs and value systems, institutional and official jargon and sub-cultural. Societies construct definition of reality through the process of symbolic system i.e. (one of them is) language. Reality construction also needs a process of social interaction between individuals, groups, institutions and etc. that shape reality. It is important to realize that the processes are not accessible to everyone. The power define is linked to other power relations in society, such as economic, ethnic gender and international relations (McQuail, 2006). McQuail points that discourse itself is a form of power, since both the process of discourse (the symbolic interaction) and the product of discourse (a particular set of meanings and narratives) determine the interpretation and certain meanings above others (McQuail, 2006).

The next section illustrates why the study choose the news media as main data to represent public discourse concerning development discourse in a context of dam construction for the hydropower on the Mekong River. There are three main reasons: 1) News media is considered as a certain kind of public sphere where public interests are presented, 2) News media is considered as a representation of social reality, and 3) News media is considered as a social sphere where public discourses are produced and reproduced.

2.6.1 News Media as a Certain Kind of Public Sphere Where Public Interests and Concerns are Presented

According to (Habermas, 1989) theory of the public sphere, he posits that the early modern capitalism impacts to the establishment of the “Bourgeois public sphere”- an area for public debate. The conditions that allowed this sphere to operate

are the rise of private property, liberty influence, coffee houses and salons, and- primarily-the independent, market-based press. After the mid -1800s, the public sphere was controlled by the interest and the increasingly powerful of the state. Instead of follow a sphere for debate that could shape the direction of the state, the commodified media became a force for manipulation the public and manufacturing consent (as cited in Beers, 2006). Habermas also argues that the news media provide citizens the information and ideas for their political decision. Thus, Gore (2005) posits that democracy is abolished whenever citizens are constrained in their choice of quality news media which allows space for them to express their own viewpoints freely (cited in Beers, 2006).

The news media provides selective issues and opinions that are deemed important to the public. McCombs and Shaw assert that mass media does not only provide public issues and other event through media, but they also give importance to engage in an issue or topic emphasized by the mass media. Media has imposed a long term influence on people's ways of thinking and by being an agenda setter. Media defines the important topics of the day, direct how they should be thought of, and what their implications are, since people have conversations about what the media contend. Communication is not the prioritized drive of social change, but it is tremendously forceful device of control in society: the mental perceptions that form people's attitude on life. As such, the media can exert a decisive influence over the direction of social change (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

2.6.2 News Media as a Representation of Social Reality

Berger and Luckman (1966) argue that society exists as both objective and subjective reality. While we assume the world we live in as "real", as something that exists beyond our own perceptions and beliefs and that will continue to exist when we are not there, we realize at the same time that not everyone perceives reality in the same way. So that, not only people perceive reality in a particular way, their perception has consequence for their sense of self, and relations with others, their mode of conduct and a whole range of other social practices. In these social interactions people produce, reproduce and adjust definitions of reality: "If men define situation as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas, 1928, p. 584).

Reality is not something that exists “out there”, but it is (re)constructed by the social and the sense-making activities of human beings. Reality is reconstructed by the everyday conversation which requires shared definitions of the situation in order to make sense at all. Language is the key element in this process, as a means of both understanding and reproducing the world. Therefore, language constitutes society and reality. Language is not a means of reflecting reality, but the source of reality itself (as cited in Zoonen, 2006).

Carey (1989, p. 25) points that reality becomes existence, is produced, by communication- the construction, apprehension, and utilization of symbolic forms. Language is a means where we can generate/ assign meaning, and making sense of experience. Alvin W. Gouldner posits that newspapers advocate public rationality in certain ways. First, they provide information. News has a cosmopolitanizing influence. News allows alternatives to be defined as “realistic” by showing different conditions with others. News also allows men to see what might be coming, partly as a “weather report”, allows adjustments based on prediction. Thus, as long as newspapers present information that requires interpretation, it advocates discussions and rational dialogues (Goldner, 2006)

2.6.3 News Media as Public Sphere Where Public Discourses are Produce and Reproduced

Some scholars have argued that the opinions expressed in the newspaper (forum pages which includes editor editorial and opinion column) served as democracy sphere since citizens are allowed to voice their opinions, therefore newspaper is a historically important place for public discourse (Jurgensen, 2008 as cited in Hoffman & Slater, 2015). McQuail argues that mass media function as “knowledge carrier”. Therefore, the mass media has generated the public sphere which can be accessible by members of the society (McQuail, 1976).

News media have played crucial roles to society at large by being public sphere which presents social intersts. The interplay between the news media and the mass society are illustrated as follows. Christains et al. (2004) proposes four roles for the media based on their relation between the political-economic domination and the citizens of the civil society. There are 4 normnivative roles namely 1) Monitorial role

or a “watchdog” refers the idea that media see themselves as neutral observer reporting “objectively” about the world. However, the information is constrained by power, the agenda is set by the power system, so that, the information is shaped by institutional power and elites group. 2) Facilitative role has certain distance of the centers of power, since it provides citizen with a channel for expressing themselves and participating in the political process. This role also includes the movement of civic or public journalism. 3) Radical role refers to the problematization of the prevailing power. This role may criticize the foundations of socio-political order and inciting revolution (and social movements). 4) Collaborative role refers the media which serve government and other centers of power like “lapdogs”.

Norris and Odugbemi (2009) identify three ideal roles for the news media which impact to good governance and accountability. 1) Watchdog; the news media protect public interests by monitoring society’s powerful sector to uncover corruption and misinformation 2) Agenda-setters, media project social issues and specifically major global crises that call for action 3) Gatekeepers, they collect plurality of perspectives and voice to debate issues of concern.

Biswas (2009) asserts that the media or press stands between government agencies and the public. Strong and independent media, together with other organs of civil society create pressure on governments to support democracy and socio-economic development. He also points out five crucial roles of the press to society as follows.

1) The press as a public watchdog; the media as “a watchdog of the society (monitoring) the activities of public administrations and other institutions and practices that directly and indirectly affect the public”. Watchdog role can be in many forms depending on the nature of the medium concerned as well as on the state of democracy and development in a particular country. Importantly, this role provides information- as the “eyes and ears” of the public in monitoring what is happening in public life by reporting on daily events as they unfold.

- (1) Reporting on government activities
- (2) Reporting on economic development
- (3) Reporting on social issues

2) The press as detective; the role of the press as public watchdog; it deals with the difference between reporting on public affairs, and journalistic investigations into wrongdoing in administration of public affairs. The well trained journalists are able to investigate wrongdoing by public officials. This includes perpetrating frauds or engaging in corruption in order to divert the personal benefit from public funds.

3) The press as a public educator; it assists education by being a broadcaster for educational materials for different levels of education i.e. childhood development and secondary education. Broadcasters can provide different levels of audiences about a wide range of education topics i.e. history, science, health, agriculture and etc.

4) The press as democracy and good governance advocate; the press itself firmly on the side of the ordinary citizen, whose life can be improved or worsened depending on how public authority is exercised. This advocacy role is also closely linked to the watchdog role of the press. Additionally, the press report not only what is happening but in what should be happening.

5) The press as catalyst for democracy and development; the basic function of press is to report the public interests, it therefore acts as a promoter of transparency, openness and accountability. The press assists to make public participation meaningful. The public advocate the press that reports accurately and provide reliable news and information about matters of public concern.

What mentioned above can be considered the significance of media in forming and guiding public discourse. They legitimize the researcher decision to analyze news as the representation of public discourse, and why the researcher choose the news media as main data to represent public discourse of development discourse concerning the context of dam construction projects for the hydropower development on the Mekong River. The researcher perceives that the mass media is one of the productions of the mass society. The news media as a form of mass media provide texts of public interests and concerns and they also produce and reproduce texts (discourses) with selective views. The news media can be seen as one of the best sources of public discourses we can find in our daily basis for several reasons; 1) News media is considered as a certain kind of public sphere where public interests of

the people in the society are presented 2) News media is considered as a representation of social reality 3) News media is considered as a social sphere where public discourses are reflected. Thus, in order to reflect the contending discourses of development in such context, thus, the study intends to choose the news media related to the issue to represent development discourse emerged from different parties in the society.

2.7 News Discourse

Regarding Conboy, language is of a public nature. It is constructed within a community of language and, to a large extent, is a social construct. Language has always been rooted in social activity. Language is a shared social and cultural resource, and we are part of a set of communicative patterns which exist outside ourselves as individuals. These patterns help to build a series of communities. Language is part of the process by which we become social members, understanding and integrating within the wider circle of these communities. The news media acts as some of the most influential channels for the definition of reality, this control is exercised in patterns, habits and structures which have become so commonplace that they no longer are automatically seen as the process of control, but are seen as merely “reflecting the world as it exists” (Conboy, 2007).

Language of the news is regarded as crucial social activity which not dose it tell stories of the world, news also plays a major role in “social construction” of reality (Berger and Luckman, 1976). Language of the news additionally is a domain public discourses through the selection of narratives and the language that project them. News is a language use which is a socially constructed form of communication (Conboy, 2007). In this sense, language of the news is a reflection of social structure and social reality, and on other words, it is viewed as public discourse which is socially constructed.

2.7.1 Newspapers as Interpretive Communities

According to Fish, a newspaper acts to provide a set of parameters for selective “interpretive communities” (Fish, 1994). Conboy also adds that language

makes us as communal creatures, the communal nature of language means that it depends on the power of convention. Individuals have difficulty in creating new words or challenging the conventions of language without a wider social acceptance of the changes they propose. We belong to communities of media consumption through the distinctiveness of the language of those media. The newspaper has an explicitly normative role in how we see the world. Our news is our world. So that it forests our understanding of what happens beyond our everyday experiences (Conboy, 2007). Therefore, the news media presents what are the interests of the people in society and the world or it is a representation of a kind of social convention and social interest.

Newspapers do not only present social interests but in turn they determine the interest of the readers. Hall argues that newspapers realize who their reader is. The language they employ need to be in a style and register, the stereotypes, both positive and negative which carry the social and cultural perspectives of the reader, and the assumptions which are embedded in the truncated style of the newspaper and which have been referred to as “script” (Hall, 1978). News consists of a set of conventions which create communities of readers through their use of language (Conboy, 2007).

Language of the news is an indicator of conventional hierarchies of society. By studying the patterns of language like discursive strategy used we can explain the relationship between dominant and subordinate grouping which make representations acceptable to the general public as “normal”. The regular patterning of language can represent the dominant social and political positions of the various news media. News media acts as assistant for the critical readers to help them define patterns within language which legitimate or naturalize the dominant social order. However, the dominant ideas and viewpoints in any society tend to be the ideas and viewpoints of those who have direct control over political or economic of that society. The news media owned by members of those political or economic elites, produce the views of these dominant classes. The language of the news media therefore not only creates a mainstream but it also they categories of people who are outsiders (Conboy, 2007).

2.7.2 News Components

The news media has its own choice of words use: pronouns, nouns, adjective, verbs, vocabularies, denotation, connotation, metaphor, and etc. Therefore, Conboy proposes significant components of the news. These components can be used as a guideline to analyse news discourse. They are Vocabulary in the news can build up pictures for the audience. How the vocabulary can fit into patterns of metaphor, register and narrative which tell us about the social and location of the news. It is called vocabulary-based view of the language of the news. Cohesion directs a set of random sentences to audience-directed news. It refers to the way that the sentences or individual words fit together into one whole package, and the ability to extend texts to fit into a consistent worldview and narratives of social belonging and identification. Therefore, lexical cohesion explains how vocabulary forms parts of a broader set of categories which are important in establishing news values. The lexical cohesion is built and selected to fit into the news in order to build a picture of the world that matches the overall viewpoint of the news medium and its audience. Metaphorical is an interface between the factual world and the world of ideological persuasion. It also plays an important role in establishing powerful commonsense associations within newspaper texts, and does not require justification or explanation. Register defines as the use of a particular type of language in a particular context. Register can reveal as much about the media institution as it can about its perceived audience because it articulates a version of the language of its target social grouping. Cohesion and worldview are both embedded in the language selected and assumptions about what the audience knows in terms of lifestyle, education and politics. Register can include aspects of language which match a specific appeal to lifestyle, age group or professional identity. Narratives are always rooted within time, place and culture, and are a universal expression of humankind. Narrative is also bound by social and political contexts which give priority to certain narratives over others, which present different “sides” of the story, which chose different heroes. Narrative is considered as type of speech act.

In the language of the news, meanings are made through grammar and syntax. The verbal process is crucial as it allows alternative meanings. Verbs are words which denote action or feeling, or establish relations between people or things. They can also

be used to express preferences or opinions either overtly or covertly. Transitivity analysis can be applied to extract the meaning associated with the author's intention that is embedded in the choice of verb. Transitivity analysis involves the identification of verbal process. Verbal process can be explained into four consequences: Agent, Process, Affected and Circumstances. Agent refers as the Actor which is the main protagonist in the sentence. The process is expressed through a verb and often stands in relationship to the Affected or achieves a Goal within the sentence. There are 5 processes that verb can express;

- 1) Material processes which involve action and intention.
- 2) Mental processes involve with perception, reaction, and cognition.
- 3) Relational processes
- 4) Existential processes
- 5) Behavioral processes

Actional and relational are two types of verb. Actional verbs involve activity. The verbs express the action done by the Agent to the Affected are called "transactives". But if the action verbs only involve the Agent, they are called "non-transactives". Relational verbs involve the relationship between two or more entities. Relational verbs express opinion.

Transitivity is a verbal structure of a sentence. It refers broadly to who does what to whom, and how. Transitive sentence has the agent acting upon the affected, whereas the transitive uses a verb which does not have an affected.

Active and passive constructions make the Agent the subject of the sentence. Passive constructions put the focus on the Goal or the affected participants, and shift the Agent out of prominence in this part of the text. Passive constructions can also offer an opportunity to represent an event without reference to an agent, and it is called "Agent deletion". Deletion can serve the purposes of economy or distortion. Another purpose of deletion is to shift the blame onto depersonalized forces or the victim themselves.

Modality provides an opportunity for comment and opinion in the verb and adverb of the news. It is used to make a claim for preference, truth, obligation, approval, and normality. Modal verbs include may, could, must, should, will and all

those negative form of them. Some adverbs like probably, hopefully, surely and certainly.

Nominalization explains the state of being a process of something. It turns processes into things. It deletes certain participants in a process. It deals more in abstractions and nominal as they are literally abstracted from more complete contexts. It expects more contextual knowledge from its audience. Nominalization may simplify a process, make the relationship between cause and effect invisible to rational argument or make a problematic and contested situation.

2.7.3 News Headline

The headline is one of the salient portions of the news. Regarding Conboy, headlines serve three functions. First they give a brief summary of the main news, second they call attention and, third, they often provide an initial indicator in their content and style of the news values of the newspaper. Thus, the headlines are an important part of the news and their audience. News actors tend to be placed first in headlines. The headline is the first indicator of the content and perspective of the story which follows. After the headline and then the lead, in a news story, is the opening burst of language which summarizes the main story which follows. Leads are complex, linguistically and ideologically, but they are also brief. They condense the values and viewpoints of the newspaper (Conboy, 2007).

2.7.4 News Values

The news values reflect the process of within which event becomes news. It clearly indicates the social interest and how we view the world. Conboy states that news is a process of selecting to prioritize the news events regarding to a range of socially organized categories. The news values which structure selection are based on assumptions about the world, who and what is important in it and for which particular media audience. News values are instilled a set of categorizations about how the world works and which beliefs structure it. The news prioritizes what are the most important events for its audience. The news values select events and people for its audience. The communication flow of the news is from an organizational top to a viewing/ listening/ reading base. The news value well embeds the views of the

institutional and social hierarchy. Therefore, news values distinguish the linguistic identity and the social coding (Conboy, 2007).

2.8 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis, a kind of social activity through the use of language. There are a variety of definitions of discourse given by practitioners and scholars working on discourse analysis. The notions shed light within both micro level and macro level structures. The micro level refers to language and linguistic features, meanwhile the macro level refers to language in the relation with social aspects.

2.8.1 History and Development

Critical Linguistics is interdisciplinary in nature, and it can be viewed as a hybrid discipline of linguistics and critical theories. The field is rooted in shared disciplines of Frankfurt school of critical social theories and linguistic paradigm of structuralism and post-structural of Saussure who proposes the system of sign. Therefore, Critical linguistics or Critical discourse analysis views language in two dimensions: micro level and macro level structures. Micro level deals with language and linguistic features, meanwhile the macro level engages with social aspects. Consistent with what Pennycook has proposed, she argues that CDA deals with the sense of critical thinking- an intense analysis to in problem orientation or textual understanding. Doing critical analysis deals with not only with relating language contexts to social contexts, but also includes a viewpoint that sees social relations as problematic. There are two them in critical analysis. One is to explore the complex connection between the variations within a language use and another is dealing with variations in the social groups. Both themes share the two elements in analyzing discourse. One is macro-micro relation- the way of understanding a relationship between language and the concepts of society in various dimensions, and another is critical social enquiries- making a way of exploring language and society (Pennycook, 2001).

2.8.2 Structural and Post-Structural Tradition

According to Saussure structuralism, he views language as structure. He proposes the universal structure of language is constructed by the system of rule, in which consists of the relationship between the signifier and the signified. Structuralists view humans conceiving the world as a series of interlocking sign-system to which human being respond in largely predictable ways. The mechanism of the complex sign-system is the hidden power governing human being in subconscious (Sim & Loon, 2004). Saussure also adds that meaning can never be fixed, therefore discourse has no closed entity, it is rather being transformed through contact with other discourses (Mills, 1997)

According to structural Marxism, he proposes the mechanism of socio-cultural analysis of class struggle under the model of infrastructure and superstructure. The infrastructure refers to an economic base and superstructure refers to the way of thinking characteristic of class behavior. The superstructure also sees the cultural things which are determined by a specific economy i.e. religion, politics, laws, education, arts, and etc. The superstructure is considered as a crucial device of ideology in class struggle (Sim & Loon, 2004). Marxism's perspective is central to structural power which is rooted in inequality and power abuse in the society. In this sense, Marxism means to explain the social relationship in terms of two major contrasting classes in the society: ones who in power and the ones who are powerless. This refers to the lord and slave or ones who own the means of production and ones who are selling their labor for their survival in the system of production (Sim & Loon, 2004).

Regarding Althusser's structuralism, he proposes the complexity of social structure and the reproduction of ideology. He believes that ideology works most effectively at a level of ideas (the ideas which serve the ruling elite). The text is not only a form of writing or spoken word but it is an encoded production constituting power through the superstructure. He also argues that the thinking system determines human beings in terms of belief and attitude which are processed in the ideational function of consciousness. And the deeper structure of thinking system is in the level of sub-consciousness as ideology (Sim & Loon, 2004). Althusser also views "ideology as a form of distortion of reality" (Robson & Stockwell, 2005). Ideology is

viewed as structural function to control people in the society as it distorts the real social relation, and therefore it becomes the false consciousness and marked power with truth, so that people are unable to see the truth (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2005). The mechanisms to process such power take place in a form of institution and organization such as education, family and law, in which these help to reproduce and maintain ideology to the people in the society (Fairclough, 1992). At this point, ideology for Althusser is an invisible system which embedded in people's sub-consciousness which people perceive as the false consciousness. In order to maintain this ideology to the society, the reproduction of ideology in a form of institutions is taken into account.

Foucault's post-structuralism postulates that the power of the society is not generated by the social structure itself but through giving the meaning to it. In this sense, the discourse meaning is crucial by which that social world can be changed by the change of discourse, and the society can be deconstructed by the reproduction of meaning (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Foucault focuses the hidden power in terms of discourse and its systematic discursive practice (Foucault, 1990; Mills, 1997; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Mills explains discourse of Foucault as it refers to general domain of all statements; means utterances or texts which have meaning and which have their effects in the real world. Discourse is viewed as something which produces something else such as an utterance, a concept and its effects, not something which exists and can be analyzed in isolation (Mills, 1997). In terms of power, he sees knowledge as a form of power. Therefore, knowledge and power are connected to discourse in a sense that truth effects which are created within discourse, in other words, truth is a discursive construction and the regimes of knowledge which determine what is true or false (Foucault, 1990). In this regard, power can be in a form of knowledge regimes which constitute social truth, therefore, knowledge is power. Foucault also proposes archeology of knowledge, its concept refers to the rule which statements are accepted as meaningful and true in the historical period. Truth is understood as a system of the process of production, regulation and diffusion of statement, whereas genealogy makes a link between truth and power. Truth is embodied in, and produced by the system of power. It is also mentioned that there is no universal truth outside discourse. Foucault defines discourse as the strategic field

of power relation in which different discourses struggle attempting to fix meaning in competing ways are unstable and more open to change (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Therefore, for Foucault, discourse is an instrument and its effect/ power of its process (Foucault, 1990; Mills, 1997).

2.9 Analytical Framework

Regarding to Fairclough's CDA, he proposes the link between language and society with the three conception of discourse: text, discursive practice and social practice. On the one hand, Jorgensen & Phillips posit that Fairclough's CDA is the most explicitly analytical framework. There is simplicity and superficial understanding of the relationship between language (text) and society, on the one hand, Fairclough's CDA emphasizes too much on text analysis, thus, it is insufficient for discourse analysis because it still lacks the links between text, societal and cultural process and structure (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). In order to make discourse analysis more complete and precise, the study must shed light on social analysis as well. Hence, the study also shed light on Van Dijk's SCA framework- the combination of verbal structure, cognitive system and social interaction, in which its core focuses on human cognitive system and contextualization. Savitri Gadavani (2002) has suggested that the combine of the two theories helps to well establish analysis related to discourse and society. They give illustration of the discourse-society relationship and in turn how this relationship can be manipulated (Gadavani, 2002). Therefore, this thesis adopts both Fairclough's CDA framework and Van Dijk's SCA framework as major theoretical framework.

2.9.1 Fairclough's CDA framework

The framework rooted from Foucault's concept of systematically discursive practice. Fairclough proposes three dimensions- text, discursive practice and social practice. The framework attempts to investigate the power of language under the relationship between language and society. He also views language as a social practice in three aspects; language is a part of social practice, language is a social process, and language is a socially conditioned process (Fairclough, 1992).

Text is a part of social practice. Fairclough states that text is viewed as a system and socially determined. He explains that text is a part of discourse production but it is not discourse production but it is as a product of the process of discourse production, distribution and consumption. Text has interdialectical relationship between language and society. Text is the representation of dual relationships in textual analysis which are both socially structured and structure. As such, text is an empirical evidence as the mediated between language and society (Fairclough, 1992).

Discursive practice is viewed as a social process. Fairclough views discursive practice as the process of text production, distribution and assumption. He posits that text has been produced under social rules govern, thus, it reflects that the process of text production has dialectical relationship between text production and social structure. The process of text production is considered as the relationship with text, persona and society because text is a material in the process of interpretation and stage of analysis between text producer and text consumer (Fairclough, 1992).

Social practice is discourse. Fairclough explains that discourse is a form of social practice not individual practice or a reflex of situational variables. Discourse is social life in terms of its relations to social relation and social struggle and the whole process of social interaction. By implying Foucault's discourse transformation, three dimension of concept of discourse are explained in Fairclough's framework- the discursive practice in which its production is found in linguistic features or in the text, the discursive practice which is an interface area where the text and the social practice are linked, and a whole process of social interaction is viewed as discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

2.9.2 Van Dijk' SCA Framework

Van Dijk's socio cognitive approach views cognitive structure as mediating social and discursive practice (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). He constitutes a tripartite combination of verbal structure, cognitive system and social interaction- with the main focus on human cognitive system and contextualization. SCA premises on how discourses are used as flexible materials in generating and negotiation representation of the world and identity in talk-in interaction (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Verbal structure, for Van Dijk, the organization of language not only consists of ordered series of word, clause, sentence and proposition, but it also related to the sequence of mental acts in human cognitive, such as knowledge and belief. As such, the verbal structure in language possesses mental processing and representation, in which acted as discourse coherence (Van Dijk, 1997).

Social interaction is discourse (Van Dijk, 1997). To illustrate, discourse is seen as social act and social interaction because discourse or what people have said or written in language uses enable to influence peoples' acts and minds. The social interaction includes the process of producing, understanding and analyzing. In this regard, context features will be taken into account to accomplish its effect in social interaction as well. Discursive practice is what people have said and written in order to achieve different tasks of talk and texts in their social life (Van Dijk, 1997). Discursive practice is the area of relationship between social analysis and discourse analysis, in which its effects not only include knowledge, belief, truth, but also the representation of self. Therefore, discursive practice has its effects on shifting social distance- intimacy and presenting self, identity in social interactions under contextualization (Van Dijk, 1997).

Cognitive system is the mediated area between verbal structure and social interaction (Van Dijk, 1997). As discourse or what people have said or written in language uses enable to influence peoples' acts and minds. Van Dijk also posits that the most effective way to control people act and mind is through text and talk- the language in social interaction. Power in terms of Van Dijk refers to the ability to control peoples' acts and minds without any coercion, and the way to control such ability is to control mental ability basis of action, people's intention and propose. As such, people's mind can be influenced by means of persuasive power of language- asking questions to cause suspiciousness in what they belief as truth, and shaping their mind with discursive power. By mean of hegemony- employing the property of mental processing in the interpretation of the meaning, it constitutes new social ideology and knowledge in their places. Thus, by employing aspects of discursive practice in terms of persuasive power, hegemony, social ideology and knowledge, these elements are functioned in cognition system which mediates the verbal and social interaction in order to gain power over people and society (Van Dijk, 2001).

2.9.3 Ideological Discourse Analysis

“We have truth, They have ideologies”, a classic statement portraying the polarization of social groups classified by the idea of ideology. Ideologies are largely produced and reproduced in text and talk, so that discourse is reproduction of ideology. The study of ideologies can be tracked back in 200 years ago within the area of philosophy and social sciences by Destutt de Tracy, this new discipline that study about “ideas”. The first idea in ideologies was proposed by Marx-Engels, they presented ideology to the negative image as a system of misconceived ideas. Thus, ideologies were conceived as “false consciousness” and later as later the belief systems (Harris 1968; Thompson 1986). Today, ideologies are presented as attribution of OTHERS. Regarding to Cognitive representation of ingroup interests, Mannheim (1936) proposed ideologies which are involved with a system of domination and seldom with system of dissent or resistance called *utopias*. Ideologies therefore used to be seen with bias concept of ideology as an instrument of domination, however Van Dijk recently proposes a general theory of ideology and its reproduction by discourse- ideologies of domination (Van Dijk, 1998).

Ideology in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is the interface of a sociocognitive definition of ideology as a form of social cognition with analysis of a variety structure of discourse that expresses ideological representations (Van Dijk, 1998). Ideologies are largely acquired, express and reproduced by discourse, and crucially a discourse analytical approach put emphasis on understanding the way ideologies emerges, spread, and used by social groups. Discourses are social practices, and through such practices, ideologies are acquired, used and spread. Regarding to social cognition, ideologies are inherently social beliefs that shaped by members of specific social groups. Thus, ideology is the relationship between discourse and society that supported by the mediation of the sociocognitive interface.

Ideologies are belief systems that shared by specific (ideological) groups of people, and are typically not shared by the whole sociocultural community. They embody beliefs which could include different opinions that attacked among members of different ideological groups. Ideologies may be beliefs that are taken for granted and presupposed within the own group, they are not across groups and in society as a whole. Ideologies beliefs are accepted by all members of a community, and they are

no longer ideologies but will count as knowledge in that community. Therefore, knowledge as socially shared belief systems is seen as “true” belief, the belief about “facts”, ideological beliefs are based on norms and values. The community based norms and values may be applied in different ways by members of different groups, depending on their goals and interests. Thus ideological beliefs do not have the same consensus nature as knowledge, for example the value of freedom may variously be interpreted as freedom of the market, freedom of expression, freedom of oppression, depending on the ideology and interests of ideological groups. Thus, ideological differences become the representation of ideological struggle.

2.9.3.1 Socio-cognitive Interface

Social action and actor shared cognitive dimension: knowledge and action concept (mental representation or mind) (Aebli, 1980; Danto, 1973; Whiteley, 1973; as cited in Coulter, 1989). Interaction is an action which requires mental representation of other actors related to the context (Furnham and Argyle, 1981). Social actors and their actions link to social macro-micro. Ones need to identify and represent themselves as being members of the group by presenting the shared knowledge about society and interaction in the competent of their action (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Farr & Moscovici, 1984). Cognitive accounts for the representation of verbal interaction and discourse, whose structures and meanings need involving specific and shared knowledge and social beliefs (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

The social cognition can be seen as knowledge, attitude and ideologies, that is mental representations shared by members of social collectivities (Fraser & Gaskell 1990; Hamilton 2005; Augoustinos et al. 2006; Fiske & Taylor, 2007;). On the other hand, ideologies are socially shared belief systems. In early history of ideology made distinction between (true) knowledge and (false) ideology. Since both are a form of social cognition, we conceive of knowledge as socially shared beliefs that are justified within epistemic communities, and on the basis of special knowledge criteria. Within such communities, knowledge consists of shared beliefs that presupposed in public discourse. Such knowledge is the basis of all other beliefs in society (Van Dijk, 2012).

2.9.3.2 Ideologies

Social representation is a platform of ideologies manifestation. Several definitions of ideologies are portrayed by various scholars; 1) Ideologies are systems constructed from the basis of the socio-political cognitions of groups (Lau and Sears, 1986; Rosenberg, 1988), 2) Ideologies organize social group attitudes, and each group will select cultural repertoire of social norms and values including goals and interests then use them to establish its group ideologies.

Social representations are defined by groups shared by social group members (Farr & Moscovici, 1984). Social representation such as attitudes and socio-cultural knowledge, ideologies influence specific knowledge and beliefs of individual language users. These personal cognitions represented in mental models of events and situations control discourse (Garnham, 1987; Johnson-Laird, 1983; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983; van Oostendorp & Zwaan, 1994). Ideologies feature a group-relevant, self-serving selection of fundamental socio-cultural values. Ideologies show a polarizing structure between US and THEM.

Ideology may be constructed from such group-defining categories as Identity/ Membership, Activities, Goals, Norms and Values, Social Position and Resources (van Dijk, 1995a, 1995b). Ideologies are not assumed as “negative” or “false”. Not only dominant groups may have ideologies to legitimate their power or to manufacture consent or consensus (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1980, 1990) oppositional, dominated groups may have ideology that organizes the social representations needed for resistance and change. Ideologies may organize attitudes and knowledge which given epistemic system of knowledge criteria, are false (Eagleton, 1991).

Ideologies are not limited by groups that are related by dominance, power and struggle, however, are the “group interests” by categories of identity, activities, goals, norms and values, social position and resources. Ideology is a shared social nature of text and talk and the unique, variable, contextual and personal, properties of discourse (Billig, 1991). Both social and personal cognition are also link to discourse and ideology. A person can belong to different groups and may share in different ideologies (Billig et al., 1988; Billig, 1991).

2.9.3.3 Ideologies and Mental Models

Social cognition is related to personal cognition, including personally variable options about social issues and social practices. Personal cognitions are specified in mental models that represent personal experiences in episodic memory (Tulving 1983; Baddeley et al. 2002), influenced not only by general ideologies and attitude but also by earlier personal experiences of each group member. Individual people may be members of various ideological groups, their mental model (experiences) may- feature sometimes contradictory- personal opinions and beliefs as influenced by different ideologies.

Ideologically based mental models are the interface between the social and personal, between groups and its members, and between the system and its manifestations. All ideological discourse- engaged in by people as group member- is based on unique mental models. It means that everyday practices can be planned and organized by practices of a member of a group ideologically, on the other hand, they can still have the unique personal properties as influenced by personal history, experiences, and social events.

As language is a socially share system, ideology should account not only for group-based social practices or systems of interpretation of social events, but also for individual members to participate in and reproduce ideologies in their everyday lives. However, sociocognitive system of ideologies consists of three layers: general ideology itself, a set of variable ideological attitudes shared by social groups, and persona variable mental models manifesting individual experiences.

2.9.3.4 Discourse and Ideology

Discourse is social practice that is text and talk are produced and understood in terms of mental models which account for personal nature of discourse and action. Ideological discourse usually exhibits the polarization of attitudes and ideologies- a structure that emphasize positive properties of US, the ingroup, and negative properties of THEM, the outgroup.

2.9.3.5 Context Models

Language users and social actors not only construct a mental model of events they think or talk but also action and environment in which they are currently engaged. The context models consist of four levels of cognition, namely the

subjective representation of the communicative situations. 1) spatiotemporal setting, 2) a representation of the current identity and role of the participants as well as the relationship between them, 3) the current social action and its goals and 4) as well as knowledge and ideology of the participants (Van Dijk 2008a, 2009).

Context models are account for socially appropriate production of discourse and interaction. Context models are explained how ideological discourse is adapted to the communication situation. Theory of ideological discourse consists of a sociocognitive basis of ideologies as socially shared belief system, more specific ideological attitudes and personal mental model.

2.9.3.6 Ideological Discourse Semantics

The topics of discourse are more related to meaning in global and local levels. Global meaning is a macro lever which the overall meaning of the whole discourse. The macro-structure defines the global coherence of discourse. The local meaning is a micro lever which involves with meanings of words, clauses, sentences and paragraphs. These topics are typically expressed in headlines, abstracts and summaries. Topics of discourse may be biased by attitudes and ideologies, the polarized structure of ideological discourse expect negative topics about THEM and positive topics about US. Other components to be consider in discourse semantics are Proposition (may be expressed by negative predicates), Modalities, Local coherence, Implications and presuppositions, Actor descriptions, Level and granularity of event and action descriptions (events and actions), Disclaimers (derogation of outgroups is seen as violation of a norm or a law), and Metaphor.

Structure of Discourse puts focus on lexicon and syntax structures. Lexical variation is very obvious and explicit way of expressing ideologically bases opinions and group-based attitudes and ideologies. The use of pronouns is to signify ingroup or out group of that person (s). Another focus of discourse structure is syntax structure, the rule of word order which reflect meaningful of what is known and unknown, in focus or not. In the topical position, the known information will appear first at the beginning position, and the unknown information will be shown later. The same sequence in the emphasized information, the focused information will be appeared first and followed by the less focused information.

The most studies syntax structure in ideologies is passive sentence and nominalization. Passive sentence may be used to express many functions such as agents are unknown, have been mentioned already, less relevant or less emphasized. In discourse, it can be implied that passive sentence is intentionally to mitigate the negative actions or actors of ingroup members. On the other hand, using active sentence which reveals actors can be by intention to emphasize the negative actors of outgroup members. Nominalization is employed not to give detail information of the action of ingroup members.

In conclusion, ideologies construct sociocognitive ground of social groups as well as their social practice. Ideologies are organized by the reproduction of social groups, such as their identity, activities, goals, norms and values, reference groups, and recourses. Their contents are often polarized by positive properties to the ingroup and negative ones to the outgroup, on the other hand, OUR negative ones tend to be ignored, de-emphasized, and mitigated. Ideologies control and are formed by socially shared attitudes about social issues that are related for the group and its reproduction. These attitudes control the personal mental models group members about specific events and actions, and the mental models control actual social practices such as the production and comprehension of discourse.

Ideologies are required by text, talk and other forms of communication. Ideological discourse is advocated by ideologies, attitudes and metal models. Ideological discourse tends to organized by polarization. Ideological strategy in discourse are found in the selection of main topics, local coherence, implications, description, lexical choice, as well as syntactic structures (active versus passive, nominalization) and ordering, backgrounding, foregrounding of information, as well as emphasize and de-emphasize information or arguments.

2.9.3.7 Discourse Structure

Ideologies are the bias of our social judgments, and ideological controlled propositions often are opinion statements, expressions of those “others”. Lexical items chosen used to describe others as using indirect coding. Ideological semantics underlying such lexical selection such as ingroup members tend to be described in positive terms, whereas outgroups, enemies or opponents are described in negative terms. These may not show in adjective or nouns used to describe ingroups

and outgroups and their properties, but in the complex structures that related these groups with specific actions, objects, places, or events. A strategy of positive self-representation and negative other presentation is a well-known way to exhibit ideological structures in discourse, we may predict the following strategies of text and talk may be ideological relevant, depending on topic, context, speech acts and communicative goals, for ingroups and outgroups respectively.

Table 2.2 Describing/attributing Positive Action

Ingroup	Outgroup
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalization	De-topicalization
-sentential (micro)	
-textual (macro)	
High, prominent position Headlining, summarizing	Low, non-prominent position
Detailed description description	Marginalization
Attribution to personality Explicit Implicit	Vague, overall
Direct	Attribution to context
Narrative illustration	Indirect
Argumentative support	No storytelling
Impression management	No argumentative support
	No impression management

Source: Stephan, 1977; Pettigrew, 1979.

2.9.3.8 Structures of Ideologies and Structures of Meaning

Two level in the structure: Micro and macro. Micro level focuses on lexicalization, sentences meaning and local sentence coherence. Macro level emphasizes on topics and overall meaning. Meanings are manipulated, structurally, by

the principle of ingroup and outgroup which is in social cognition. The following questions influence discourse meanings:

- 1) Who are We? Who do (do not) belong to Us?
- 2) What do We do? What are Our activities? What is expected of Us?
- 3) What are the goals of these activities?
- 4) What norms and values do We respect in such activities?
- 5) To which groups are We related: Who are Our friends and enemies?
- 6) What are the resources We typically have or do not have (privileged) access to?

2.9.3.9 The Structure of Ideologies

It is social functions as representations of the goals and interest of social groups, as well as the analysis of ideological discourse, offer ideology schema that organizes the beliefs of an ideology (Van Dijk, 1998): Identity, Activities, Goals, Norms and Values and Resource. This structure may reveal the overall self-image of the group as well as its relations to other groups such as a self-image of the ideological ingroup is positive, whereas that of outgroups is negative. The typical polarized structure of ideologies as organized representations as *Us* versus *Them*. The nature of polarization structure of ideologies is more prominent for ideological where the goals and interests of social groups are in stake. Ideologies can be shared by group of professional like professors or journalists.

2.9.3.10 Ideological Discourse Semantically Deals with Local Meanings and Implications:

1) Self-identity descriptions (membership): who are We, where do We come from, what are Our properties, what is Our history, how are We different from Others, what are criteria of admission, what We are proud of, etc. Obviously, self-description will be positive.

2) Activity-descriptions: what are Our task, what do We do, what is expectation of Us, what are Our social role, etc. Ideological activity description is typical for groups who are defined by what they do such as professional and activists.

3) Goal-description (aim); activities make ideological and social sense only if they have (positive) goals. It should be emphasized that such goal descriptions are definition ideological, and not necessarily factual. This is how groups and their members see themselves, or want to be seen and evaluated.

4) Norm and value description; what We find good and bad, right or wrong, and what Our actions and goals try to respect or achieve. In the description of Our opponents or enemies, we may expect the opposite thoughts and actions.

5) Position and Relation description (relations); define their identity, activities and goals in relation to other groups. We may expect special focus on group relations, conflicts, polarization and negative other-presentation (derogation)

6) Resource description; the groups can exist only when they have access to specific resources. The intergroup conflicts occur when such access is threatening or limited, ideological discourse will largely focus on such resources. Some social groups are defined in terms of access or non-c to resources, such as the rich and the poor, the unemployed and homeless, the Have and Have-nots. At this point, we may expect elaborate semantic strategies that aim to defend (or attack) privileged access (the “right”) to resources

Ideological structures manifested in representation of ingroup-outgroup distinction, differentiation and polarization, by which our definition of ideologies as basis self-group schemata of social cognition, are the central characteristic of all ideologies, are marked in discourse structure by personal and possessive pronouns (We-They, Us- Them, Our-Their). Ingroup-outgroup polarization is not limited to pronominal references or their full noun-phrase variants, it is also outgroup derogation, positive self-presentation and the association of “our” group with all good things and “their” group with all bad things.

The seaearch proposes an analysis of these discursive structures to reveal the idology behind the discourse: Negative lexicalization, Hyperbole, Compassion move, Apparent Altruism move, Apparent Honesty move, Negative comparison, Generalization, Concretization, Alliteration, warning, Norm and value violation and Presupposition.

- 1) Negative lexicalization: strong negative words of Others
- 2) Hyperbole: a description of an event or action in strongly exaggerated terms.
- 3) Compassion move: showing empathy or sympathy for (weak) victims of the Others.
- 4) Apparent Altruism move: to emphasize understanding for the position or interests of the Others.
- 5) Apparent Honesty move: it is known as a form of disclaiming negative statements. It combines positive self-representation, with negative other-representation. With other disclaimers her, the “honesty” involved here is purely strategic, no “real” honesty is involved.
- 6) Negative comparison: to emphasize the bad quality of the Other by comparing the target person or outgroup with a recognized Bad person or outgroup.
- 7) Generalization: to generalize from one person or a small group to a larger group or category.
- 8) Concretization: to emphasize Their negative acts, and to describe the acts in detail and in concrete, visualizable terms.
- 9) Alliteration: phonologically based rhetoric is well-known for tabloid headlines and op-articles, and serves to mark the importance or relevance of the words that being emphasized.
- 10) Warning: even without evidence about facts, the opinion articles are emphasizing possible threats and terrors.
- 11) Norm and value violation: to make distinction between THEM and US is not only described ourselves in positive way and them in negative terms, but to stress Other violate the very norms and values we hold.
- 12) Presupposition: a semantic device to indirectly stress our good properties and their bad ones is presupposition. To emphasize the properties that are simply assumed to be known, as we they were common sense

2.10 Conclusion

The eight topics portrayed as literature review is crucial to understanding of the interplay between the ideological discourse and development and society. There are 1) The social context of dam construction for the hydropower development on the Mekong, 2) Discourse studies, Concepts subjects to Development, 3) Development Discourse and Dominant Discourse, 4) Media and Society, 5) News Discourse, 6) Critical Discourse Analysis, 7) The Analytical Framework and 8) Discourse and Ideology, the literature review above are a core foundation helping us to develop analytical tool for the current study. It problematize the notion of “Development” in the context of dam construction for the hydropower development on the Mekong River. Through the lenses of Critical Discourse Analysis, the study aims to reflect as well as unravel manipulation of the contending development discourse as the dominant discourse employed by varying group in such a cont

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents methodology of the study which aims to unravel the power of language in the society and its mechanism how discursive practices can be formed as a discourse and how the discourse plays a crucial role in our society. It is argued that discourse has a generative power in constructing and reconstructing social reality (Foucault, 1979, p. 27). Moreover, with the assumption of discourse studies that language and society has a dialectical relationship, and language is manifestation of social practices, analysis of discourse circulate in the society and shed light on the social issue such as conflict in that society.

Media is a public sphere where social interests are presented, as well as an arena of public discourse. So in order to collect and analyse the contending perspectives on development held in differing groups of people, media discourse emerges as an appropriate representation of such perspectives. Henceforth, the study proposes to explore the discursive practices of development discourses as a dominant discourse occurred in the language used in a variety of media texts, in which related to the context of dam construction in Mekong River. The study's analysis bases on the Critical linguistics paradigm which central to critical thinking and social problems, thus Critical Discourse Analysis is a salient analytical tool of the study.

The study aims to investigate how development discourse and its discursive practices can be established as a dominant discourse in the society. What are interpretations of development, how development discourse is used and manipulated by the ruling class or the elite group, and how development practices affect to our public life. And what are the diverse perspectives on development concept in the context of dam construction in Mekong River from varying parties i.e. government and capital group, newspapers, journals and academic paper.

The study will employ a qualitative approach which provides a rich description on the analysis. The study's analysis bases on the regime of critical discourse analysis which is central to the approaches of Fairclough's CDA and van Dijk's SCA. The approaches are divided into 2 levels: macro analysis and micro analysis. The study also employs other approaches related to discursive strategies i.e. representation of social actions, transitivity, nominalization, lexis, metaphor naming. The data of the study are the discursive practices occurred in the news reporting in the newspaper relevant to the issue of dam construction in Mekong River. Several media texts (i.e. governmental document, newspapers, journals and academic paper) related to the context of dam construction in Mekong River are selected as they enable to represent the public discourse of development in such context.

3.2 Assumptions and Hypotheses

The study problematizes the notions of development in a context of Mekong hydropower development is based on the Critical linguistics or Critical discourse analysis which aims to analyze the discourse of development founded in several media texts. As media texts are one of the public spheres that allow the public discourses to perform, therefore, this study drawn upon the assumptions that 1) discourse is a socio-culturally constituted and constitutive (Fairclough, 1992) and 2) discourse is the fundamental process of reproduction of power (van Dijk, 2008). Thus, these assumptions are formed to make research questions as follows.

- 1) What are the notions of Development constituted in the context of Mekong hydropower dams found in the news article?
- 2) What are the discursive strategies employed to establish the notions of Development in such context?
- 3) What are contending discourses generated under Development discourses in such context?

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Criteria for Selecting Media Texts

The study collect news from online newspapers. This forms the primary set of text to be analysed. According to Conboy, there are two main categories of newspaper: hard news or broadsheet and soft news or tabloid (Conboy, 2007). Conboy argues that hard news is central to politics and public life (Conboy, 2007). Hard news uses more neutral language and produce ideological perspectives for their audience (Kitis & Milapedes, 1997. pp. 557-590). Hard news is where the “facticity” (Tuchman, 1978) of the writing is most happen. As media texts can represent particular social interests, news collection is targeted as main data for the analysis under the context of the study.

The study put emphasis on the texts presented in the online news which are accessible by most today’s individuals. Under the key words related to the context of the study “Mekong hydropower dams”, massive information and news are presented in the Google search engine. At first, the news was search under the key words of “Mekong hydropower dam”, and there are 164 pieces of news found in the Google search, those news (texts) are produced, reproduced and distributed from various social agencies via various websites, i.e. government and authority sectors, academic sectors, Non-government organizations, business sectors, and news agencies.

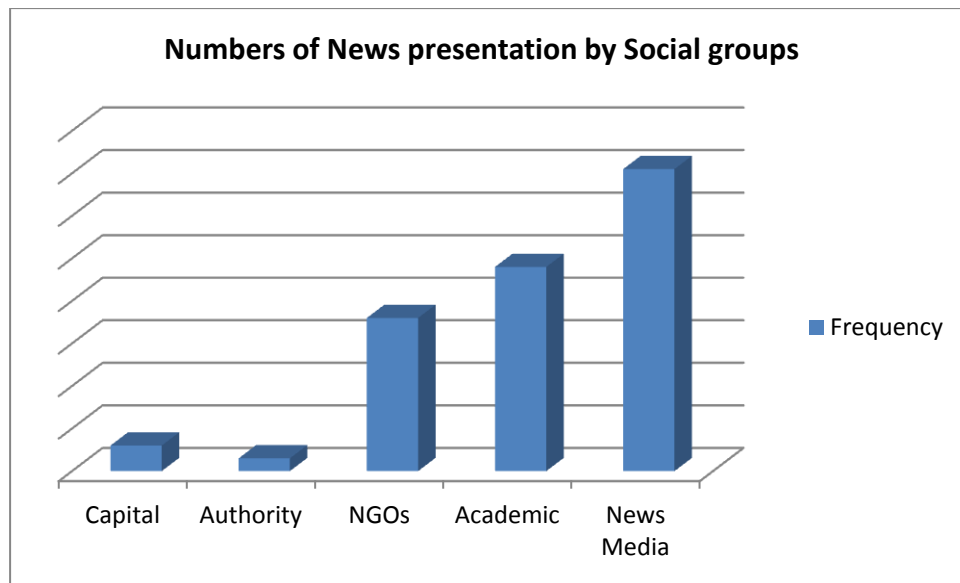


Figure 3.1 Numbers of News Presentation by Social Groups

At this point, the researcher was required to be seriously conscious to select the news collection produced by only real news agencies due to the concern that news agencies are considered as a certain kind of publish sphere which assumed to represent multi voices of social sectors.

3.3.2 Criteria for Selecting News Content

According to Conboy (2007), the headline is the first indicator of the content and perspective of the story which follows, and the news actors tend to be placed first in the headline. Headlines serve three functions; first they give a brief summary of the main news, second they call attention and, third they often provide an initial indicator in their content and style of the news values of the newspaper. The headlines are a crucial part of the news and their audience. After the headline, the lead in a news story is the opening burst of language which summarizes the main story which follows. Leads are complex, linguistically and ideologically, but they are also brief. They condense the values and viewpoints of the newspaper (Conboy, 2007). As the headline of the news is the crucial part to tell the main actors interplayed in the context of the study, and the summary of the whole story and the news value.

Therefore, the study plays attention to the analysis of the headline, subhead (lead) and the news body as well.

3.3.3 Source of Data Collection

The data of the study is the online news under the theme of “Mekong hydropower dams” acquired from two creditable sources: the news database called NewsCenter and the Google search engine. The news database NewsCenter is justified as a real-time online news and information service that provides comprehensive content from a large information pool as well as precise bilingual full-text search and alert capabilities. In-coming news and information are dynamically updated on user screen in real-time and stored in archives for later historical information searching (<http://www.infoquest.co.th/en/news-services-2/newscenter/>). Google Search, commonly referred to as Google Web Search or simply Google, is a web search engine developed by Google. Google web search engine is considered as worldwide tool for individual users with a wide range of interests and topics. It is the most-used search engine on the World Wide Web, handling more than three billion searches each day. The main purpose of Google Search is to hunt for text in publicly accessible documents offered by web servers, as opposed to other data, such as images or data contained in databases. Google Search provides several features beyond searching for words (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google_Search). The collection of online news under mutual theme of “Mekong hydropower dams” is gathered with no concern of its period of the news event, the two search engines mentioned above provided the entire records under the same theme. The researcher was required to screen each piece of news carefully to make sure the focus of the news is under the same theme. 105 pieces of news in total found critically relevant to the context of the study.

3.4 Data Analysis

This study is rooted in critical thinking paradigm and under Critical linguistics. The study’s analysis is central to text analysis which employs critical discourse analysis as an analytical tool. The study is aiming to analyze discursive strategies in the language use found in several media texts in which related to the

issue of dam construction in Mekong River. As the media texts are regarded as a public sphere shared by the people in the society, and the news is considered as a certain kind of public discourse which reflects society's interests and perspectives at large. Thus, the study sits on these two analytical frameworks: Fairclough's CDA and van Dijk's SCA.

3.4.1 Two levels of Analytical Framework

The analysis is divided into two levels: the macrostructure and the microstructure analysis. The macrostructure analysis employs both Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Socio-cognitive Approach (SCA) to explore discursive strategies and socio-cultural practice within discourse of development in the context of dam construction in Mekong River. Savitri Gadavani (2002) has suggested that the combine of the two theories helps to well establish analysis related to discourse and society. They give illustration of the discourse-society relationship and in turn how this relationship can be manipulated (Gadavani, 2002). The microstructure analysis is central the analysis of text and context of the news related to dam construction in Mekong River. However, in the level of analysis, van Dijk proposes macrostructure and microstructure of news discourse. The macrostructure focuses on a global content defined by the theme of the discourse, meanwhile, the microstructure is aiming at presenting the choices the representation of actors, actions, events and lexical selection which construct the discursive strategies.

3.4.1.1 Macrostructure Analysis

The macrostructure analysis examines social meanings, socio-cultural practice and discursive practices emerged from development discourse in Mekong River found in the news. At this level, the two discourse approaches will be employed: Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) and Social Cognitive Approach (SCA).

3.4.1.2 Microstructure Analysis

The microstructure analysis focuses on text and context, in which they will represent local and global meanings of development discourse in Mekong River found in the news. At this level, the news discourse proposed by van Dijk will take into account in the analysis. Van Dijk (1988) posits the essences of the news discourse can be found in headline, lead, event element, verbal element and comment

element. There are two levels of analysis: the macrostructure and microstructures of the news discourse.

1) The macrostructure of the news discourse emphasizes on global meanings defined by the theme in the discourse and normally it expresses in the headlines and the lead of the news. The macrostructure of the news consists of two aspects: the topics or themes and the macro rules. The topics or themes refer to what has been mentioned in the headline which tells a summary of the news.

2) The microstructures of the news discourse focuses on local meanings that emphasize the semantic relations among proposition, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text. The microstructures reflect local meanings and representation of actors, actions and events selection which construct the discursive strategies.

3.4.2 Two Theoretical Frameworks

As the news media is one of the public discourses which profoundly constitute social dominance- discourse generates legitimized ideologies to the people's mind and the society at large. Thus, the media is a medium of the access to power of the powerful elite groups in order to reproduce and maintain their power over other groups. Therefore, to reflect the power control of development discourse found in the news related to the topic of dam construction in Mekong River, the study draws upon the combine of the two frameworks of Fairclough's CDA and van Dijk's SCA approaches as combine by Savitri Gadavani (2002) in the analysis of text, discursive practice and sociocultural practice.

1) Textual analysis deals with linguistic analysis in relation to vocabulary, grammar, semantic, and cohesion-organization above the sentence level. Halliday states Text is action, representation and identification. Functional approaches to language emphasize on the multi-functionality of texts. Systemic Functional Linguistics views texts as three functions: ideation, interpersonal and textual functions. Texts represent aspects of the world (the physical world, the social world, the mental world); involving social relations between participants in social events and the attitude, desires and values of participants; and coherently and cohesively connect parts of texts together, and connect text with their contexts

(Halliday, 1978, 1994). Additionally, Fairclough adds that language can be regarded as the abstract social structures. It defines a certain potential, certain possibilities, others are not. Texts are elements of social events which are not simply the effects of potentials defined by languages. This level of analysis deals with namely, speech, writing, visual image or the combination of these. The text can be analyzed in three functions: representation, relations and identities. Representations and recontextualization of social practice hold particular ideologies (ideational function). Relations refer to the relationship between writer and reader e.g. formal or informal, close or distance. Identities explain the identities of writer and reader e.g. status, role aspect of identity, or individual and personal aspects of identity.

2) Discursive practice is the process of text production and consumption. It explains how authors compose the texts based on existing discourse and genres to construct a text and how the text's receivers understand and apply discourse and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the text (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002). These texts and discourses can be linked to the concept of intertextual analysis which deals with the process in which an author borrows and transforms a prior text so that the reader then references one text while reading another. For Fairclough, intertextuality means the condition of all communication events draw on earlier events. It means that the individual never really talks about features of the text without some references to text production or interpretation.

3) Socio-cultural practice in terms of socio-cultural context of a communicative event can be defined into three aspects: economic (i.e. economy of the media), political (i.e. power and ideology of the media) and culture (i.e. issues of values). Social practice is an interface between events and social structures- there are mediated between structures and events. Social practice can be explained as ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time, in particular areas of life. Social practices deal with an order of discourse. The elements of orders of discourse are not things like nouns and sentences (elements of linguistic structures), but discourses, genres and styles. These elements select certain possibilities defined by languages and exclude others- they control linguistic variability for particular areas of social life. So orders of discourse can be viewed as the social organization and control of linguistic variation (Fairclough, 2003).

3.4.2.1 Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach

For van Dijk, discourse and society cannot be linked without mediation, that is, mental representation. Discourse and society are mediated through individual's mental representation i.e. knowledge, attitude and ideology. Mental representations deal with Social cognition; the beliefs or social representations they share with others of their group or community. Knowledge, attitudes, values, norms and ideologies are different types of social representations. Social representations also play a role to constitute a personal mental model. Thus, mental model is a relationship between individual and the social, it explains how group beliefs may impact personal beliefs and be expressed in a form of discourse. Mental model of social events of an influential person shared by others of a group or community, mental models may be generalized and abstracted to form social representations such as knowledge, attitudes and ideologies (Van Dijk, 2009).

Therefore, he proposes the discourse-cognitive-society triangle which is central to fundamental importance of the study of cognitive in critical analysis of discourse, communication and interaction. The interest of the study is central to mental representations and the process of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups. The approach explores the way that cognitive phenomenon are related to the structures of discourse, verbal interaction and communicative events and situations, and societal structures, such as those domination and social inequality (Van Dijk, 2009).

3.4.2.2 Cognitive

Cognitive is defined with the disciplines under the cognitive science, such as psychology, linguistics, philosophy and logic as well as the brain sciences. There are some cognitive notions here:

- 1) Mind defined as a central function of the human brain.
- 2) Cognition is the set of the function of the mind, such as thought, perception and representation.
- 3) Episodic Memory and Semantic Memory
- 4) Semantic Mental Models (represented in EM) as the subjective representations of the events and situations observed participated in or referred to by discourse.

5) Goal as mental models of the situation to be realized by action.

6) Pragmatic Context Models: specific mental models of subjective representations of relevant properties of communicative situations, controlling discourse processing and adapting discourse to the social environment so that it is situationally appropriate.

7) Knowledge and its organization: shared, socio-cultural beliefs that are certified by the (knowledge) criteria or the standards of the (knowledge) community.

8) Ideology as the shared, fundamental and axiomatic beliefs of specific social groups.

9) Attitudes as the socially shared, ideologically based opinions (normative beliefs) about specific social issues having giving rise to debate or struggle.

10) Cognitive process such as the production and comprehension of discourse/ interaction on the basis of specific mental models, controlled by context models and based on knowledge and ideologies.

Henceforth, the relationship between socio-cognitive and discourse I are mind, discursive interaction and society. The interface among discourse, cognition and society is so called discourse-cognitive-society triangle which relevant to the local and global context of discourse. Context is a subjective mental presentation, a dynamic online model, of the participants about the for-them-now relative properties of the communicative events, that representation is called a context model (Van Dijk, 2008, 2009). It refers to the mental definition of the situation that controls the adequate adaptation of discourse production and comprehension to their social environment.

The framework of discourse-cognition-society render a triangle of context models, discourse structures and social structures at all levels of analysis. This portrays that society is as a complex situational structures at the local level, on the other hand, social structures (organizations, groups, classes, etc..., and their properties e.g. power relations). The triangle embeds cultural and historical dimensions of interaction and social structure, it means that their culture variation as

their historical specificity and change. As such, this triangle is crucial in an analysis of metaphor representing the major dimensions of critical analysis. On the other hand, human beings as language users and as members of groups and communities, as well as their mental representations and discourses, are clearly a society's inherent. At the same time, language users interpret, represent, reproduce or change social structures such as social inequality and injustice (Van Dijk, 2009).

3.4.2.3 Context Model and Mental Model

Context analysis is premise on (time and place), participants and their properties and relationships as well as on their goals, the knowledge presupposed by the participants, and the ideology of the participants. Context models are the mediation between discourse and society. Cognitive device represents relevant structures of the social situation, both locally (micro) as well as globally (macro), and at the same time cognitive controls discourse- the mental processes of production and comprehension and its situated variations. Context models refers to mental models in terms of our memory, it means that the language users need to be aware of producing appropriate discourse to fit with social environment they are encountering. Context models are constructed by schema consisting of three aspects: a spatiotemporal (space and time), participants (identities, roles, relationships, goals, knowledge, ideologies), and the social action. In short, context model is an interface between discourse and society which premised on Critical Discourse Analysis in terms of power and domination.

Mental process deals with human's cognition which represents related structures of the social situation, both locally (micro) as well as globally (macro), and cognitive controls discourse- the mental processes of production and comprehension and its situated variations. Then he propose mental models is the combination of meanings of discourse and social knowledge which represented by social events (Van Dijk, 2008). Mental models can be explained in the context models- defined as mental models in terms of our memory, that is, the language users need to be aware of producing appropriate discourse to fit with social environment they are encountering (Van Dijk, 2009).

CHAPTER 4

DISCURSIVE PRACTICE AND SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF MEKONG HYDROPOWER DEVELOPMENT IN THAILAND

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the two dimension of discourse that is discursive practice and socio-cultural practice surrounding the discourse on development in the particular context Mekong region. The chapter begins with global perspective of development and the discussion later scope down to this regional context with specific perspective within a particular of hydropower development along with its social practice in Thailand. The chapter consists of five parts: i) Global perspective of development of: The concept of Development, ii) Development concept in Thailand. iii) Energy Consumption in Thailand, iv) Policy on Energy of Thailand and v) Pak Mun Hydropower Dam as a Site Struggle: Impact from the National Economic Development Policy on Development

4.2 Global Perspective of Development

4.2.1 Historical Context

Notion of “Development” has been shaped and reshaped over times. Back in the 18th century in the era of Enlightenment or the age of Reason. This is period of Scientific Revolution. It was when religious and superstitious belief lessen and replaced by rational and scientific frame of thought Modern thinkers such as Condorcet, Kant, Hegel and Marx had brought the discussion of the idea of conscience of limit which can be interrelated as the concept of progress (Rist, 2001, as

cited in Jair Soares Jr. and Rogério H. Quintella, 2008). This can be considered the point of departure of the notion of “Development”.

For Augustinian thinking, the meaning of development can refer to civilization. Rist posits that development is “a constant evolution, based on the belief of human perfection and motivated by the incessant search for well-being” (Rist, 2001, p. 70). In the 19th century, the meaning of development was linked to a form of Social Evolutionism. In this new paradigm, the term development had merged with the concepts of modernization or liberation. All concept related to development should provide a broad definition of development as a state of well-being and a better world of all humanity (Rist, 2001, as cited in Jair Soares Jr. and Rogério H. Quintella, 2008).

In the 20th century, the notion of development has linked to the concept of politics and policy. In 1949, when President Harry S Truman had delivered his speech;

I believe that we should make available to peace loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development (Truman, 1949).

his speech was marked as the modified notion of development in the 20th century and it has been a salient influence of development thinking until today. As such, the notion of development seems to be reshaped by international agencies who have massive influence on the world order such as United Nations (UN) and the World Bank. According to Berger, the definition of development seems to be equated with growth, advancement, modernization and socio-economic progress. After the Second World, the term development is used to refer to the Third World countries (to address ‘poor’ countries in a polite way), so development notion has modified again to refer to ‘the process by which poor countries get still richer, or try to do so, and also to the process by which rich countries still get richer’ (Berger, 1976, p. 34, as cited in Farzana Naz, 2006).

Since the Second World War, development notion has linked with economic, social and political change in several countries such as Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the South Pacific. Development's notion has become the new label to make categorization to the countries in the world: underdeveloped, less-development and developing (Berger, 1976, p. 34, as cited in Farzana Naz, 2006).

In 1987, the concept of sustainable development has been introduced by the World Commission for Environment and Development published a report entitled *Our Common Future*, also known as the Brundtland Report. Later on, in the 1990s, the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro, had put development concept on the discussion of national agenda, they wanted to broader concept of development by integrating the concepts of environmental preservation and rational use of natural resources to enhance social and economic growth. Therefore, they had come up with the **new** concept of sustainable development (Rist, 2001, as cited in Jair Soares & Rogério, Quintella, 2008).

4.2.2 Alternative View in Development: Theories of the South

The theories of the South is a group of theories that question the point zero idea about knowledge whether there can be an absolute and ideology free kind of knowledge. The theories argue that knowledge of the world is dominated by the western ideology. All the internationally accepted grand and classical theories in social sciences and humanities are constructed based on Eurocentric's viewpoint. The knowledge which produced, reproduced and circulated today is not value free. It then form the order of the world with the West as a model in mind. The theories of the South, therefore, could be seen as the attempt to raise awareness about the new form of Western domination in our present world.

Walter Mignolo has raised the issue about inequality in academic world. While the Western scholars can be an authority in the field of study, scholars from other part of the world are often accepted as an authority in their own studies.

According to Mignolo, it is a belief that if you come from non- western country, you are assumed to talk about your culture of your token. But the expectation will be differed if you come from western country, such as Germany, France, England or the US, you are not assumed to talk about your culture, but some knowledge and

theories you have. This assumes that the first world has knowledge and the third world has culture; Native Americans have wisdom, Anglo Americans have sciences (Mignolo, 2009).

This reflects the different perception toward the global North and the South in which the global North (western countries) is assumed and accepted as only one group who has established the knowledge of the world. The constructed knowledge in which inherited from the privilege of the colonial time and the Eurocentred epistemology instills everywhere in fields of humanities and social sciences. Although we are not in the colonial time, but the colonial power has been continuing until now in the mechanism called knowledge hegemony.

It is argues that the global dominant knowledge in any field of study was constructed by the global North people. The background of knowledge can be viewed through modern Western history from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment era in which occurred in the global North. Knowledge formation started from imperial and colonial time form the European Renaissance to the US neoliberalism, in which has guided the later concept of globalization (Mignolo, 2009). In the same line of thought, Raewyn Connell who wrote the *Extracts from the Southern Theories: The global dynamics of knowledge in social sciences* presents the reasons to doubt the convention of the knowledge establishment in sociology. Those knowledge makers are social actors who engage in monasteries, churches, universities, states, etc., and they also claimed that knowledge-making is for the wellbeing of humanities. On the other hand, many scholars see the knowledge- making as controlling and managing populations for imperial interest rather than from the local experiences (Mignolo, 2009).

The dominant knowledge was also taking part in changing leadership in the world order. The global North like the US and Europe (England, France, and Germany) enjoyed taking the role. Knowledge-making of modernity was constructed by Western's ideology of the knowledge-makers, it deals with the premise on economic growth and financial prosperity as a partially concept of capitalism (Mignolo, 2009).

The colonial time has left the wound to the next comers; the people and region around the world are classified as underdeveloped economically and mentally by the

western's indication derived from western's ideology. Some scholars from the global South like African intellectuals attempted to participate in knowledge-making but they did not receive much attention in the intellectual debates and publishing houses. The third world intellectuals seemed to put as marginalized and excluded. This may seem unfair when you are judged by one's points of view and its rule. The third world people may get exhausted of the "being told" from the epistemic privileges of the "zero point" what we are, what our raking is in the relation of ideal humanities (Mignolo, 2009).

Knowledge-making, knowledge-makers and the existence dominant knowledge has triggered the creation of hegemony power. As Foucault once stated that "knowledge is power" (Foucault, 1977), therefore, this situation can link to explain hegemonic power in term of knowledge in which established from the global North or western's ideology and is applied not only to the global South but the to the whole. The knowledge that we are talking about is not be circulated only in academic fields but spread over to other fields like economy, authority, gender, sexuality, race and knowledge subjectivity.

In the 1950s and 1960s, authors such as Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon had already criticized the impact of these theories on the subjectivities of colonized subjects. The dependence theories were also a direct challenge to the developmental models that applies to the rest of the world. The tradition of knowledge and disciplines in the world has been giving meaning by the Euro- American sociological theories. This has raised the question of global inequality.

In the book: *Epistemologies of the South* wrote by Boaventura Santos, a Portuguese social scientist. He raised the question whether the epistemological project of Western sciences is in fact universal; he also presents the discoveries of the 'social science' with other forms of knowledge. He argues that the scientific knowledge constructed by the global North is put in superiority, and it still applies to the South, he sees this situation as abysmal thinking (Santos, 2009 as cited in Rosa, 2014).

He states 'the epistemologies of the South are a set of epistemological interventions that denounce this suppression' He sees modernity and its scientific perspective of the world rooted from the Western' ideology as a weapon for domination in terms of forms of knowledge. He also points that the new epistemology

of the global South as peripheral societies in the modern world system, but epistemology of the global North is more visible. This is more like colonial and imperial domination (Santos, 2009 as cited in Rosa, 2014).

Jean and John Comaroff offer the argument that the notion of modernity needs to be comprehended in the relationship both from the North and the South. The interpretation of the knowledge situated in our giving society should not be monopolized by only the global North, instead to integrate the South's perspectives into the interpretation will make the global in equality. The global South is the one that should be providing the insights for understanding the rest of the world (Comaroff, 2011, as cited in Rosa, 2014).

Raewyn Connell raises the question: 'Can we have social theory that does not claim universality for a metropolitan point of view, does not read from only one direction, does not exclude the experience and social thought of most of humanity, and is not constructed on terra nullius?' (Connell, 2007, p. 47).

The formula of development from a primitive origin to an advanced form was widespread in Victorian thought (Burrow 1966, as cited in Connell, 2007). This set of constituted knowledge has become the global expansion of North Atlantic power to popular culture (MacDonald 1994, Connell, 2007). Therefore, sociologists simply applied a logic that their audience would find familiar like in works as wellknown as Durkheim's *Division of Labour in Society* (1893) and as obscure as Fairbanks' *Introduction to Sociology* (1896) (Connell, 2007).

She points that most sociology theories was organised by a central idea: difference between the civilisation of the metropole and other cultures whose main feature was their primitiveness. This is what she calls global different. The idea of global difference was often emphasis on the discussion of 'origins, and many works in sociology that applied so called "classical theories" in their work seemed to lack of origin. This may not be always appropriated, while the metropolitan sociology changed profoundly (Connell, 2007).

She argues that some scholars who produced Australia academic sociology understood little of diversity of indigenous cultures in Australia, but have come up with an absolute conclusion about that. However, this conclusion has become monumental concept in sociology knowledge in Australia. This conceals a

misunderstanding and has constitutes conceptual error to Australia indigenous cultures (Connell, 2007).

Therefore, Connell disregard of the internal processes of colonization of the social sciences by Euro-American narratives, on the other hand, she points that the social theories produced in the South can be potential alternatives to mainstream sociology. She believes that the South can be defined not by its political and economic situation but instead by its intellectual position (Connell, 2007).

According to the above critiques from several scholars in sociology, theories of the South have addressed the deconstruction of dominant knowledge that has be produced, reproduced and circulated in the academic tradition. The dominant knowledge that constructed from the Eurocentric's ideology.

The global North has expanded its power over others through colonization, and by mean of colonization, it has made by the global North (Europe and North America) a crucial influence leading to knowledge hegemony in the world. The global North acts as mean of knowledge- maker, the knowledge which based on their western's point of view but apply for the rest of the world. It does not seem right when knowledge from one root has applied to the whole world in which each part was constituted from different root.

By being knowledge-makers, the global North has monopolized and constituted knowledge as classical theories, and ignore the knowledge produced outside Europe and North America (global North). The knowledge of the South is marginalized as other non-Western forms of knowledge. In his sense, the control of knowledge can be seen as object that can be manipulated, therefore, knowledge is ideological.

In my opinion, the crucial agents who advocate the idea is the academic practitioners who applied the traditions of classical knowledge without the concern of the origin of the theory and the connection of the real world that has always changing from time to time. With the false consciousness or unawareness, we (academic practitioners) have minor concern of indigenous knowledge emerging from the context or the local sites of study. Theories of the North trigger the awareness to all academic practitioners of different parts of the world to pay critical concern when using classical theories in their work without the concern of indigenous knowledge

and points of view. Thus, the emphasis should be put on grounded theory emerging from the context of the study.

In this light, the idea of North has led knowledge to the concept of development that has been formed from the West. Since the Augustinian thinking through to the speech of Truman who is the president of the super power like US, development is the concept that is raised and defined by the powerful North. The entire academic field of “Development Studies” is established by the North to point out the need for everyone to develop in the Westernized and Modern manner. The original concept of development therefore is not ideology free and it has a tendency to serve the interest of the West, especially in the case of Truman who sought to expand US power after the WWII. The discourse of development can be seen as a tool to legitimize US insurgent and intervention to any country that does not fit their definition of “development”.

4.3 Development Concept in Thailand

According to Payne (1997), during the era of the Cold War, after the World War II, the whole world seemed to be enforced in the same regime of the normalization of development and modernization, the early development theory put emphasis on conventional economic theory as well as development growth in industrialization. The main stream thinking of development is still under the realm of colonial concept: the relationship of economic growth and industry development. The economic crisis after the World War II has become the key external influence pushing Thailand to think how to react to the new world system as well as the development direction of the nation (Payne, 1997 as cited in Yothasmutr, 2008).

While Thailand was attempting to adjust itself to cope with the new world system during the Cold War (period after the World War II), the World Bank has given advice that development mechanism required economic experts, so that Thai government has set up a team of national economic development planning, it was a key point of departure of the establishment of Thailand National Plan. The first national plan in economic development of Thailand was set up and scoped in 1950 and completed in 1966. For the second National Plan in 1967-1971, the team has seen

the need to integrate some aspects of social development into the plan. Thailand National Development Plan was not firmly settled until in 1997, the economic plan was combined with the concepts of liberalization-based and economic-growth-oriented. Since the 7th National Development to the present one, the concept of sufficiency economic of the King Rama 9th was introduced to integrated into economic development plans (Arndt, 1987, as cited in Yothasmutr, 2008).

It is quite obvious that National Economic Development of Thailand Plan of Thailand since 1st to the 4th put emphasis on economic and basic infrastructure development, it was up until the 4th, the issue on environment and poverty problems were first mentioned and integrated into National Economic Development Plan. Natural resources including water resource are put in concern as agricultural development tool. This plan also included the mission on poverty reduction, thus water management and irrigation for rural areas development were first discussed and put into the plan.

National energy was first mentioned in 5th and the 6th National Economic, besides other development, rural development was one of them. The 7th has integrated sustainable development and environment and natural resources development. The 8th, 9th and 10th have integrated more social aspects in social-based strengthening, rural development, community and society strengthening, especially in the 10th, the term “grassroot” first appeared. The 11th focuses on knowledge-based society, strengthening the agricultural sector as well as food and energy security, regional connectivity for social and economic stability and manage natural resources and the environment towards sustainability.

At present, Thailand is operating under the 12th National Economic Development Plan (2017-2036) in which there are a number of issues for 20-year national strategic plan. The plan consists of six aspects: 1) security, 2) competitiveness enhancement, 3) human resource development, 4) social equality, 5) green growth, and 6) rebalancing and public sector development, additionally, the plan also pay attention to the establishment of the economic zone development and international cooperation for development (retrieved from <http://thailand.prd.go.th>). The summary of Thailand National Economic Development Plan is shown in the diagram below.

Evolution of Thailand Development Plan

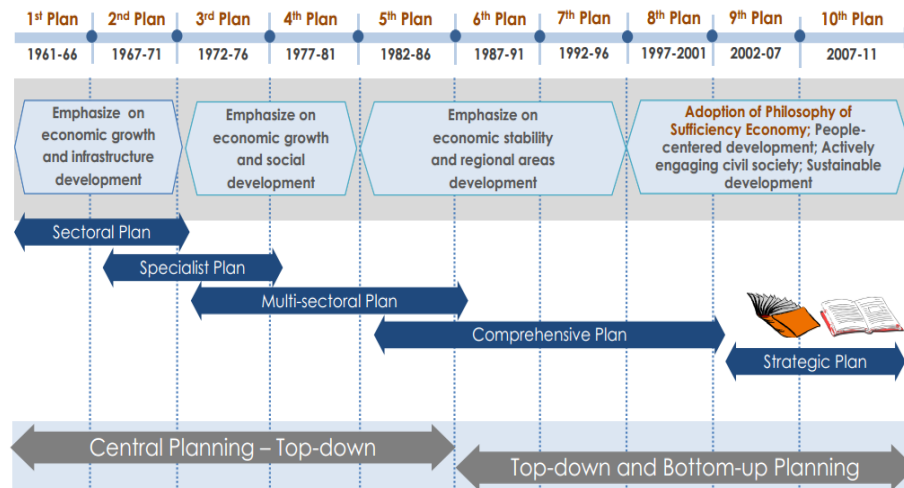


Figure 4.1 Summary of Thailand Economic Development Plan

Source: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board

Regarding to the information and the diagram above, Thailand has possessed 12 National Economic Development Plan in total since 1961 (1st Plan) to the present. Since the first plan, Thailand is on its way to growth in terms of economics. The growth is indicated by the rising amount of investment and the steadily increasing GDP. However, the first attention paid to the issue other than economics, that is about environment and poverty problems were first addressed in the 4th Plan (1977-1981), and the issue national energy was raised in the 5th Plan. The inclusion of the energy issue reflects the concern for the nation sustainability in terms of energy as the need for electricity rocketed with the country's expanding urbanization and industrialization. The concern for energy supplies of the country has brought about change into the energy industry where EGAT is the biggest state-enterprise is taking care of that business. EGAT is the key power generator and the only operator of the national transmission network while other two sectors are responsible for the distribution in provincial areas (PEA), and metropolitan areas and vicinity (MEA), respectively. Thailand has also established the Enhanced Single Buyer (ESB) Structure for the power industry, in which Electricity Generating Authority of

Thailand (EGAT) the key buyer of electricity from other private generators, and including foreign countries, mainly from Lao PDR (DBS Asian Insight, 2017).

4.4 Energy Consumption in Thailand

According to Thailand National Economic Development Plan, energy supply is one of significant issues as it was raised in the 5th plan. Energy had played a key factor in industrial development in which it is a mean for the economic growth of the country. As economic growth is considered as an indicator of developed country, as such Thailand sees the need to store energy to further enhance industry in the country.

Generally, Thailand has relied on various types of energy, the dominant energy consumption in the country is natural gas and coal & Lignite. Energy from natural resources can be use up in a future, while renewable energy is more sustainable, as such renewable energy is heavily promoted today in the energy policy. Renewable energy refers to alternative energy such as solar cell, biomass, wind power and hydropower. According to the number of hydropower dam in Thailand (26), it is quite obvious that Thai government has been promoting the exploitation of hydropower as a source for electric city generation. The diagrams below present the energy assumption of Thailand during past decades.

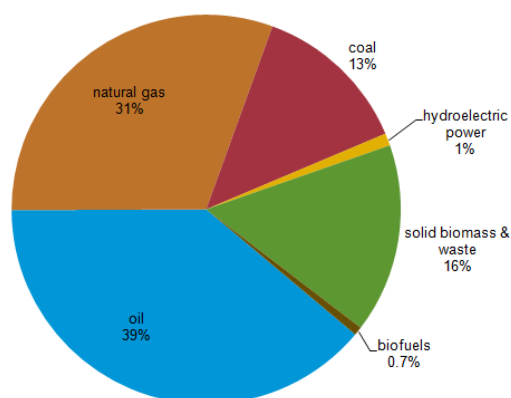


Figure 4.2 Energy Assumption of Thailand in 2010

Source: EIA International Energy Stataistic.

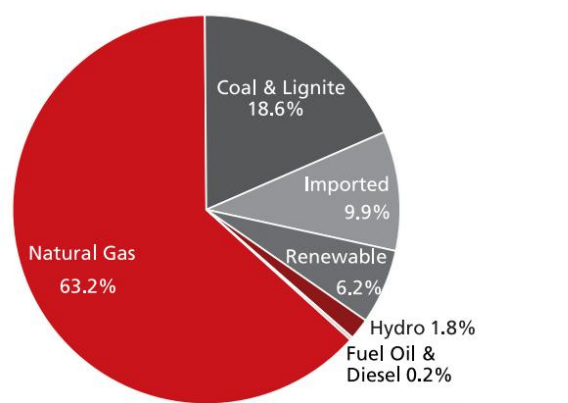


Figure 4.3 Power Mix in Power Generation

Source: Ministry of Energy, 2016.

4.5 Policy on Energy of Thailand

Power Development Plan (PDP) is prepared by the Ministry of Energy and EGAT, it requires the endorsement of the National Energy Policy Council and acknowledgement of the Cabinet. Since early 2000, the development of the power industry in Thailand has been operated under the PDP. They have a long-term plan (15-20 years) to supply power to meet the current and future demand of the country. The plan will cover the period of 2015-2036, in which on the premise of improving power system reliability in the following aspects: 1) reducing the use of natural gas power, 2) increasing the use of coal power generation through clean coal technology, 3) importing power from neighboring countries and 4) enhancing the use of renewable energy (DBS Asian Insight, 2017).

The PDP also conducts a system of transmission and distribution development to support renewable energy development and the ASEAN Economic Community via ASEAN power grid integration. The PDP 2015 is working on three aspects: i) Energy security: decreasing dependency on particular fuel, ii) Economy: determine policies and measures to maintain suitable cost of power generation iii) Ecology: reducing carbon dioxide from the process of power generation for healthy environmental and social impact. The goal achievement by 2036 of PDP has been set in five aspects: 1) Energy security: decreasing dependence on natural gas for power generation, from

64% in 2014 to 30-40%, 2) increase the implementation of renewable energy in the total capacity from 8% in 2014 to 15-20%, 3) increase the use of coal and lignite from 20% to 20-25%, with ‘clean coal’ releasing by carbon capture and storage technology, 4) enhancing the share of imported hydro power from neighboring countries from 7% to 15-20%, 5) introduce nuclear power and achieve up to 5% market share (DBS Asian Insight, 2017).

The power sector in Thailand is largely a state-controlled industry, Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) is the biggest state-enterprise of Thailand. The enterprise can make a huge amount of profit to the Thai government. They own total assets of THB900 billion, followed by more than THB370 billion for the Provincial Electricity Authority (PEA), and more than THB200 billion for the Metropolitan Electricity Authority (MEA). EGAT is the key power generator in the country that can generate electricity with a total installed capacity of 16,067 megawatt (MW), accounting for 30% of the country’s total capacity.

Under the ministry of Energy, EGAT was set up to manage power industry both inside and outside the country. EGAT is in charge of policy and planning on national energy, they conduct guideline for the national energy consumption and the forecast of energy consumption of the country. EGAT is also a key player in power industry both inside and outside the country. EGAT is the number one buyer of electricity from Lao People’s Democratic Republic (Laos) (DBS Asian Insight, 2017).

4.6 Hydropower Development in Thailand

Regarding national energy policy of Thailand to secure national energy supply, its aim is to seek for new energy sources in order to supply the current and future energy demand of the country. Among various types of energy consumption in the country, a renewable energy is one of them. One of crucial plans of the Power Development Plan (PDP) is to lessen the dependency of one particular fuel. The promotion of renewable energy’s production and exploitation is enhancing. Thus, the huge national budget goes to the investment of hydropower dams as a process of renewable energy generation. As such, the hydropower dams were constructed and operated in many parts of Thailand under the supervision of EGAT. Not only EGAT

is a key policy maker on national energy, but also an owner and investor of all hydropower dams in the country.

At this point, Thailand may see hydropower as a major investment on renewable power, whereas hydropower is perceived as the biggest form of renewable energy. Thailand started the investment in hydropower in 1964 with Bhumibol Dam, the first and the biggest operated hydropower in Thailand. Until today, Thailand has been operating 26 hydropower dams in the country, and all of them are owned and operated by the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT). However, Thailand still sees the need to import 7 percent electricity produced outside the country i.e. Laos, Myanmar and China (retrieved from <https://www.egat.co.th>).

Thus far, it can be seen that Thai interpretation of development reflected in the National Economic and Development Plan is in line with the dominant discourse of development in circulation around that time. The 1st-4th Plan were developed with the aim to boost economic prosperity to bring Thailand closer to the idea of being “developed country” suggested in Truman’s speech. However, with the accelerated growth in economics under capitalism, came social gap, poverty and other social problems which the 5th Plan started to address. Since economic development and capitalism are necessarily resource intensive, the country environment is depleting. The later Plan such as the 7th Plan, then, addressed environmental issues as well as national energy sustainability. By analyzing the issues of Thailand National Economic and Social Development Plan, it is clear that “development” does come at a cost and the subsequent plan are designed to tackle the dark side of development, to resolve the problems brought about by the dominant discourse on development. With the awareness of the downside of development comes alternative development discourse. The heterogeneity of the term ‘development’ can be seen more clearly in the specific case of Pak Mun Hydropower dam in which development discourses come face to face with one another in a specific setting on specific issue. This is presented as a case study to illustrate the point about the various interpretation of the elusive term, development.

4.7 Pak Mun Hydropower Dam as a Site Struggle of Socio-cultural Practice of Development in Thailand

This part presents the case study of Pak Mun dam as a site struggle from the impact of the hydropower development derived from a national energy policy in Thailand. As mentioned in the earlier part, hydropower development is one of the crucial themes of the national energy policy, so that the hydropower dams were promoted and constructed since 1964 in several parts of Thailand. Pak Mun dam is one of 26 hydropower dams in which operated under the regime of energy policy.

However, this policy of hydropower development did trigger a conflict between state's practice and local communities. The negative impact of Pak Mun dam has made a strong opposition by affected local communities along with the Assembly of the Poor (AOP), so that Pak Mun dam case can be viewed as a crucial part of socio-cultural practice of development derived from the national policy on energy development. As such, Pak Mun dam case can be considered as a part of this dissertation as an authentic representation of discursive practice of development under the context of hydropower dam development, a site of collision between groups that hold different idea about development.

Pak Mun case study was conducted in 2016 at the real site: Pak Mun dam and the affected community of the dam at Dan Samran village, Phibun Mangsahan district, Ubon Ratchathani province. The case is aiming to yield the testimonial of affected local community who is the result of the negative impact of Pak Mun dam, in which it was a consequence from a national policy on energy development. The case may assist to have a better understanding on discursive practice and socio-cultural practice of development under such context in nation level. It is also a space where allows other voices (marginalized and oppressed) to be reflected as a lesson leant for those policy makers and planners of a country (Woraya Som-In and Gadavanij, 2017).



Figure 4.4 Sunset at the Mun River bank at Don Samran Village

In the old days, our community used live with close alliance and more united, we helped each other, we shared food we could find from the community's jungle and the Mun River, and we used to be happier by trusting and sharing to each other. Now everything is changing after the dam came, we no longer share fish we can catch from the Mun River due to the decrease of fish catch, and we hardly trust our neighbors like before after the conflicts crashed due to different opinions on the Pak Mun Dam. The conflicts among our folks are the most painful mark for us.

Pariwat Pinthong said with a heart broken voice, Ban Don Samran village's leader and a key person in the Assembly of the Poor (AOP), (Pinthong, 2016).

4.7.1 The Mun River: Socio-cultural Context

“Pak Mun” the name of the river literally refers the estuary of the river or the river mouth. Mun in local meaning is a “inheritance” from the ancestors. Mun River is situated in Phibun Mangsahan district, Ubon Ratchathani province, Thailand. The river is significant bloodline for millions people in Isan (the Northeast of Thailand), its route starts from Khao-Yai National Park, the area of Sankamphaeng Range, Nakorn Ratchasima province. The river is shared by many Isan's provinces as it flows

750 kilometers east through the Khorat Plateau in southern. The river goes through Buriram, Surin, and Sisaket provinces, and then joins the Mekong River as a confluence areas at Khong Chiam district, Ubon Ratchathani province (www.sac.or.th, 2012).

The Mun River is significant resources for millions livelihoods of the communities along the river due to its ecologically rich. Traditionally, the Pak Mun River communities are on fish culture basis. The river and fishing are not only the major sources of food and income, they have become a core part in their culture. Their way of life of river and fishing along with related belief and knowledge, from generations to generations, they were constituted as their local identity.

A large catchment area of 117,000 km² of the Mun/Chi River is one of the most fish diversity in Thailand. The Mun River ecosystem is a place where many complex aquatic features such as rapids, swamps, seasonal flood, plains deep pools, canals, and isolated ponds (www.fishbio.com, 2014). Undeniable, the Mun River is a vital to several local communities along the river in multi dimensions.

For Don Samran village, the Mun River is more than a river but it contains more meaning to them. Pariwat Phintong, one of the key persons in the village (community's leader), the second generation protesters of Pak Mun Dam told about the relationship between the Mun River and the community "the Mun River and fishing are our way of life and we heavily depend on them". The Mun River also links to the life cycle of the community for example fishery has its own cycle of fish migration in certain months and depending on the river flow. Rice cycle also relies on the Mun River and local irrigation. Plantation relies on the local irrigation management which is from the Mun River. As such, Pak Mun Dam crucially impacts to the change of life cycles of the community at large in many aspects (Pinthong, 2016).



Figure 4.5 Fishery as a Major Livelihood of Don Samran Folks

4.7.2 Ecology of the Mun River in Relation to the Mekong River

As one of tributaries of the Mekong River, the Mun River and the Mekong River have shared a close relationship to each other. They have interwoven relationship in terms of their aquatic system- fish species, fish number and aquatic system. The hydrological pattern is so crucial for the fish life cycle i.e. their migration and the fish number. Thus, the changing of the natural flow resulted from the Pak Mun dam is significantly harmful the fish migration both in the Mun and the Mekong rivers. The dam as a blockage of the river flow also caused still water which leads to the increasing number of water weeds. The load of water weed will worsen the water quality (Juthagate, 2016).



Figure 4.6 Route of the Mekong River

Source: <https://images.search.yahoo.com>

4.7.3 Pak Mun Dam

Pak Mun Dam was first addressed in the 1988 as Power Development plan and presented to the Cabinet of Minister as a multipurpose project (World Commission on Dams Final Report, 2000), the Cabinet approved the project in 1989. Pak Mun Dam was proposed by the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) under the 6th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1987-1997). The dam was funded by the Thai government and the World Bank, the cost of Bt 6,507 billion (www.internationalrivers.org, 2008). EGAT started the construction on the Pak Mun Dam in 1991, the dam was marked to be built over the Mun River which is 82.5 kms away from the town and 6 kms from the confluence between the Mun and the Mekong Rivers, in the area of Ban Hua Hew, Khong Chiam district, Ubon Ratchathani province. The dam is 17 meters high and 300 meters long and with the large catchment area of 117,000 km². The maximum water discharge rate is 18,500 MCM per second. The hydropower Plant has three generators, each of which is 43 MW installed capacity. The total installed capacity is 136 MW. With the annual energy production is 280 million units. The construction commenced in June 1990 and was completed in November 1994 (retrieved from <https://www.egat.co.th>).



Figure 4.7 Pak Mun Dam

EGAT, a state enterprise who is major investor of Pak Mun Dam and other hydropower dams in the country, they claim that Pak Mun Dam is not only for the purpose of electricity generation, it also contributes benefits to rural areas. The dam serves public benefits: i) irrigation purpose- supplies water to the 150 km long upstream of the Mun River for agriculture purpose, ii) fishery support- provides fish ladder and fish breeding center to promote fishery in the upstream area, iii) support Khong-Shi- Mun project-water from the Mekong River is pumped to the agricultural area in the Shi River and Mun River in upper Isan and the excess water will be discharged to Pak Mun Dam for electricity production, iv) transportation purpose-the dam crest can be used as a transport route to connect two districts i.e. Khong Chiam and Sirindhorn, v) power generation purpose- the hydropower plant would stabilize the electricity supply in the northeast region, and vi) environmental purpose- the size of dam was reduced to minimize environmental impact. The power generation capacity of the dam was reduced from 300 MW to 136 MW. The modification of the dam's design has lowered the effect to the two famous cataracts called Kaeng Tana and Kaeng Sapue as well as Don That temple. Moreover, the dam has strengthen and stability of the power system, and it helps to manage flood mitigation, giving water supply for agriculture, provide sources for fish breeding and tourist attractions in Ubon Ratchathani province (EGAT at Sirindhorn Dam, November, 2016), (retrieved from <https://www.egat.co.th>).

4.7.4 Don Samran Village is Under Threat

Before the event of Pak Mun Dam, the locals in the community were quite sufficient and decent, they are able to access to natural resources as for food and income i.e. fishery and forest. For the community, fishery gives more than a livelihood being, it is a representation of their social world which establishes their social reality, and their social group identity. The testimonial from the village's leader pointed that the community was living in close alliance before the dam arrived, (Pinthong, 2016). For the community, the Mun River and fishery is their way of life- they live, learn, and pass on experiences, indigenous knowledge on fishing and fishing gears from generations to generations. The local search also revealed that 64 fishing methods and 72 types of fishing gears are found in the community (Thai Ban researchers), (retrieved from www.sarakadee.com, 2000). However, the negative impact from Pak Mun Dam has not only changes their livelihood but worsen their income and food security.

Regarding to the interviews with the locals, they have addressed on severe problems of the dam, the problems can be concluded into layers: environmental problem and social group's conflict. The first problems refer to three physical aspects; 1) aquatic system of the river and fishery, 2) food and income and 3) domestic water quality and management. Second problem is on social group's conflicts- the conflict between the communities and government sectors, and the conflict within the communities.



Figure 4.8 Pak Mun Dam and the Fish Ladder

Problem in environmental is crucial to their livelihood and their food and income security. The problems are involved in fish life cycle, aquatic system and ecology of the Mun River and the Mekong River. Because two rivers have shared interwoven relationship- fish species and fish life cycle, the fish from the Mekong will swim against the river flow to lay eggs in the rapids area of the Mun River before they go back to the Mekong. Whatever changing occurred to the Mun River, it also makes a change in the Mekong as well. Pak Mun Dam has blocked and changed the natural flow of both the Mun River and the Mekong. The stronger river flow from the opening of the dam's gate has damaged the rapids and erodes the river bank of the Mun River. The blockage of the dam also enhances the increasing number of unwanted water weeds which lead to diseases in fish and water pollution. Thus, Pak Mun Dam is a threat to fish species, fish life cycle, and the ecology of the two rivers. These negative impacts had made life more difficult to the community in multi dimensions.

Problem in conflict which occurred among social groups is a very sensitive issue to the community. Pak Mun Dam has brought conflicts to the community in two aspects: 1) the conflicts between the affected group of the dam (AOP) and government sectors, and 2) the conflicts within the community. The first one is a direct conflict between the affected group from the dam as (AOP) and the

government sectors. The dam has made the decrease of the fish number, this problem directly worsens their food and income security in a short term, but in a long run, the dam will destroy the fish species and the river's ecology.

The AOP has requested the problem solving from the government as Pak Mun Dam was from their policy. The AOP's protests have been continued for years, through many governments (different periods of time), it seemed like the problems have never been solved. The way that problems of the AOP from the dam's impact are ignored, it can be reflected that the local voices are marginalized. From this conflict, it leads to other conflict between the locals and government sectors such as staff from department of fishery, staff from EGAT, and government staff in different sectors who act like a middle man between the government and the locals.

The second dimension of conflict is the most significant and complex. Pak Mun Dam has generated a polarization of opinions within the community- it has divided locals into different poles. Pak Mun Dam as a government's project of development has crashed the community's unity and the trust among them. The conflict from development practice of government has broken the community's unity, and this is the most painful feeling and a treat to the community.

4.7.5 The Assembly of the Poor (AOP)

The AOP was established based on the mutual stance of the local communities who are oppressed by government's practice, they gathered to make their requests to be heard and for their problems to be solved. AOP was formed in 1995 with their members of 20,000 people by approximately (6,000 of which represent villagers affected by dam) had performed 99-days protest in front of Government House in Bangkok. Due the long period of their protests since 1995 until today, more than two decade of their fighting, the AOP is considered as one of the longest grassroots movement in the world's history (as retrieved from www.internationalriver.org, 2008).

The social event of the AOP is considered as a representation of problem reflected the insufficiency of public participation in national policy planning. Before Pak Mun Dam was marked to be constructed, there was not enough participation from the communities who have long been living with the Mun River, and not enough

studies on effects of the dam. Without or insufficient public participation, the national policy with its practice can become a social conflict or a threat to the society at large.

4.7.6 Reinvention of the Community

For more than two decades of a long fighting of the grassroot people of the Mun River's communities against Pak Mun Dam, the endless opposition to Pak Mun Dam of the (AOP) against the Pak Mun Dam since 1999 is continuing. Today, Don Samran village becomes to realize that they cannot win and they may never win, they agreed to turn the mutual crisis into their opportunity to be self-learnt, self-developed and self-reliance, the clear example of this perspective is the use of alternative energy. They initiated the community's project of drinking water machine which run by the solar cell. The machine helps to produce clean drinking water for the whole community. The idea of using alternative energy can be seen as an irony perspective of the locals towards the government's project of the hydropower dam for the claim of the national energy's security.

Don Samran also established an idea of fish conservation areas. They agreed to conserve some areas of the Mun River bank in their village for fish conservation- no one is allowed to catch fish in this areas. The two reinventions mentioned above are the good example of their attempt to be self-reliance and self-developed.

Pak Mun Museum is a representation of the significance of the Mun River not only in terms of rich aquatic system and natural resources but also "something" which profoundly constructs Pak Mun people- their livelihood, career, way of life, belief, and especially their identity being (who they are). Pak Mun's ancestors have passed on to them i.e. the river, resources for living (food and income), indigenous knowledge, and most important is their identity being. The place was opened to the public in 2003, it displays the geographical data of the area, the gathering items such as local fishing gears, the collection of diverse fishes and plants species inhabited for decades in the Mun River and the Mun River ecology and the fishing culture of the Mun River's communities. The highlight of the museum is the display of drawings, pictures and news which best tells stories of the grassroot movements against Pak Mun Dam. The museum also provides a zone for discussion, seminars, trainings and activities related to Pak Mun. Another focus of the museum is to provide knowledge

on conservation activities in the communities i.e. fish reservation, solar cell energy and carriers training.

4.7.7 New Challenge of Don Samran village

The emergence of the Pak Mun dam cannot change the fact of its bad impact to the local communities and the livelihood along the Mun River, therefore, the locals are in the need to do the best to adjust themselves with the situation (dam's impact) and to cope with the changing livelihood, in which they are able to hold on their identity being. The activities appearing in Don Samran i.e. the choice of alternative energy used, fish conservation areas and Pak Mun Museum, these reinventions which established from their own vision can be seen as their fighting as well.



Figure 4.9 Pak Mun Museum

Pak Mun Museum symbolizes the existence of the AOP and the fighting of the poor. Not far from Don Samran village before heading to Pak Mun Dam, the Pak Mun Museum is located in Sai Mun village where the Mun River also runs passes by. Visiting Pak Mun Museum truly ensured me the empirical evidences of Pak Mun people, their struggles and fighting to protect their valuable resources which their ancestor has passed on to them i.e. the river, resources for living (food and income), indigenous knowledge, and most important is their identity being. The museum was built in 1999 and opened for the public in 2003. The key persons who run the museum are NGO activists and the community's committees. Most supports are from outside i.e. academic group, middle class people, and CSR programs.

The museum displays the geographical data of the area, the Mun River ecology and the fishing culture of the Mun River's communities. The gathering items such as local fishing gears, the collection of diverse fishes and plants species inhabited for decades in the Mun River. The fishing gears simply made from local bamboo which most of them were donated by villagers. Diverse fish and plant species found in the Mun River, some were found before the dam was constructed and they later disappeared after the dam came. Beliefs and traditional practices related the river and fishing are also presented.

The highlight of the museum is the display of drawings, pictures and news which best tells stories of the grassroot movements against Pak Mun Dam. The museum also provides a zone for discussion, seminars, trainings and activities related to Pak Mun. Another focus of the museum is to provide knowledge on conservation activities in the communities i.e. fish reservation and solar cell energy. The museum also owns radio station and community saving union. The radio channel acts as a tool to communicate with the community while the community saving union helps to support loan to the people in the community.

In this light, Pak Mun Museum is a representation of the significance of the Mun River not only in terms of rich aquatic system and natural resources but also "something" which profoundly constructs Pak Mun people- their livelihood, career, way of life, belief, and especially their identity being (who they are). Undoubtedly, they have strong sense of belonging to the Mun River which they love, respect and preserved. Moreover, it expresses the grassroot movement fighting against the oppression generated from government policy on development.

4.7.8 Pak Mun Dam Case: The Development or the Failure

Regarding to the field site study along with the reviewed studies, Pak Mun dam is viewed as a representation of the failure more than the development. Although, Pak Mun Dam has been claimed by the government and EGAT to the benefit of the dam as a development project for renewable energy and water supply for irrigation in rural areas, the case has reflected problem dimensions more than the development.

There are some evidences why Pak Mun Dam case has become the failure not a development:

- 1) Due to the dam construction, some local communities need to move out from the site. More than 62 villages 6,000 households were relocated to the new areas where there are no connection with their livelihood, thus, they have lost their way of life in terms of socio-economy and socio-cultural dimensions. Many end up to leave home to find a living in the city working as cheap labor.

- 2) Compensation payment from government and EGAT is set in complex method and in unfair manner. This has created conflicts among social groups; government and EGAT vice versus AOP, and conflict among groups within the community

- 3) The ecology of the Mun River which is a vital access to food and income of the community is under threat. The fish cycle and aquatic system of the Mun River are destroyed. The community's livelihood in fishery was attacked.

- 4) The capacity electricity production is less than what has expected in the plan- from 150MW to 20.81MW (1995-1998). The dam cannot only serve the real objective of energy plan. The project is fail in terms of investment cost and benefits- the real budget spent of 8,000 million baht is more than the estimated budget for construction is 3,880 million baht. The dam cannot serve as irrigation benefits as much as its claim.

- 5) Pak Mun Dam impacts to thousands of locals (about 20,000 people). The dam has damaged ecosystem of the river and the communities and it has triggered socio-cultural problems i.e. food and income.

4.7.9 Social Player Involved in Pak Mun Dam Case

After conducting the field site study at Don Samran village and Pak Mun Dam, the study has revealed the social players interplayed within the context of Pak Mun dam and the grassroots movement of the Assembly of the Poor. There are four groups of social actors can be categorized based on their social reality: discourse and ideology: 1) Government and EGAT, 2) the Assembly of the Poor (AOP), 3) Non-governmental Organizations or NGOs, 4) Media, and 5) Academics.

The first social group is the government and a representation of authority group who determines national policy, in which they wanted to cope with world system in an era of globalization. EGAT is a state enterprise who is an agency between state authority and business investor. They are an investor of Pak Mun Dam and other hydropower dams in the country. They are in charge of national energy planning and energy security, and they are also an agency of power industry in the country. Both government and EGAT share the mainstream discourse of modernization and development; the country needs to be developed as well as national energy security (Manorom, 2005).

The second social group is the Assembly of the Poor (AOP) who is a direct opponent of the first social group (government and EGAT). AOP's protests express their problem impacted from Pak Mun Dam, they require policy maker to solve problems emerged from the dam project. AOP can be seen as a representation of one of the most powerful social movements by grassroots people. The AOP also possesses a set of reality- the discourse of the loss of the poor and discourse of poor's fighting against the oppression.

The third social group is the NGOs, they support the fight of grassroots people, the AOP. They hold the stance based on the basis of social justice and social equality, thus, they advocate the activities of the AOP. The advanced technology nowadays assists them to spread set up their own communications channel with the local communities i.e. newsletter, local radio station and website. Through the mean of communication, they are able to spread out their ideological discourse to others.

The fourth group is the media, their role is quite clear as to observe and report social events. Their social function is referred to the "the watch dog" of the society. However, the selection of their news report may guide to the social interests as well.

The last social group is the academics who are lecturers, researchers, scientists and experts, they function to reveal society's fact and falsify sets of reality as social products. To me, I see the mutual roles of three groups: NGOs, media and academics, they are non-government and non-authority groups in society, however, their opinions can yield out social realities very loud.

The three groups have shared the mutual stance as they sit on the ideological discourses of social justice and social equality for the civil society, thus they support the fighting of the AOP. They aim to meet mutual ways in problem solving, advocate people from suppression and attempt to balance equality in society. Their role can be viewed as the balance of power in society.

The social groups mentioned above can be viewed as a representation of the power play in the society. Each group possesses its own social reality, discourses and ideologies in which portrayed the group's identity. Pak Mun Dam case can be seen as the field where the different ideological discourses are battling and negotiating. At the end, the crash of those ideological discourses may be end up for the better or the worsen, the hegemonic power or harmony of power, in which it is depending on their final ultimate goal to the problem solving to the harmonious society. It also depends on whether they stand on the same goal or not.

4.7.10 Voices to the National Policy Makers

1) The process of public participation should be placed at the beginning on the process of national policy planning. Government should provide access where civil society can deliver their opinions.

2) The policy planning should be implemented under the information derived from multi dimensions: the public hearing and the studies of EIA. The EIA studies and other processes related to the project should be made on transparency and can be questioned and falsified by civil society. In Pak Mun case, a flawed EIA was conducted (Chuenchom Sangarasri Greacen and Chris Greacen, 2012).

3) The national projects on development must take the concern on healthy environment into account, the studies related on Pak Mun Dam have revealed negative impact to the Mun and the Mekong in terms of their aquatic system and fish

diversity. The damage of the ecology heavily affects the livelihood of the local communities.

4) Due to a massive budget spent in the national projects, the issues on investment, cost and benefits should be carefully studied, otherwise, the huge budget will be wasted with very small returns. In Pak Mun case, the hydropower capacity generation is lower than what it is expected in the plan (Phintong, 2016).

5) The compensation payment should be made under the mutual agreement between government and local communities. In the case of Pak Mun, the compensation payment is one of crucial conflicts, the payment method was made in a complex way, in which the affected locals found it problematic and unfair.

6) The government should forecast the future consequences of the project. When the problems arise, they should be sincere to solve the problems in a straightforward manner, otherwise, one problem will generate others. The protests of the AOP in case of Pak Mun Dam have continued for 26 years up present, it reflects that the government lack of sincerity to solve the problem.

7) National projects should be based on the concern of globally and locally contexts; the balance between development and conservation should be made and accepted by the public agreement. The concept of sustainable development should be enhanced in the national planning in which it should crucially base on the consensus from the civil society.

4.8 Conclusion

The United Nation Development Program has recognized Pak Mun Dam case as one of the longest grassroot movements in the world (retrieved from www.internationalrivers.org, 2008). The questions trigger after the reference are how and why. The fight of the AOP has been continue more than 26 years up until today is considered as a representation of the social practices of development, in which they are problematized. We hardly solve the problems we do not admit they are problems to solve.

Pak Mun Dam case is well reflection of a mistaken process of the national policy planning. It is crucial to keep in mind that the process is required to put public

opinions and participation into account. The participation should come from multi voices in a fair manner. The national policy making should be conducted in a mixed method whereas it allows ways of thinking both in top-down and bottom-up. The policy makers must pay attention to Multi voices and especially indigenous voices, whose voices can well reveal authentic information and problems in the real site, and those their livelihood are directly affected by the national projects.

Additionally, the thinking of local identity should not be over looked in the process of national planning. Local identity is crucial in a sense of self-respect and the existence of the social group being. To not pay attention to local identity is seen as the violation to their norms and values they are holding to, thus, it generates social group's conflicts. On the other hand, to respect their local identity is a mean to make them to be engaged with self-development and sense of belonging, in which they are keys to enhance sustainable development in the society.

Pak Mun dam case as a site struggle of discursive practice and socio-cultural practice of development in the context of hydropower development in Thailand is upset representation of hydropower development on the Mekong. Both contexts assist to have a better understanding on the discursive practice and socio-cultural practice of development, in which development discourses are constructed by various social players (social actors). Each social group has produced and reproduce its own development discourses based on their social group's norms and values or the group's ideology. This can lead to the point where the battle of discourses is interplayed among social groups, and to gear toward to the social conflicts at the end.

CHAPTER 5

DISCURSIVE PRACTICE AND SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MEKONG HYDROPOWER DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has mentioned on the discursive practice and sociocultural practice of hydropower development in context of Pak Mun dam in Thailand, the given case has demonstrated background and linkage to further comprehend the hydropower development and its discursive practice and sociocultural practice in the regional context i.e. the Mekong River, in which it will be addressed in this chapter. This chapter discusses concept of Orders of discourse, Conjuncture, Discursive practice and socio cultural practice, then narrow down to illustrate the Discursive practice and socio cultural practice in such a context of Mekong hydropower development, and end with conclusion. The elements in this chapter would assist to make understand in how counter discourses are established within the context by whom and for whom.

5.2 Order of Discourse

The order of discourse is a concept that explain the interwoven relationship of discourse, power, ideology and hegemony, which they are all profound concept in discourse. The term order of discourse is discussed both in works of Foucault and Fairclough, I will first review order of discourse in Foucault's view, then followed by Fairclough's. However, I my study has adopted the concept of order of discourse in a sense of Fairclough because it is more applicable to help establish understanding in my analysis.

Social practices play crucial role to organise the networks of discourse. Networks are articulating together in social relations with different forms of work, different identifications, and different representations, reacting to the different practice. Practices refer to the network within the areas of social life, in which relatively constrained from others (for instance, politics, or education). According to Bourdieu, the organisation of fields refer to the way social life is divided between fields, are open to change. Power plays a crucial role in social relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992)

For, Foucault, discourse is mean of power exercise, in other words, the expression of power is made through the discourse. Foucault's the order of discourse is constrained by certain functions, actions, or rules. The production of discourse is controlled, selected, organized and redistributes by certain producers. The one who in power is who that access the control of the discourse production (Foucault, 1461).

Foucault argues the "three systems of discourse": 1) prohibition in speech, especially relating to sexuality and politics; 2) the supposed split between reason and madness; 3) and the "will to truth" as evidenced by "the opposition between true and false" (Foucault, 1461). Order of discourse deals with a certain limit; who can speak or who cannot speak in what topics and, what topics are prohibited or what topic can be spoken, and what we choose to talk about or what we choose not talk about.

Drawing upon Laclau and Mouffe's concept of 'articulation' that refers to any practice establishing a relation between elements and modifying them. Discourse, therefore, is crucial in constituting this relationship, in which all elements of the society continuously enter into shifting relations with each other (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 105) Laclau and Mouffe's use "articulation" to talk about concept of power, through articulation, he sees hegemony never allow a resistance through de- and rearticulation.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p. 58) introduce the term "order of discourse": "An order of discourse is the socially ordered set of genres and discourses associated with a particular field, characterised in terms of the shifting boundaries and flows between them". This, the order of discourse constitutes the discursive resources for the social actors, in which their position is within a field (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 58). Orders of discourses govern, how the world can be

perceived and represented by social actors. They can be considered constitutive of the social practice (doxa). The concept of orders of discourse is an evidence of how field structure may exert control over the use of discourse as well as how the discourse may be used to negotiate with the structural condition of the field.

Orders of discourse, therefore, is central to the analysis of hegemonic field relations. It can be used to explain how power relations influence and are influenced by certain discourses. The concept of “order of discourse”, thus, shape a perception of the world that universally shared as struggle over orders of discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 25).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p. 114) point the contribution in Bourdieu’s work, the way he explains the concept of ‘order of discourse’ in relations between and within fields and against the backdrop of social relations. Bourdieu’s field concept provides CDA the link between the normative critique of discourse and the discourse in relation with other elements of the social reality.

In this light.

5.3 Discursive Practice and Sociocultural Practice

Drawing on Fairclough’s Three Dimensional Model, discourse refers to language use as social practice. Discourse is both constitutive and constituted. Discourse is the kind of language used within a specific field. Discourse contributes to the construction of: social identities, social relations and system of knowledge and meaning. The focal elements of discourse are: the communicative event and the order of discourse. The communicative event is an instance of language use such as a newspaper article, a film, a video, an interview or a political speech. The order of discourse is the discourse types which are used within a social institution or a social field (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 66). Within the order of discourse, there are specific discursive practice through which the text and talk are produced and consumed or interpreted (Fairclough, 1998, p. 145). Thus, the model is based on the principle that texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation- they can be understood in relation to webs of others texts and social context.

Fairclough sees the relationship between communicative event and the order of discourse as dialectical. Communicative events reproduce discourses and also change them through creative language use. The order of discourse is genres and discourses which are in use within a specific social domain. The order of discourses both shape and is shaped by specific instance of the language use. It is both structure and practice. The use of discourses and genres as resources in communication is controlled by the order of discourse because the order of discourse constitutes the resources that are available. It delimits what can be said. Orders of discourse are open to change when discourses and genres from other orders of discourse are brought into play. The order of discourse is coupled with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "field" (Chouliaraki & Fairleigh 1999, p. 101ff). Field in the concept of Bourdieu can be referred to social domain obeying a specific social logic.

The Communicative event consisting of three dimensions: Text, discursive practice and social practice. The analysis should focus on 1) the linguistic features of the text, 2) discourses and genres which are articulated in the process relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice), and 3) the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice). The Discursive practice focuses in how authors of the texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how receivers of texts also apply discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts. The relationship between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice. Through the discursive practice, people use language to produce and consume texts- the texts which shape and are shaped by social practice. At the same time, the text influences both the production and the consumption (Fairclough, 1992b).

Fairclough (1995a & 1995b) states texts circulate within orders of discourse and are transformed within a process of distribution. For example, in mass media there are chains connecting public order of discourse (politics, law, science, etc.), media orders of discourse (documentary, news, etc.) and orders of private discourse (the domain of reception). Each text is embedded in its context at different levels. He also points that we cannot ignore the fact that media products are products to sell and so that they are open to effects of commercial pressure; they work ideologically and are in the service of elites and state. The selection of the news is mostly not

determined by the nature of the event, but by the news production and institutional practices, and its dependence on official as source of information which contribute to maintain their status quo and their hegemony. On the other hand, selection by journalists implies choosing the sources of information e.g. who is interviewed, who is quotes directly or whose discourse is reported or summarized. But at the sometimes the interests of the media are in conflict with the state (Fairclough, 1995b). Text consumption implies the way the audiences read and comprehended and interpret the texts. He has introduced the three aspects of CDA, there are aspect of Text, Discursive Practice, and Social or sociocultural practice.

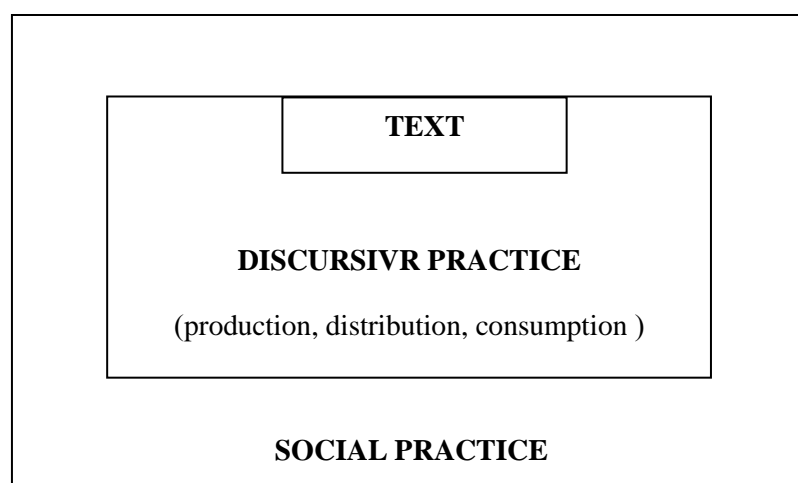


Figure 5.1 Discursivr Practice

Source: Fairclough, 1992, p. 73.

Texts are considered as concrete evidences of social discourses, and that the processes of production and reception are socially constrained. The texts also can be seen as discursive events- discursive practice and social events. Discursive events, therefore, refer to texts, discursive practices (production and interpretation) and social practice (including situational, institutional and societal practice) (Fairclough, 1993, p. 138). Thus, the discursive practice of the Mekong hydropower development is addressing the production and interpretation of the texts within such context.

Texts are seen as parts of social events, and at the same time some social events have a highly textual character. Texts and events have shared mediated

relationship- they are intermediated organizational entities between structures and events. Texts as parts of social events are shaped by social structure and social practice, and social agents. Social practice can be viewed as ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others (Fairclough, 2003).

Discursive practice can be viewed as the set of spoken and unspoken rules, norms, and mental models of socially accepted behaviors that govern individuals' thought, act and speak in all social positions they perform in life. They also involve ways of being in the world that entail specific and remarkable social identities. Discursive practice can be explained as a form of social practice, and focuses on the processes of text production, distribution and consumption. Fairclough has described analytical traditions of the framework as 1) the close textual and linguistics analysis within linguistics, 2) the macrosociological tradition of analyzing social practice in relation to social structures, and 3) the interpretivist or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures (Fairclough, 1992, p. 72).

Sociocultural practice is a relationship between discourse processed of production, distribution and interpretation, and the social process. Sociocultural context of a communicative event explaining discourse as a social practice entails a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institutions and social structures which frame it: discourse is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. On other words, is "socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it contributes to transforming it" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Thus, discursive practice may have ideological effects since they can produce and reproduced unequal power relations between social classes, gender groups and ethnic or cultural groups through the ways they represent things and position people.

5.4 Discursive Practice and Sociocultural Practice in the Context of Mekong' Hydropower Development

Discursive practice and socio-cultural practice of the Mekong Hydropower Development can be viewed through its texts (online news that relate to such context). The texts of the news (data) related to such context are the representation of the social events of the hydropower development in the Mekong region. The texts of the news as social events are crucial, as they have represented social meaning of the social events- social action, social representation and social identification. The news' sphere is considered as a sphere public where public discourses in a particular context are selected to displayed, at the same time, discourses embedded in such contexts entails the key social players as well as their social-cultural practice.

5.4.1 Texts Which Including the Process of Text Production, Distribution and Consumption

In the context of Mekong hydropower development, the selection of online news related to such context is illustrated as the texts or messages. The texts of the online news related to such context were collected as the data of analysis. Through the mentioned criteria of text' selection, there are 108 online news used in the data analysis.

Texts production, distribution and consumption

In such context, texts related to the issue were produced by various social groups in forms of stories, articles and news. As the main data in the study is the online news, thus, the author put focus on the online news. Before conducting the texts analysis, the author has conducted the survey of the online news involved with the context of the Mekong hydropower development. One accessible source to the news is Google's search engine. Google's search engine provides a huge selection of online news relevant to the particular context, and those news are presented via various websites owned by different social groups as it is shown in the figure below.

According to the Google search, the social agents who produce the online news related to the context refer to five major groups: Capital, authority, NGOs, academic and news agency. The capital group is defined as dam developers, authority

group is defined as governments, NGOs group is defined as non- government organizations, academic group is defined as researchers, scientists, lectures, professors, and news agency is defined as private agencies who produce news as their main job.

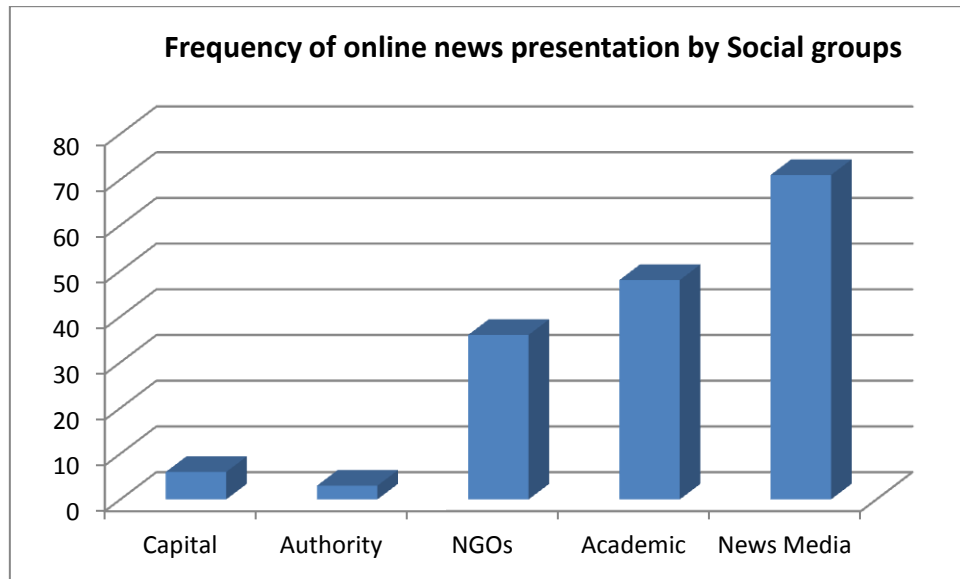


Figure 5.2 Number of Online News Related to Mekong Hydropower Development Presented by Different Social Agents (from 2008-2012)

According to online news from Google search, there are 164 news found related to the context. The news is produced by different websites that own by diverse social agents. Most news related to the context are produced by the news agencies, there are 71 news which is account 43%), 48 news which is account for 29% are produced by academic group, 36 news which is account for 21 % are produced by NGOs, 6 news which is account for 3% are produced from capital group, and 3 news which is account for 1% are produced by authority, respectively. The fact from the figure tells that the most proportion of the news producer is the news agencies, and the second place of the news producers is the groups of academic and NGOs. On the other hand, the authority group has produced not many news related to the context.

Regarding to various news producers mentioned above, it reflects that the issue of Mekong hydropower development has gained social interest as the most

proportion of the news is presented by the news agencies, academic and NGOs respectively. On the other hand, the authority group has just release the smallest number of news. This could imply that the authority group who are governments may not concern much to talk about this issue to the public because they already have authority in their hand to process the dam project. This also entails how much the government takes public participation in consideration to process the project as a national policy.

There are reasons why the news about the Mekong dams are found in a large number in public media i.e. online newspaper and websites: 1) Mekong is an international river that shared by many stakeholders (Mekong nations) as a mutual property of the region, so that any exploitation of the river is under the concern of diverse social parties, 2) the Mekong hydropower development also involves with massive investment and profit as well as its key players raking from governments, inter-governments, state-enterprises, dam-developers and contractors, and 3) the issue of hydropower development on the Mekong has triggered social concern from civil society such as NGOs, academia, and local affected communities. With a wide range of various key players and stakeholders as well as the public interest involved, the Mekong hydropower dams are viewed as a controversial social issue at large.

The online news relevant to the Mekong dam context also are found in various websites, this can be assumed that the advanced of the today's communication technology has allowed human society with a wider channel of communication. Therefore, several social groups can own their channel of communication to the public, and they are able to produce their own contents based on their major interests. Through this mean of communication, they are able to produce their messages or news and distribute them to the public readers independently. However, under the same communicative event, the news are produced via different lenses of various social groups, and distributed through different agencies (social groups). The tone of the news can be varied in terms of facts and opinions due to the social groups' stances depending on what interest and stance each social group is holding on. One group may view things differently from another and each may come up with its own interpretation toward the same social event. This can be the reflection that texts

(online news) are produced and distributed by various social groups who perceive the particular social event in different ways.

Among various websites who produced and distributed texts (online news) related to the context, the author intended to select the online news from the real news agencies because it can be viewed as a public sphere where social interests on a particular social event from diverse social groups can be reflected. The real news agencies act as 1) a representation of the selective social events which represent the mass's interests, 2) a public space for different voices from diverse social groups under the same social issue, while the private websites may select to present the news based on certain groups' opinions. Therefore, the real news agencies are seen as a mean to avoid bias of opinions from different social groups towards the same issue, and 3) the source that can be wider reached by the public in terms of quantity, interests and various social groups of people. Thus, the online news is selected from the websites of real news agencies as the data of the study.

5.4.2 Key Social Players in the context of Hydropower Development on the Mekong

Before the key social players of hydropower development on the Mekong are being mentioned here, the information on hydropower dams constructed on the Mekong mainstream should be presented first. The figure below gives the overview of the hydropower dams on the Mekong mainstream both in the upper and lower basin.

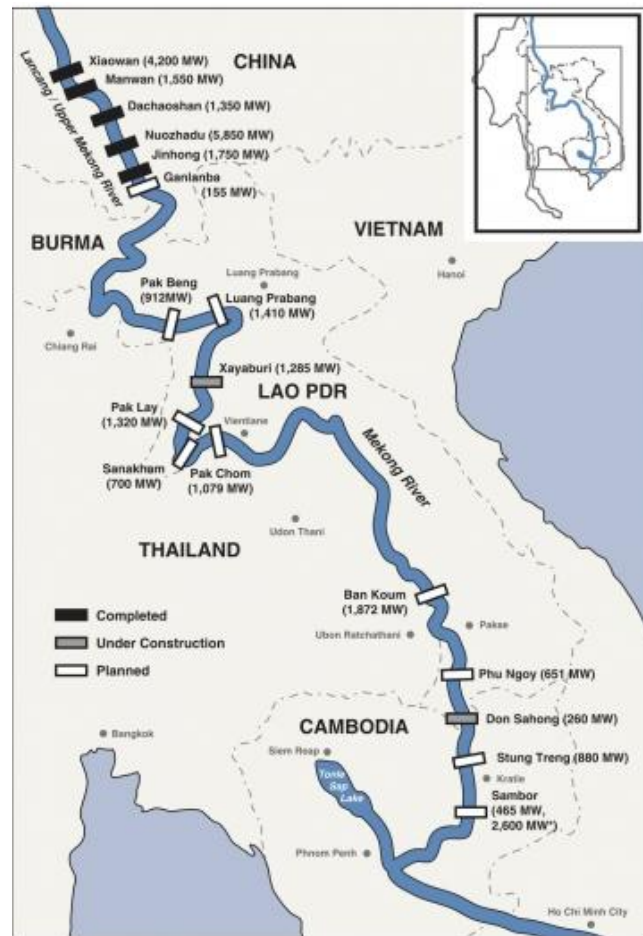


Figure 5.3 Mekong Mainstream Dams Map

Source: ICEM, 2010.

Geographically, Mekong is divided into areas: the upper and lower basin. The upper basin covers the area of China and Myanmar, while the lower Mekong covers the area of four nations i.e. Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Cambodia. The hydropower development on the Mekong has been started since 1990s, and since 1992-2013, China has already developed six mega hydropower dams on the upper Mekong. For the Lower Mekong, Xayaburi dam in Laos is the first hydropower dam on the lower basin.

It can be viewed that the hydropower development on the upper Mekong seems to be controlled by China government as seven hydropower dams (in 2018) were already built by China (known as Lancang River in China), and 21 dams are planned to be built in the future (retrieved from <https://www.internationalrivers.org>).

The People's Republic of China is significant in terms of its size of population and land. China is the world populous country in the world with its 1.4 billion. Although China has been ruled under the Communist Party of China (CPC), China reformed its economy along partly capitalist lines to make it one of the world's fastest-growing, as well its leading exporter. China is now a major overseas investor, and is pursuing an increasingly assertive foreign and defence policy (retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news>). The first hydropower plant in China is located in Yunnan, it was 40 years after the world first hydropower in United States. However, China has constructed mega dams on the upper Mekong without consultation with its downstream neighbors i.e. Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam, and without a transparent assessment of the dams' downstream impacts on the river and its people (retrieved from <https://www.internationalrivers.org>). The number of China mega hydropower dams on the upper Mekong is quite scary, and it is still growing as China goes forward the future plan of building more dams. Under the political regime of China (communism), its government has full authority to legitimize the national project like the mega dams without having the public consultation and the public concern, and these concepts seem to be excluded in the consideration.

For the Lower Mekong, there are four member nations: Laos, Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia, among the four members, it is quite clear that Laos is the leader in hydropower development on the lower Mekong. Lao government has declared its ambition to becoming the “Energy Hub of ASEAN”, and today Laos is major electricity exporter in the region. Although in the spotlight, Laos seems to be the major investor and key player in hydropower development on the lower Mekong, other Mekong nations would not allow Laos to enjoy the piece of cake alone. Hydropower investment on the Mekong may be perceived as a big cake that several nations want to share. Another Mekong nation which is not in the spotlight like Thailand is also a crucial investor in hydropower development in the region too. Its key players are mainly the state agencies of many nations as shown in the following figure as it is shown in the figure below

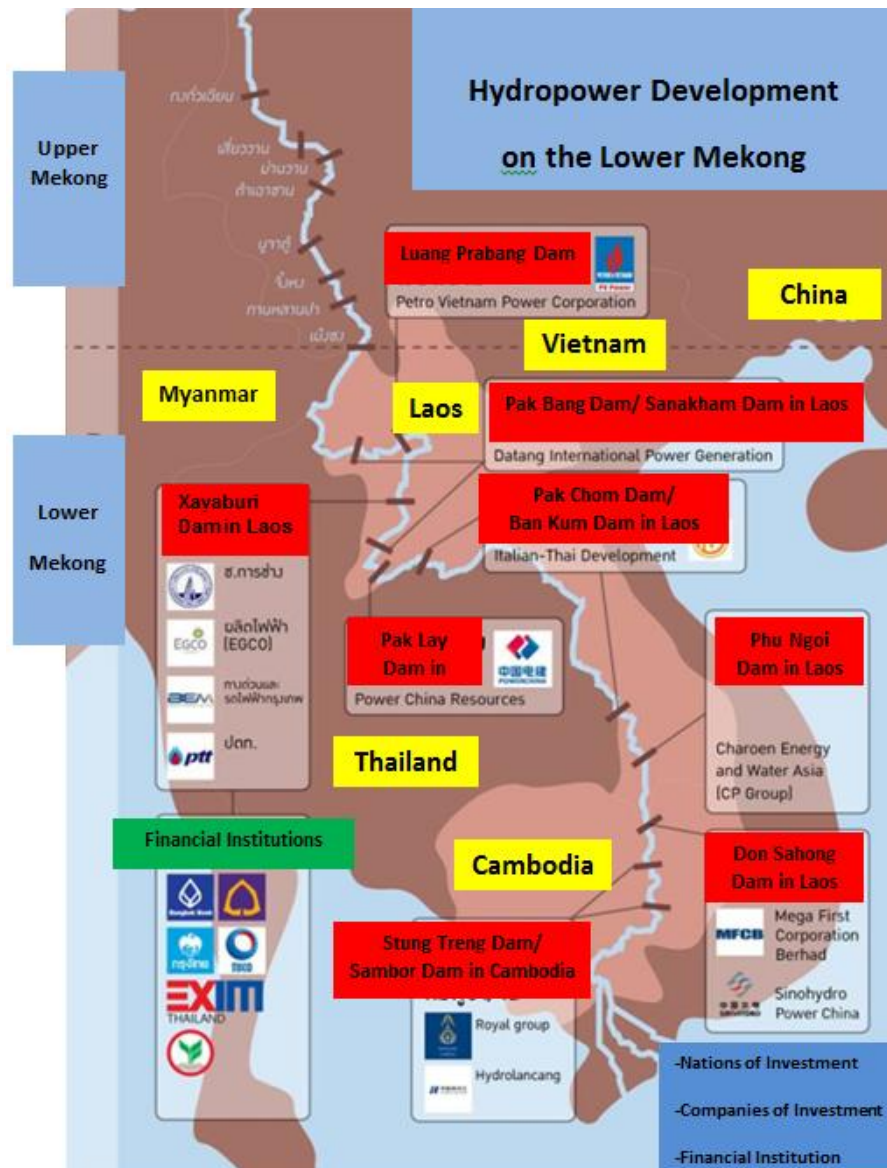


Figure 5.4 Key Players of the Hydropower Development on the Lower Mekong

Source: Retrieved and adapted from <https://voicetv.co.th/>

The figure retrieved from Voicetv (Thai television broadcast) has portrayed key social players involved in the context of hydropower investment on the Mekong. They are the nations of investment, companies of investment and financial institutions (who financially support the hydropower investment on the Mekong). On the upper Mekong, Luang Prabang Dam in Laos was constructed by Petro Vietnam Power Corporation. On the lower Mekong, the hydropower dams in Laos and in Cambodia

are constructed by different foreign companies. Pak Bang and Sanakham Dam are constructed by Chinese Company called Datang International Power Generation. Pak Chom and Ban Kum Dam are constructed by Thai Company called Italian- Thai Development. Pak Lay Dam in Laos is constructed by Chinese Company called Power China Resources. Phu Ngioi Dam in Laos is constructed by Thai Company called Charoen Energy and Water Asia (CP Group). Don Sahong Dam in Laos is constructed by Malay and Chinese Companies called Mega First Corporation Berhad and Sinohydro Power China. Strung Treng and Sambor Dam in Cambodia are constructed by Cambodian and Chinese companies called Royal Group and Hydrolancang. Xayaburi Dam in Laos is constructed by Thai company Ch. Karnchang , Electricity Generation Company (EGCO), Bangkok Expressway and Metro (BEM), PTT group (Oil and Gas Company owned by Thai State). The financial support for Xayaburi Dam construction is from Thai financial institutions i.e. Krung Thep Bank, Krung Thai Bank, Thai Commercial Banks, Export-Import Bank of Thailand (Exim Bank), TISCO Bank and Kasikorn Bank.

Xayaburi Dam in Laos could be an example of hydropower investment which is operated under the MOU between Lao and Thai government. Thai government is an important partner of investment of Xayaburi Dam. In 2007, the Junta government of Thailand by Gen Sonthi Boonyaratglin and Lao government had signed MOU on project feasibility studies of the Xayaburi Dam. The dam official started the construction in 2010, at that time Abhisit Vejjajiva was a prime minister of Thailand. Thailand's Ministry of Energy submitted the proposal to the National Energy Policy Council (NEPC) that resolved to approve Tariff MOU between EGAT and Ch. Karnchang (Thai company of dam developer). In 2011, Yingluck Shinawatra government, EGAT and four Thai government agencies signed an agreement with the Xayaburi Power Company (Ch. Karnchang ownership) to purchase electricity from Xayaburi Dam. Thailand cabinet approved a resolution allowing Thai government-owned Krung Thai Bank to co-finance the project, and other Thai banks joined to finance later (retrieved from <https://www.internationalrivers.org>).

From the information above, the dam developers and investors of Xayaburi Dam are Thai government agencies (Thai state is major shareholders of those public company Ltd.) i.e. Electricity Generation Company (EGCO), Bangkok Expressway

and Metro (BEM), PTT group (Oil and Gas Company owned by Thai State), and Ch. Karnchang (private company). The financial support for the dam's construction is also from Thai banks (Thai state is major shareholders of those banks). As such, it can be perceived that Thai government is a major investor and also a significant buyer of electricity produced by the Xayaburi dam in Laos.

In this light, Lao PDR seems to be a crucial key social player in hydropower development on the lower Mekong. After the colonial era ruled by French, Laos's monarchy was overthrown by the Communist force, and since then the country has been ruled under the communist regime. Landlocked Laos is one of the world's few remaining communist states and one of East Asia's poorest (retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news>). Like the big brother China, Laos's communist country was first lower Mekong nation who started building mega hydropower dam on the lower Mekong without fine consultation with the neighboring countries and transparent assessment of the mega dam project. Without public consultation both locally and regionally, Lao government just gear toward to process the hydropower dams on the Mekong mainstream. Xayaburi Dam was first constructed in 2010 in northern Laos, the dam is a MOU signed between Lao government and Thailand developer's Ch. Karnchang company. After Xayaburi Dam, Don Sahong Dam was constructed in 2016 in southern Laos. It was the second hydropower dam of Laos built on the Mekong mainstream. Among the international public concerns, Lao government still plans to build more than nine hydropower dams on the Mekong mainstream.

With the geographical constrain, Laos is a landlocked country with no access to the seas, so that it lacks of transit dependence. The country needs to rely on neighboring transit countries for external trade. With this advantage, Laos has limit potential to develop its economy. Therefore, hydropower business seems to be the most promising business that can improve the nation's economic growth, and to help eradicate poverty from the country. With a high ambition, Lao government is attempting to transform the country into "the battery of Southeast Asia" by exporting the power to Thailand and Vietnam. Additionally, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank remain in the scene as major financial support of the hydropower

dam construction in the Mekong region (retrieved from <https://www.internationalrivers.org>).

According to the figure, it is clearly seen that Thai state-enterprise EGAT is a major customer to purchase hydropower from Laos's dams. Thai state agencies like Electricity Generation Company (EGCO), Bangkok Expressway and Metro (BEM), PTT group (Oil and Gas Company owned by Thai State) are also major investors in Xayaburi Dam in Laos. Moreover, the major financial support for Xayaburi Dam construction is from Thai financial institutions i.e. Krung Thep Bank, Krung Thai Bank, Thai Commercial Banks, Export-Import Bank of Thailand (Exim Bank), TISCO Bank and Kasikorn Bank.

According to this discursive event above, Thailand and Vietnam government seem to be only two nations who have not yet build their hydropower dam on the lower Mekong as there is none exist in the map. This has triggered the doubt and raised a significant question that among the intense competition in exploiting the Mekong by developing hydropower dams, why both governments have no national policy to build hydropower dams on the Mekong mainstream. Thai government seems not yet having a national policy to build hydropower dam on the lower Mekong. However, it does not mean Thai government has no interest in hydropower development, instead Thai government is an explicitly key player in such context by using state-enterprise and state owned companies as agents of investment.

This discursive event could be the reflection that Thai civil society remains strong, so that significant national policy is being watched closely by the civil group. Thus, Thai government needs to be careful on its policy and practice. The government may not be able to easily push forward national policy without the regard of the public concern. By comparing Thai political regime to other neighbors, Thailand is only democratic nation among communist neighboring Mekong nations. Democratic regime may allow more access for public opinions' participation in the national policy. In the case of hydropower development on the Mekong, Thai civil society has shown its stance of being anti this idea. This could be the answer why Thai government has delayed hydropower dam project on the Mekong, but quietly making a huge investment on hydropower in another country i.e. Laos.

5.5 Conclusion

What can be concluded here is the texts and its context are crucial to provide understanding on the discursive practice and sociocultural practice of a particular communicative event (social event). Texts with its process of production, distribution and consumption also assist to reveal key social agents related to the context. Hydropower development on the Mekong is controversial social issue as it ties with several contexts and sub-contexts, the contexts in which consequently affect various stakeholders who are from diverse social background. The multivoicedness emerged from the context signifies that within the same particular social event, people in society have perceived things differently based on their diverse social background as well as advantage and disadvantage they received. Finally, under the same social issue, those social agents have come up with their different discourses based on their group's benefit and ideology. The key social players and their discourses are revealed through the texts they have produced, distributed and consumed. Counter discourses derived from key social players will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF DISCURSIVE STRATEGY

6.1 Introduction

This section presents four issues derived from the texts analysis (news headlines and contents): 1) Social group and social identity, 2) Social actors interplayed in the context of Mekong hydropower development, 3) Analysis on Social Group Identity and 4) Description of occurrence and co-occurrence of discursive strategies that express ideological beliefs.

6.2 Social Group and Social Identity

According to the data collected of the news media (108 online news selection) on the Mekong hydropower development appeared on the public sphere, the data has revealed information on key players interacted in such context. The players can be viewed as the social groups, and each group may possess its own social identity which shaped by constructed ideology.

Social group is related to social identity, each group is constructed based on the same or similar identity: the shared norms and values. At the same time, social identity that defines the social group. According to Tajfel and Turner, Social Identity may begin from individuals in which they define their own identities with the relation to social groups. They may find such identifications fit with their identities, protect and help to support their self-identity. Social Identity is also relevant to the mean to evaluate others as “us” or “them”. The group identities can be portrayed in categories of the Ingroup and the Outgroup. The Ingroup always views their group in a positive way and see the Ourgroup with bias or negative way (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The group identification lays on the idea of collectivity where the identity is depersonalized based on group membership. Social Identity explains the intergroup conflict as function of group-based self-identifications. Social Identity can be illustrated in the relationship with cognition; Cognitive grouping involves “judgmental accentuation” where cognitive categories lead to the increased salience of distinguishing features between categories, exaggerating category differences (Hogg & Williams, 2000).

Three cognitive processes are involved in the Social Identity: Social categorization, Social identification and Social comparison. Social categorization is defined as a mean to understand ourselves and others by identify others including ourselves in relation to the social environment. Group’s identification is made based on the group’s norms and values that you and others belong to. On the other hand, an individual can belong to many different groups in the same time as one may possess more than one identity.

Social identification is a process where you have adopted the group identity as you identify yourself belong to the group (ingroup), as the same time you attempt to evaluate others to belong to the group, whether they belong to your group (ingroup) or not (outgroup). Social comparison is a process where you have categorized yourself and others what group you and other belong to. In order to maintain your self-esteem or your group identity, then you tend to compare your group (ingroup) against other groups (outgroup). The Ingroup views their group positively and other groups negatively. It is crucial to be aware that the product of Ingroup and Outgroup can be viewed as the concept of polarlization where it leads to prejudice and discrimination in our society.

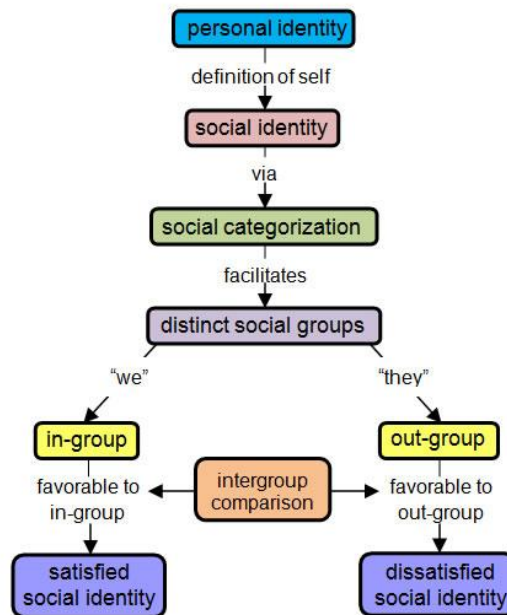


Figure 6.1 Social Identity Theory

Source: Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979.

6.3 Analysis on Social Group Identity

According to the selection of the news (data) on hydropower dams on the lower Mekong publicized in online newspapers, it can be seen that the issue is socially controversial due to the exploitation of the Mekong for the hydropower development. This debatable issue is heavily involved with various social players who are all the stakeholders of the national river, the Mekong. Due to the benefit as well as the impact of the dams, the context also triggers polarization of opinions of those who share the river. They polarization of opinions relevant to the context can be categorized into groups of similar opinion which seen as social groups and identified by their social identity. In the context of Mekong hydropower dams, through the lenses of language, the occurrence of its social actors are seen by the analysis of discursive strategy based on the representation of the Ingroup and Outgroup, in which their ideology has lay on the texts.

In relation to social cognition, ideologies played a central role to determine discourse meaning in a macro level. Ideologies are structured by the principle of group-schema categories which represented as Ingroup and outgroup that underlying the concept of polarization. According to Van Dijk, the group's social identity can be represented in group-schema six categories: 1) Self-identity descriptions (membership), 2) Activity-descriptions, 3) Goal-description (aim), 4) Norm and value description, 5) Position and Relation description (relations) and 6) Resource description (Van Dijk, 1950b). The group schema will be explained in detail below:

1) Self-identity descriptions (membership): who are We, where do We come from, what are Our properties, what is Our history, how are We different from Others, what are criteria of admission, what We are proud of, etc. Obviously, self-description will be positive.

2) Activity-descriptions: what are Our task, what do We do, what is expectation of Us, what are Our social role, etc. Ideological activity description is typical for groups who are defined by what they do such as professional and activists.

3) Goal-description (aim); activities make ideological and social sense only if they have (positive) goals. It should be emphasized that such goal descriptions are definition ideological, and not necessarily factual. This is how groups and their members see themselves, or want to be seen and evaluated.

4) Norm and value description; what We find good and bad, right or wrong, and what Our actions and goals try to respect or achieve. In the description of Our opponents or enemies, we may expect the opposite thoughts and actions.

5) Position and Relation description (relations); define their identity, activities and goals in relation to other groups. We may expect special focus on group relations, conflicts, polarization and negative other-presentation (derogation)

6) Resource description; the groups can exist only when they have access to specific resources. In intergroup conflicts and when such access is threatening or limited, ideological discourse will largely focus on such resources. Some social groups are defined in terms of access or non-c to resources, such as the rich and the poor, the unemployed and homeless, the Have and Have-nots. At this point, we may expect elaborate semantic strategies that aim to defend (or attack) privileged access (the "right") to resources

The analysis of Ingroup and Outgroup puts emphasis on the occurrence of Pronouns in the texts (news contents). The choice in the use of Pronouns (We vs They) in the texts signifies the polarization of opinions or group's ideology or social group. The occurrence of the Pronoun choices in the text (data) is portrayed with given examples below.

The use of pronoun "WE" occurred in the texts of the news contents can referred to various social groups 1) WE as local people of Mekong communities, 2) WE as Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) both locally and internationally levels, 3) WE as Academia (university professors, researchers, experts and scientists), 4) WE as developers, investors, supporters of the hydropower dams. The description and examples are shown below:

1) WE as local people of Mekong communities: local Vietnamese, local Cambodia and local Thais. WE here from comes news extracts. It represents local people who live along the Mekong River, those who suffer from the negative impact of the Mekong hydropower dam developed by "them".

Example1: (G1) Vietnamese locals say "We should request international support in protecting the Mekong River Delta," said Nguyen Thanh Hung, deputy chairman of Dong Thap Province People's Committee"

Example2: (G9) Head of the local fishery community at Tonle Sap Lake in Cambodia says "China built many big dams upstream, and we saw decreased numbers of fish. Plus, Laos is also building a dam in Don Sahong,"

Example3: (G66) Vietnamese locals say " Huynh Thi Kim Duyen said her community in Ca Mau Province has seen a significant decline in fish stocks and water levels in the Mekong River in the past decade. "We who have grown up with the river are able to see even the smallest changes. "We are worried about our future and the future of our children."

Example4: (G66) A group of Thai locals says "We have a serious question about the Mekong River Commission. With their [scant] knowledge, they cannot make the Mekong governments consider the true cost of these dams and the impact on us," Chirasak Inthayod of the Hug Chiang Khong Group from northern Thailand said. People living along the Mekong have done many assessments of the impacts on their rivers"

Example5: (G66) Sam At, a fisherman in Tonle Sap in Cambodia says “Cambodia would suffer the worst impacts of the Mekong dams on fisheries, especially from the Don Sahong Dam. “We want to know why the Don Sahong Dam and other dams keep being pushed forward and why none of the governments will listen to us”

2) WE as Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) both local and international levels WE here comes from the news extracts. It represents both local and international non- government organizations who are agents of active participants. They raise the concern to the impact of the Mekong hydropower dams, as well as requesting the civil right for the locals who should have equal right in exploiting public resource like the Mekong River

Example1: (G7) Officer from International Rivers (NGO) says "**We** urge Vietnam and other countries to arrange consultation meetings that transparently share information about project impacts and include the participation of communities,"

Example2: (G25) Tek Vannara, the executive director of the NGO Forum on Cambodia says “**We** do not want this experience anymore, especially for this Pak Beng Dam which **we** have requested [the government] to stop”

Example3: (G25) Long Sochet, the head of the Coalition of Cambodian Fishers says “**We** are really worried about this issue. On behalf of the community who lives on the Mekong River as well as the Tonle Sap lake, **we** do not support the development of this hydroelectric dam on the Mekong River because it can affect life around the area,”

Example4: (G33) Japanese NGO says “We don’t have many expectations for the MRC,” said Satomi Higashi, Laos program director for Mekong Watch Japan, a Tokyo-based nongovernmental organization (NGO). “It doesn’t have an ability to manage the power balance of the member countries.”

Example5: (G67) Ame Trandem, Mekong campaigner for International Rivers says “the river had "gotten a much-needed but temporary reprieve." “A healthy Mekong River is central to sustainable development in the region, and simply too precious a resource to squander," she said in a statement. "Given the project’s inevitable transboundary impacts, we urge the region’s governments to acknowledge the widespread concern of the public and civil society groups and indefinitely cancel the Xayaburi Dam project.”

3) WE as Academia: university professors, researchers, experts and scientists

WE here comes from the news extrect. It represents a group of academia who are specialists in various fields from different countries. They raise concern about negative impact of Mekong hydropower dam, in which it is seen as a threat to the ecology and sociocultural of the Mekong and its community. They are the active participants who are knowledgeable and have responsibility in guiding public opinion in such context.

Example1: (G18) Dr Duong Van Ni from Can Tho University’s environment faculty says “Power development in the future should not be based on hydroelectric plants because hydroelectricity “is not as clean as **we** think”

Example2: (G166) Researcher from Ophidian Research Institute says “Although relations between the three countries remain good at present, **we** caution that the pursuit of such a policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources”

Example3: (G78) Environmentalist, Ame Trandem from the Southeast Asia program director for International Rivers says, “Today the Mekong governments responded to the will of the people of the region. **We** welcome the recognition that not nearly enough is known about the impacts of mainstream dams to be able to make a decision about the Xayaburi Dam.”

Example4: (G18) Dr Le Anh Tuan from Can Tho University, Viet Nam says “We should stop the development of dams on the Mekong River basin. We should not be silent and wait until the development begins.” the

Mekong River Delta in Viet Nam will face a serious decrease of water, alluvia soil and land, which will affect agriculture in the region, Tuan said. **“We** can save water by using alternative wet and dry methods, and by reducing rice areas in the dry season, changing rice to upland crops that need less water, and storing available water via wetlands, rain harvesting and flood water retention,”

Example5: (G128) A global water conflict expert says “China has also been reluctant to negotiate the use of its rivers. The world has plenty of examples of countries figuring out treaties and agreements to manage shared waterways, says Peter Gleick, a global water conflict expert who runs California’s Pacific Institute, an environmental think-tank with a database of water disputes dating back 5,000 years. “But in the Mekong **we** have a situation where one party has a very strong history of acting unilaterally,”

4) WE as developers, investors, supporters of the hydropower dams

WE here comes from the news extract above represent the doer, someone who have a responsibility to see to the project of hydropower dams achievement and ensure that it is done in the best way possible.

Example1: (G16) Ministry of Environment spokesman Sao Sopheap maintained Cambodia’s National Mekong Committee says “We will have to proceed according to the 1995 agreement, this is very clear and we stick to that,”

Example2: (G49) Daovong Phonekeo, deputy director general of Laos’ Department of Electricity, Laos PDR says “We understand the concerns of neighbouring countries. We will keep up our efforts to persuade them and make them understand why Laos needs to construct this dam,” said by telephone from Vientiane after the meeting”

Example3: (G72) Damage control Peter Hawkins, environmental manager for the Don Sahong project says “We are constructing, designing and building bypasses; identifying channels which are shallow, and deepening those particular points — key points where the fish are helped up”

Example4: (N46) "CK (Ch. Karnchang Plc), Thai developer says “ We are looking for new projects from both the government and private projects at home and abroad. We are confident that we will be awarded several projects since we have strong experience in construction,"

Example5: (N40) Lao Ministry of Energy and Mine's Policy and Planning Department director-general Daovong Phonekeo says "We have collected information about this project since 2007, notably the issues related to water flow, fish passage and water quality," "Surveys conducted by foreign experts enable us to explain to the participants that everything about the project has been done in a scientific manner. Being "transparent"

We're confident that at the end of the regional consultation, the participants will have more information and gain better understanding about the Don Sahong project. We hope that their concerns will be put to rest because we are being transparent and open with this information.

For the Don Sahong project, several national consultation/information sharing meetings have been organised by the respective national Mekong committees and more are planned. In addition, we have the opportunity to carry out a public consultation at the regional level.

1) THEY as Mekong Nations

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to the Vietnam government and other governments of the Mekong nations who are in a position of stakeholders of the Mekong River. THEY as representative of the Mekong nations and the policy makers are expected to be critically concern over the issue of the impact of the hydropower dam development in the region.

Example1: (G7) NGO from International River, Haris says “there were flaws and weaknesses during the prior consultation process for Don Sahong and Xayaburi. For one, Vietnam and other governments had raised concerns about the transboundary impacts of the projects and requested further studies and transboundary environmental impact assessments, but they were not fully addressed during the prior consultation.”

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to the Mekong nations who will join the membership of the Lancang Mekong Cooperation (LMC) organized by China government. LMC manages to include all the lower Mekong nations as member of LMC, in which it seems like its plan to be a leader who can control hydropower development in the region.

Example2: (G9) China government's spokesman says "China said to them under this Lancang Mekong Cooperation mechanism that –actually take our money, take our investment, take our loans. Integrate your economy and infrastructure with ours. Let's not talk about the water,"

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to Mekong nations i.e. Laos and Cambodia who are in need of cheap energy, so that they may support the idea of hydropower development in the region.

Example3: (G9) A professor at Royal University of Phnom Penh says "I don't see that China would stop building dams and, plus, the lower Mekong countries including Cambodia and Laos are in dire need of cheap energy, and hydropower dams are very promising for their development,

2) They as developers and investors of the dams

Example1: (G9) Expert Osborne says "For some experts, the possibility of a large country such as China, or smaller nations such as Laos, moving away from hydropower path is simply an illusion. "I am not optimistic that the Chinese will stop building dams and that in doing so **they** will help to revive the Mekong,"

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to government of China and Laos who will never stop doing hydropower dams on the Mekong. The two nations are key players who advocate hydropower development due to benefit and profit they can make from it.

Example2: (G21) Kraisak, former senator of Thailand says " They have to invest overseas, in countries where people have limited rights and whose authoritarian government can facilitate mega-projects without

considering the impact on its environment or people," said. "This condition is most obvious in Laos."

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to Thai dam's investors, developers and including Thai state enterprise and Thai financial institutions. Because THEY here can not make investment in hydropower in Thailand, so they access the channel to make investment in abroad like in Laos.

Example3: (G33) Vietnamese NGO says "China's hydropower projects on the upper reaches of the river tilt the balance of power in its favor, said Nguyen Thi Hong Van, National Coordinator for the Vietnam Rivers Network at the Center for Water Resource Conservation & Development in Hanoi. "We were surprised they didn't try to cooperate with lower Mekong countries before," she said. "Now it's too late." "They hold the upstream water and they have a lot of money," Trinh said. "The future looks very dark to us (other Mekong nations downstream)."

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to China government who has already built mega hydropower dams on the Mekong upstream. The dams have been built without cooperation and consensus from the downstream Mekong's nations.

Example4: (G33) Academia, William Laurance, director of the Centre for Tropical Environmental & Sustainability Science at James Cook University in Cairns, Australia says "Water issues are about as big as they get," he said. "China rarely does things half way—and if they have large-scale agricultural development and giant investments, they're not going to sacrifice their needs for another nation downstream."

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to China government who is aiming to be a leader in hydropower development in the region. They would never give up its goal because the benefit they will get seems to be more important than how the lower Mekong's nations think about that.

Example5: (G33) Vietnamese NGO says " is moving ahead with two big projects despite concern from neighboring countries, which could lead to a “domino effect” of other nations building their own projects, said Trinh Le Nguyen, executive director of PanNature, a Vietnamese not-for-profit organization.

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to Laos government who will go ahead with the project of dam construction without listening to the neighboring countries’ concern.

Example6: (G46) Academain, ASEAN Studies Program at the Habibie Center states “These include the controversial Xayaburi Dam in Laos which has drawn opposition from neighboring Cambodia and Vietnam. The arguments in favor of such dam projects are that they provide cheaper electricity, will fuel economic development and alleviate poverty.

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to Laos government who favor hydropower dams. They see dams as energy generator which can produce cheap electricity to enhance economic growth of the country.

Example7: (G117) Cambodia NGO, Chum Huor, a member of local advocacy group Youth for Social and Environmental Protection, says. “We have an experience with the Lower Sesan II, when the government sent officials to study the project and it sent machines there at the same time or soon after,” he said. “They said they would study it before starting construction, but they did not have a detailed consultation with the people and the affected communities first.”

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to Cambodia government who is state policy maker, they already started the dam project (Lower Sesan II). They were accused from the locals that they did not conduct detailed consultation with locals before starting the project as they have promised with them.

Example8: (G17) Rasanen, researcher says “The dams in China are just one part of the bigger picture because they are the largest on the Mekong, they have become recently operational, they have potentially large

downstream impacts, and there has been no public information on the operation of the dams and their downstream impacts.”

THEY here comes from the news extracts. It refers to China government who already built several hydropower dams on the upstream the Mekong. They operate the dams without giving information and downstream impact to the public.

Example9: (G66) Hug Chiang Khong Group, Thai NGO says “The governments have to stop looking only at their own territory. To do this is not reflecting the reality of our shared river. We the people should be able to take a key part in decision-making processes over the future of the rivers.”

THEY here come from the news extracts. It refers to Thai government who secretly support the investment on hydropower in Lao PDR. A group of Thai locals and NGO are making request to Thai government not only to concern about the state’s business, they rather concern people’s opinions and take their voices into decision making process.

6.4 Description of Occurrence and Co-occurrence of Discursive Strategies that Express Ideological Beliefs Occurred in the Selection of the News Headlines and Leads in the News Relevant to the Context of the Hydropower Dam Projects on the Lower Mekong

According to discursive structures and strategies involved in ideological based description of the OTHER proposed by Van Dijk (1995), there are 12 in category: 1) Negative Lexicalization, 2) Hyperbole, 3) Compassion Move, 4) Apparent Altruism Move 5) Apparent Honesty Move, 6) Negative Comparison, 7) Generalization, 8) Concretization, 9) Alliteration, 10) Warning, 11) Norm and Value Violation and 12) Presupposition, the analysis of news selection (108 pieces), including their headlines and leads was conducted under the underlying discursive strategies of ideological discourse. The analysis investigated what are discursive strategies that employed to establish ideological discourses of various social groups interplayed in the context of Hydropower dams on the Lower Mekong as their representation appeared in a public sphere of the news.

The analysis revealed that eight categories of discursive strategies involved in ideological based description to represent the OTHER are employed in the news headlines and leads, there are 1) Negative lexicalization, 2) Hyperbole, 3) Negative Comparison, 4) Generalization, 5) Concretization, 6) Warning, 7) Norm and Value Violation and 8) Presupposition. The Occurrence and co-occurrence of discursive strategies are illustrated in the table below.

Table 6.1 Occurrence and Co-occurrence of Discursive Strategies Employed in the New Headlines and Their Leads

News Coding	Negative Lexicalization (52)	Hyperbole (11)	Negative Comparison (3)	Generalization (3)	Concretization (5)	Warning (32)	Norm and Value Violation (5)	Presupposition (74)
G1						✓		✓
G6						✓		✓
G7	✓					✓		✓
G9	✓	✓				✓		✓
G11	✓				✓	✓		✓
G16						✓		✓
G17	✓					✓		✓
G18	✓					✓		✓
G19	✓							✓
G20								✓
G21	✓			✓				
G24	✓							✓
G25	✓					✓		✓
G29	✓							
G32	✓							✓
G33	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
G38								✓
G40	✓					✓		✓
G41						✓		
G43	✓	✓			✓			✓
G44	✓					✓		✓
G45	✓						✓	✓
G46	✓							
G49	✓							✓
G51	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓
G52	✓	✓					✓	✓
G53	✓					✓		
G54	✓					✓		✓
G57	✓							
G66	✓							✓

Table 6.1 (Continued)

News Coding	Negative Lexicalization (52)	Hyperbole (11)	Negative Comparison (3)	Generalization (3)	Concretization (5)	Warning (32)	Norm and Value Violation (5)	Presupp osition (74)
G67	✓	✓				✓		✓
G71	✓	✓	✓			✓		
G72	✓					✓		✓
G77	✓					✓		✓
G78	✓					✓		
G92	✓					✓		✓
G93	✓					✓		✓
G94	✓					✓	✓	✓
G99	✓					✓		✓
G111	✓					✓		✓
G112	✓					✓		✓
G114	✓					✓		✓
G115	✓					✓		✓
G117	✓							
G123	✓							✓
G127	✓							✓
G128	✓	✓						
G131	✓							✓
G133	✓							✓
G136	✓					✓		✓
G150	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓
G166	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
N1	✓							✓
N2								✓
N4								✓
N5								✓
N6	✓							✓
N7								
N8								
N9								
N10								
N11								✓
N12								✓
N13								
N14								✓
N15	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓
N16								
N17	✓					✓		✓
N19								✓
N20								✓
N23								
N25								✓
N26								✓

Table 6.1 (Continued)

News Coding	Negative Lexicalization (52)	Hyperbole (11)	Negative Comparison (3)	Generalization (3)	Concretization (5)	Warning (32)	Norm and Value Violation (5)	Presupp osition (74)
N28								
N29								
N30								✓
N31								✓
N32								✓
N33	✓							✓
N34								
N35								
N36								✓
N37								✓
N38								✓
N39								
N40								✓
N41								✓
N42							✓	
N43								
N44								
N45								
N46								
N47								
N48			✓					✓
N49								
N50								✓
N51	✓							✓
N52								
N53								
N54								✓
N55								✓
N56								✓
N57								
N58								✓
N59								✓
N63								
N64								
N65								✓

According to the table, eight discursive strategies with their descriptions and example will be given below.

1) Negative Lexicalization is a selection of negative words to describe the actions of the OTHERS. The Negative Lexicalization discursive strategy employed in the news headlines and leads are shown below. It is note that under the

context of Mekong hydropower dams, the choice of negative lexicons here can be a wide variety of negative vocabularies which signify negative socio-cultural impact to the Mekong regions i.e. people and communities, ecosystem of the river, food security and economic growth. Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1: (G18) Mekong basin dams pose danger: experts...(Lead) Countries in the Mekong River basin have been urged to stop building hydroelectric dams on the river's main stream as alluvial soil and vital nutrients are being seriously depleted...

Example2: (G19) Dams, drought and disaster along the Mekong river...(Lead) The dry months before the monsoon rains arrive are often tough for Cambodian fishermen and farmers. But with rivers drying up and drinking water running out, conditions have rarely been as bad as they are now...

Example3: (G32) Lao hydropower project death sentence for Mekong fish...(lead)The construction of the Don Sahong hydropower project in southern Laos' Champasak Province has cut off a main fish migration channel in the Mekong River, compromising the livelihoods of millions of people along the river basin...

Example4: (24) Multiple dams are an ominous threat to life on the Mekong River...(Lead) A total of 11 dams are planned along the Mekong, storing up trouble for millions of people, the world's largest inland fishery and critically endangered species...

Example5: (G21) 'Vicious capitalism' speeds up completion of first mainstream dam in ...(Lead) Like many hydropower projects, the Xayaburi Dam in northern Laos comes with pros and cons. While the Lao government and investors focus on economic benefits, environmentalists and residents voice concerns over risks it may bring to the Mekong...

According to the collection of the news headlines and their leads, the representation of the lexicons used to present news related to the Mekong hydropower dams are the selection of negative lexicons, the several voices of civil society that they have negative thinking about the idea of the dam projects.

2) Hyperbole is a description of event or action in strongly exaggerated terms. Gibbs (2000, p. 12) also regards hyperbole together with sarcasm, understatement, jocularity and rhetorical questions as forms of verbal irony. Hyperbole has been explaining as the cognitive processes involved in understanding (Winner et al., 1987; Gibbs et al., 1993; Colston & O'Brien, 2000b; Leggitt & Gibbs, 2000). Smith's (1657) *Mysterie of Rhetorique Unvaild*, hyperbole is defined as: "when the trope is exceedingly enlarged, or when the change of signification is very high and lofty, or when in advancing or repressing one speaks much more than is precisely true, yea above all belief" (Smith, 167, p. 54). Another example, to say one has not seen someone for ages may not normally have an exaggerated or overstated force, such is the frequency and conventionality of the expression for ages, simply meaning 'for a long time'. Similarly, a verb such as be dying to (e.g. dying to meet someone) may not be heard as exaggerated or overstated at all, even though counterfactual in its literal interpretation.

Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1:(G33) A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers...(lead) Climate change is expected to increase global competition for water. Under President Xi Jinping, China has been aggressively asserting claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks of rock into artificial islands. Another water fight could be just as explosive — this one involving fresh water...

Example2: (G43) Chinese dams draining the life from Mekong River

Example3: (G51) Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'?... (lead) Laos' planned dams will halve (split) fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study

Example 4: (G9) River of change: Hydropower dams and the Mekong River uncertain... (lead) irrevocably change? is underway up river and downriver- from China to the Mekong delta- as countries along the river length pursue hydroelectric dams as a path to power generation...

Can these two up there be classified as negative lexicalization?

Example5:(G128) Misery on the Mekong... (lead)A new front line in the global battle over water emerges as China dams the mighty river to quench its thirst for hydro-electric power

3) Negative Comparison is to emphasize the bad qualities of the OTHER by comparing the target person or outgroup with a generally recognized BAD person or outgroup. George Bush is comparison of Saddam Hussein with Hitler during the Gulf War is a well-known example. Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1: (G71) China and the Mekong Delta: Water Savior or Water Tyrant? | Don't be fooled by reports about China discharging water to alleviate drought along the Mekong.

Example2: (G51) Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'...(lead)Laos' planned dams will halve fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study. Experts are warning that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face depleting fish stocks, further erosion of the coastline and rising salinity that will make rice fields uncultivable...

Example3: (N48) A water war in Asia?... (lead) Tensions over water are rising in Asia - and not only because of conflicting maritime claims. While territorial disputes, such as in the South China Sea, attract the most attention - after all, they threaten safety and freedom of navigation, which affects outside powers as well - the strategic ramifications of competition over transnationally shared freshwater resources are just as ominous...

4) Generalization is to generalize from one person or a small group to a larger group or category. Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1: (G21)'Vicious capitalism' speeds up completion of first mainstream dam in

Example2: (G33) A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ...

Example3: (G166) Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions... (lead) In November Laos notified its neighbours—Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam—of its intention to move forward with a contentious third hydropower dam on the Mekong River, the Pak Beng dam. The announcement indicates that despite the environmental concerns of other countries that the Mekong flows through, particularly downstream countries Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will continue to pursue its goal of becoming the "Battery of South-east Asia." Although relations between the three countries remain good at present, we caution that the pursuit of such a policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources.

5) Concretization is to emphasize THEIR negative acts in detail, in concrete and visualizable terms. Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1: (G11) More Alarms Over Next Hydropower Dam in Laos ... (lead) The Laos government is pressing ahead with a new dam on the Lower Mekong River, leading scientists and activists to warn of growing threats to regional food security...

Example2: (G33) A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ... (lead) Climate change is expected to increase global competition for water. Under President Xi Jinping, China has been aggressively asserting claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks of rock into artificial islands. Another water fight could be just as explosive—this one involving fresh water...

Example3: (G43) Chinese dams draining the life from Mekong River

Example4: (G150) China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism... (lead) China rejected criticism yesterday of its dams on the shrinking Mekong

River, telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people...

Example5: (N15) The politics of power... (lead) Sudden changes in energy policy have become as predictable as an oil price hike ahead of a major national holiday. But even taking into account the capricious nature of such policies and the impact of external factors outside our control, the last few months have been as turbulent as a roller-coaster ride.

6) Warning is one of discursive strategies that opinion article in the news may emphasize possible threats and terror even without evidence about facts or probable developments. The choice of word used here can be the terms which signify concerns over the negative impact to the Mekong hydropower dam projects. Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1: (G18) Mekong basin dams pose danger: experts ... (lead) Countries in the Mekong River basin have been urged to stop building hydroelectric dams on the river's main stream as alluvial soil and vital nutrients are being seriously depleted.

Example2: (G40) China's Huge Dam Projects Will Threaten Southeast Asia As Water ... (lead) A river is born high in the Tibetan Plateau, before snaking its way 3,000 miles south and emptying itself into the South China Sea. On its journey, it passes through six countries, sustaining their ecosystems and local economies, its fisheries providing a lifeline for 60 million people in its lower basin.

Example3: (G51) Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'.. (lead) Laos' planned dams will halve (split) fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study. Experts are warning that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face depleting (fish stocks, further erosion of the coastline and rising salinity that will make rice fields uncultivable.

Example4: (G54) Hydropower threatens Mekong ecosystem ... (lead) Scientists have once again warned against the 12 hydropower projects along the Mekong River that will cause non-recoverable damages to the

river's ecosystem as well as threaten food security of residents in the riparian countries.

Example5: (G111) UN report cites Chinese dams as threat to Mekong... (lead) China's plans to build a series of eight dams on the upper reaches of the Mekong River have come under criticism by the United Nations, which released a report last week stating that the Chinese plan may pose the single greatest threat to the river."

7) Norm and Value Violation is the most fundamental way to establish distinction between THEM and US, it is not only to describe ourselves in a positive way with nice terms and them in negative terms, but to emphasize that OTHERS violate the norms and values we hold. The choice of the terms can be seen as "blames" others. Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1: (G45) China rejects Mekong River dam criticism...(lead) China has rejected claims that its dams on the Mekong River are to blame for record low water levels in downstream nations...

Example2: (G52) Chinese dams blamed for exacerbating (worsen) Southeast Asian ... (lead) As China opened one of its six dams on the upper Mekong River last month to help parched Southeast Asian countries down river cope with a record drought, it was hailed as benevolent (kind) water diplomacy...

Example3: (G94) Laos has been accused of starting work on the controversial Mekong dam without formal approval... (lead)Environmentalists opposed to the construction on one of Asia's most important rivers have accused the authorities of going ahead with plans to build roads and remove villagers, the Independent reports...

Example4: (G150) China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism... (lead) Environmentalists opposed to the construction on one of Asia's most important rivers have accused the authorities of going ahead with plans to build roads and remove villagers, the Independent reports...

Example5: (N42) HAT GYI SCHEME FOR SALWEEN CRITICISED
 Villagers 'ignored' in dam study... (lead) China rejected criticism yesterday of its dams on the shrinking Mekong River, telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people...

The selection of verbal phrases and noun phrases employed in the news headlines and leads has indicated the ongoing situation of the Mekong hydropower dam development. Hydropower development on the Mekong is initiated by China and Lao governments, this social event may seem to be a violation to norms and values on exploiting the Mekong, in which the river is shared by many nations. It implied that the two mentioned nations are ignoring the criticism and the concerns of other Mekong nations on the negative socio-cultural impact of the mega dams to the Mekong's community in terms of its ecosystem, fish, livelihood and etc.

8) Presupposition is a semantic device to indirectly emphasize our good and their bad ones is presupposition. These properties are simply assumed to be known, as if they were common sense, and need not to be specifically asserted. Presupposition is to examine because in discourse (i.e. when examining bodies of naturally occurring texts) it has been linked to manipulation by presenting certain beliefs as true/given/unquestionable, and shared background knowledge necessary for indirect ideological statements to be communicated without being explicitly asserted and justified. Presupposition is primarily a figure-ground distinction. The presupposed knowledge occurs in the text as 'setting the background', with the foregrounded knowledge being presented as new or significant (Marmaridou, 2000). Examples derived from the news are given here.

Example1: (G25) NGOs slam the new Mekong dam ...

It presupposes>> Mekong dam (s) already existed and there will be another one.

Example2: (G17) China Hydropower Having Major Impact Along Mekong River...

It presupposes>> China hydropower dams were built on The Mekong.

Example3: (G20) Laos moves ahead with third contentious Mekong dam...

It presupposes>> Laos already constructed two dams on the Mekong River.

Example4: (G6) Laos Dam Poses Environmental Dangers to Lower Mekong Basin...It presupposes>> Laos Dam is dangerous to environmental of the Lower Mekong Basin.

Example5: (G45) China rejects Mekong River dam criticism...It presupposes>> A criticism on the China's dam on the Mekong was already made.

To Sum, regard to the 12 ideological discursive strategies involved in ideological based description to represent the OTHER guided by Van Dijk, there are only 8 categories of discursive strategies found in the news headlines and leads, other four categories are not noticed i.e. Compassion move, Apparent Alliteration Move, Apparent Honest Move and Alliteration. Among the eight discursive strategies, three distinct discursive strategies that most frequently employed in the news headlines and leads, they are 1) Presupposition (74 news), 2) Negative lexicalization (52 news) and 3) Warning (32 news) respectively.

6.4 Key Social Players Interplayed within the Context of Mekong Hydropower Development

According to the data of the study (108 news selection), the news selection has portrayed various opinions concerning the Mekong hydropower development. Those different opinions are from diverse social groups. They can be categorized based on their opinions and interests. Categorization of key social players help to reveal the interplay between text, discursive practice and sociocultural practice. The finding reveals the following discursive strategies: 1) representation of social group and social identity, 2) representation social actors interplayed in the context of Mekong hydropower development, 3) representation of social group identity and (iv) representation of occurrence and co-occurrence of discursive strategies that express ideological beliefs, these analysis profoundly help to understand the context of Mekong hydropower development as well as its diverse key social players who have

produce their own different discourses related to such context. The analysis of discursive strategy enable us to classify social members into 3 group 1) Pro-dam is defined as the advocacy groups who support the idea of Mekong hydropower dams or 2) Anti-dam is defined as non-advocacy groups who oppose the Mekong hydropower dams. 3) Compromising group who neither agrees nor antis the dams, but the group is attempting to seek for the compromising mean whereby the sustainability and development can be well established. They are aiming to reach the best practice to deal with inevitable global development which refers to sustainable development in the context of Mekong hydropower development in the region.

Table 6.2 Groups of Opinions as Social Players in the context of Mekong Hydropower Development

Group of Opinions	Key Players
Pro-Dam	1) Government and state agencies (China, Lao PDR, Cambodia) 2) State agencies and State-enterprise (Egat Thailand) 3) Capital group who give financial support to developers 4) Private Developers 5) Inter-state (Lancang-Mekong Cooperation)
Anti-Dam	1) State/ Government (USA, Vietnam, Cambodia) 2) Academia 3) Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) 4) UN (United Nations) 5) Local people who are affected from the dams 6) Assembly of the Poor (AOP)
Compromising Group	1) Inter-state Mekong River Commission (MRC) 2) World Bank Group (WBG) 3) Asian Development Bank (ADB)

1) PRO-DAM group or advocacy group is defined as a group who supports idea of hydropower dams on the Mekong. This group is also in charge of the whole cycle of hydropower development on the region- policy making, investment, construction, and energy imparter, and this cycle I would call them the Hydropower development agents. The opinion in promoting hydropower development can be found in various groups: 1) State/Government (China, Lao PDR, Thailand, Cambodia, 2) State-enterprise (EGAT Thailand), 3) Financial Institutions/ commercial banks, 4) Private Developers and 5) Government Agencies (Lancang-Mekong Cooperation). The examples from the data are presented as follows.

(1) State/Government (China, Lao PDR, Thailand, Cambodia)

Examples from the news extract:

Lao PDR/G49: “We understand the concerns of neighbouring countries. We will keep up our efforts to persuade them and make them understand why Laos needs to construct this dam,” Daovong Phonekeo, deputy director general of Laos state media signalled that construction was expected to begin soon, saying the Laos government “has full rights” to decide whether to approve construction of the dam. “To reach the target, Laos needs development projects, including hydropower,” Daovong said

Lao PDR/G51: "In Thailand, they are more than willing to buy cheaper hydropower from Laos to replace gas-fired power projects... so I don't notice any slowdown in power projects," Laos' vice-minister for energy ViraphonhViravong told Reuters sidelines of the Singapore International Energy Week last week on the

China Government/G150: China rejected criticism yesterday of its dams on the shrinking Mekong River, telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people. At a landmark meeting with the heads of four Southeast Asian nations, Beijing's Vice Foreign Minister Song Tao denied activists' criticism that the hydropower dams had exacerbated decades-low water levels downstream.

"Statistics show that the recent drought that hit the whole river basin is attributable to the extreme dry weather, and the water level decline of the Mekong River has nothing to do with the hydropower development," he said.

"China itself is also a victim of the present severe drought," Song told the summit, where the four MRC states signed a treaty pledging to prioritise tackling climate change and responding to drought. The so-called "Mighty Mekong" has dropped to its lowest level in 50 years in northern Thailand and Laos, alarming communities who depend on the critical waterway for food, transport, drinking water and irrigation

China Government/ G45: China has rejected claims that its dams on the Mekong River are to blame for record low water levels in downstream nations.

Speaking at a summit in Thailand, China's vice foreign minister said drought and not hydropower was to blame for the reduced river flow.

Cambodia Government/ G25: TeNavuth, the secretary-general of the Cambodia National Mekong Committee (CNMC), could not be reached for comment and Water Resources Hydrology and River Works department spokesman Yin Savuth declined to comment, telling Khmer Times he did not have enough information. The Cambodian government has acknowledged the protests and concerns of residents, but said it is important for citizens to have access to stable energy sources which can help the country develop.

Cambodia Government/ G29: The Ministry of Mines and Energy has not answered requests for comments about the project. Cambodia's energy needs are increasing quickly. The dam is supposed to provide electricity for five Cambodian provinces. The project is a joint effort by Cambodian, Chinese and Vietnamese companies.

Cambodia Government G29: The Ministry of Mines and Energy has not answered requests for comments about the project. Cambodia's energy needs are increasing quickly. The dam is supposed to provide electricity for five Cambodian provinces. The project is a joint effort by Cambodian, Chinese and Vietnamese companies.

Thai Government/N1: In June, the Thai Energy Ministry announced plans to promote development of the "Asean Power Grid". Under a new agreement, Thailand would act as a middleman, transmitting electricity it purchases from Laos through its national grid to Malaysia. The initial proposal is to transmit 100MW to the southern neighbour.

Thai Government/N37: Energy Minister Gen Anantaporn Kanjanarat said Thailand was looking for additional power supply from Laos, but insisted the electricity deals from neighbouring countries will be based largely on the principle that it is only for energy that Thailand cannot produce.

Thai Government/N6: Thailand and Laos should delay signing deals for 1,500 megawatts of hydroelectricity this month until the social and environmental impact from past projects is addressed, the International Rivers Network said yesterday. Thailand and Laos plan to sign four new power purchase agreements from hydro-electric dams in Laos before the Dec 23 general elections in Thailand, which will usher in a new government.

(2) State-enterprise (Egat Thailand)

Examples from the news extract:

Egat Thailand/ N1: Close to Thailand's northern border, the 1,285MW Xayaburi dam on the Mekong River in Laos is planned for completion in 2019. As the dam's main client, Egat has signed a 29-year power purchase agreement (PPA) with the developer, a Thai consortium led by Ch Karnchang Plc. Another proposed hydropower project on the Mekong mainstream, the 912MW Pak Beng Dam in Laos, would also export electricity to Thailand. It awaits construction by Thai and Chinese developers, despite serious concerns over environmental impacts in Thailand.

Egat Thailand/ N8: The Electricity Authority of Thailand targets early next year to set up the joint venture to develop the Hatgyi dam construction project on the Salween River of Burma.

Egat governor Sombat Santijaree said yesterday that the feasibility study and the environmental impact assessment had been completed and the project would yield a high return while bolstering the country's energy security.

(3) Financial Institutions/commercial Banks

Examples from the news extract:

EXIM Thailand/N5: In addition, the EXIM Thailand Board of Directors visited the Nam Ngum 2 dam and hydropower plant construction project developed by SouthEast Asia Energy Limited (SEAN). Among SEAN shareholders are Thailand's CH. Karnchang Public Company Limited, Ratchaburi Electricity Generating Holding Public Company Limited and Bangkok Expressway Public Company Limited as well as Lao PDR's Electricite du Laos. Commencing construction in early 2006, the project has now reached over 40% completion with the construction of its reservoir scheduled for completion by the end of 2009 and project commissioning anticipated in 2010. The hydropower plant has an estimated power generation capacity of 2,218 GWh per year.

EXIM Thailand/N6: EXIM Thailand is fully prepared to provide loans and equity financing to support Thai investments in hydropower development projects in Lao PDR to promote clean energy utilization and sustainable economic advancement for both Thailand and Lao PDR.

(4) Private Developers

Examples from the news extract:

Ch Karnchang Plc Thailand/N1: Close to Thailand's northern border, the 1,285MW Xayaburi dam on the Mekong River in Laos is planned for completion in 2019. As the dam's main client, Egat has signed a 29-year power purchase agreement (PPA) with the developer, a Thai consortium led by Ch Karnchang Plc.

Ch Karnchang Plc Thailand/N5: In addition, the EXIM Thailand Board of Directors visited the Nam Ngum 2 dam and hydropower plant construction project developed by SouthEast Asia Energy Limited (SEAN). Among SEAN shareholders are Thailand's CH. Karnchang Public Company Limited, Ratchaburi Electricity Generating Holding Public Company Limited and

Bangkok Expressway Public Company Limited as well as Lao PDR's Electricite du Laos. Commencing construction in early 2006, the project has now reached over 40% completion with the construction of its reservoir scheduled for completion by the end of 2009 and project commissioning anticipated in 2010. The hydropower plant has an estimated power generation capacity of 2,218 GWh per year.

(5) Government Agencies (Lancang-Mekong Cooperation)

Examples from the news extract:

China Government/G19: Perhaps stung by the accusation that its dam building is to blame for worsening the drought, China established a partnership in March between the six Mekong countries. Called the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation, it aims to focus on development and encourage "good neighbourliness," according to a statement after a heads of state meeting.

China's other recent intervention was to release water from its Jinghong hydropower station in southwestern

The LMC addressed by NGO/G33: The LMC "is about China's economic influence in the region, rather than an effort to share and manage the water from the Mekong," said PanNature's Trinh. China, he added, is trying to boost its clout through the new, Chinese-backed Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and President Xi Jinping's calls to revive the old Silk Road trading routes. "They hold the upstream water and they have a lot of money," Trinh said. "The future looks very dark to us."

2) ANTI-DAM group is defined as the proponents who oppose the Mekong hydropower dams. The members of the group have addressed their concerns on the massive impact from the mega dam construction. They consider the huge dams are the threat to the Mekong region in terms of environment, hydrology change, climate change, drought, flooding, agriculture, fish species and fish stock and local livelihood. These further huge damages of the Mekong's ecology can be seen as an enormous lost of the Mekong nations in which it cannot be regained. This group of

opinion is found in various social groups: (1) State or Government (USA, Vietnam, Cambodia), (2) Academia, (3) NGOs, (4) UN (United Nations), and (5) Local people who are affected from the dams. The examples from the news are shown as follows.

(1) State/ Government (USA, Vietnam, Cambodia)

Examples from the news extract:

Vietnam G1: Vietnam wants Lao to reconsider the Pak Beng hydropower project as its environmental impacts to the Mekong Delta will strike Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos badly.

The Mekong Delta will disappear in the next several decades once Pak Beng Dam and another 10 planned hydropower dams are built on the Mekong River in Laos and Cambodia, warned environmental experts.

“Vietnam wants all upstream Mekong River nations to adopt proper policies in exploiting the river, especially in hydropower dam construction, in order to ensure rights for downstream nations, like Vietnam,” Minister of Natural Resources and Environment and chairman of the Vietnam Mekong River Commission, Tran Hong Ha, said at a conference on the issue last weekend in the Mekong Delta city of Can Tho. “Vietnam is seriously worried about the increasing exploitation of hydropower in the Mekong River in recent years by upstream nations. Vietnam has recently suffered severe drought, saline intrusion and land sinking,” he added.

Vietnam/G49: Vietnam in particular expressed “deep and serious concerns” about a lack of adequate assessments, calling for the deferment of planned hydropower projects on the mainstream Mekong for at least 10 years.

Vietnam/G52: Vietnam says the saltwater intrusion into its southern Mekong Delta is unprecedented. In mid-March, it asked China to double the amount of water discharged from its Jinghong dam in Yunnan province. China agreed and the increased water flow is expected to continue until April 10.

Ma QuangTrung, a department director at Vietnam's Agriculture Ministry, said discharges from the Jinghong dam might help reduce fresh water shortages for 575,000 Vietnamese, but are unlikely to ease the drought overall. Vietnam is so far downstream that only a small portion of the

discharged water will reach it. He blames the drought on El Nino and Mekong dams.

Vietnam and Cambodia/G53: Vietnam and Cambodia have made public calls for the project to be postponed pending further studies, while state-controlled media in Vietnam has been uncharacteristically critical, which suggests behind-the-scenes diplomacy had failed. Vietnamese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Nguyen Phuong said Mekong countries “must cooperate closely in exploiting and using natural resources in a fair and proper manner,” while Watt Botkosol, deputy secretary general of Cambodia’s National Mekong Committee, called for a thorough study on the “impact on the social economy that millions of people rely on.”

Vietnam/ G66: Vietnam has expressed increasing concern over the change in quantity and quality of water, the loss of sedimentation and intrusion of saline water into agriculture and fishery production areas both because of hydropower dams and climate change.

Vietnam/ G67: Vietnam proposed that this project — and other hydropower projects planned for the Mekong mainstream — be delayed for at least 10 years.

“The deferment should be positively seen as a way to provide much-needed time for riparian governments to carry out comprehensive and more specific quantitative studies on all possible cumulative impacts,” Le DucTrung, head of Vietnam's delegation, said in the MRC statement. “The deferment would enable the country to secure better understanding and the confidence of the public and local communities.”

USA/G78: The recent announcement is not the first delay for the dam, which would be the first across the main stream of the Mekong and would reportedly cost \$3.5 billion. In July, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said Laos took a “forward-leaning position” by delaying dam construction, according to the Associated Press Laos should delay the dams construction

USA/G49: There is also concern in the United States, where Senator Jim Webb, head of a congressional committee on Southeast Asia, said last week that signs Laos may press ahead with the dam were “very troubling.”

“Numerous scientific studies have concluded that construction of the Xayaburi Dam and other proposed mainstream dams will have devastating environmental, economic, and social consequences for the entire Mekong sub-region,” he said in a statement

USA/G129: “The Mekong River Commission’s efforts to preserve the ecological and economic stability of the lower Mekong region demonstrate a willingness to respect the riparian water rights of other river basin countries and to take into account proper environmental standards when considering construction projects,” said Senator Webb. “The United States and the global community have a strategic and moral obligation to preserve the health and wellbeing of the people who depend on the Mekong River for their livelihoods and way of life.”

USA/N17: According to Bualuang, the US Congress, which has influence on the MRC, seems to be opposed to Xayaburi for its possible impact on the environment.

(2) Academia

Examples from the News Extract:

Academic/G1: “Laos should take additional time for consultation and temporarily delay the construction plan for Pak Beng Dam because all the environmental impact figures of the project are very backward, insufficient and fail to follow international standards,” said Dr Le Anh Tuan, deputy head of the Can Tho University Climate Change Research Institute. “Therefore, all suggestion from Vietnamese and international experts about how to limit environmental impacts for the project seem meaningless,” he added. “Pak Beng Dam will be built in a region prone to earthquakes. Within 10–20 years, an earthquake measuring 5 or 6 on the Richter scale could occur, and within 50 years, it would be stronger at 7 on the Richter scale. It is dangerous to build

even one hydropower plant in the region,” said Professor Nguyen Ngoc Tran, former deputy head of the National Assembly’s Foreign Affairs Commission.

Academic/G9: Hydropower projects cost hundreds of millions of dollars to build, and never seem to produce the output that was expected, said Jennifer Turner, director of the China Environment Forum at the Wilson Center. “The fact is the current existing dams are not producing, and sometimes they are not producing half the amount of electricity that they are supposed to.

Fisheries expert/G11: Chris Barlow, a with the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) says once the dams are in place, the impact on fish stocks will be immediate.

“As soon as these mainstream dams are built in Laos, they will start to have an immediate impact on fisheries recruitment and therefore the size of fish populations,” Barlow said. He warned the situation was leading to a regional food crisis. “The time of government’s responding is over. It’s over in terms of maintaining the fisheries stocks

Study/G17: Hydropower facilities along the upper reaches of the Lancang, which becomes the Mekong River as it flows out of China, have led to major river-flow changes affecting Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, according to a study from Finland’s Aalto University.

The study found river-flow changes affecting riverside communities’ ecology, livelihood and food security in those countries. It found that since 2011, hydropower facilities on the China part of the river have contributed to major increases in dry season flows and decreased flows during the wet season, when annual flooding helps ecosystems in the Mekong, a river basin system that sustains one of the world’s largest inland fisheries.

Study/G29: A report published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences in 2012 warns of a drop in fish stocks. It says the Mekong River will lose more than nine percent of its fisheries because of the Lower Se San 2 dam. An environmental study sought by the developer of the dam and approved by Cambodia’s government also found problems. In 2010, it said that fish populations would be severely hurt because the dam would

block migratory species of fish. A debate continues over whether the economic gains and electricity produced by the dam will be greater than the loss of fish and water

(3) NGOs

Examples from the news extract:

International River/G6: Maureen Harris, Southeast Asia Program Director of the organization, said in an exclusive response to VnExpress International that many concerns and issues raised about the prior consultation for the Xayaburi and Don Sahong Dams have not been addressed or resolved.

"We are worried that the same will happen with Pak Beng," she said, there were flaws and weaknesses during the prior consultation process for Don Sahong and Xayaburi.

Vietnam and other governments had raised concerns about the transboundary impacts of the projects and requested further studies and transboundary environmental impact assessments, but no fully addressed during the prior consultation.

Lao government moved forward with both Xayaburi and Don Sahong, no agreement was reached between the regional governments on how to resolve the concerns

Stakeholders were not given enough time to review project documents and affected communities were often not able to join consultation meetings. The countries involved should request clear answers from the Lao government about any of their concerns.

Vietnam and other governments should call for a halt to the process until the study of impacts and the review of the consultation procedures are completed. "We urge Vietnam and other countries to arrange consultation meetings that transparently share information about project impacts and include the participation of communities," she said.

The Mekong dams effects can be seen as 1) biodiversity, would greatly increase impacts on fisheries, sediment and hydrological flows around the

river basin. 2) resettlement of an estimated 6,700 people, with 25 villages in Laos and two in Thailand directly affected, according to International Rivers.

Plan International/G19: drought-affected communities in Cambodia are desperately awaiting the arrival of the monsoon rains. Even after they arrive, around the beginning of June, it will take some time before the situation returns to normal, warned Yi Kim Than, who works on drought response with Plan International.

“It will still be a few months before the ponds, streams and groundwater will fill up and people have water,” he said.

NGO/G25 Environmental organizations and civil society groups have expressed concern at plans to build another dam along the Mekong River in Laos and asked the Lao government to suspend the project due to the effects it will have on communities, water flow and fishery resources in Cambodia.

In a joint statement, the Rivers Coalition in Cambodia (RCC) said Laos’ Pak Beng Hydropower Dam was a danger to biodiversity along the Mekong River and may have grievous effects on a source of food for millions of citizens in the countries downstream.

They asked the Lao government to stop consultations on the project until the Mekong River Commission (MRC) council finishes its research into how groups can mitigate the damage done by the dam. “We urge the government to recognize and support all of these requests,” they wrote.

NGO/G41: Several dams upstream are already accused of disturbing the ecology of the river, which stretches nearly 5,000 km (8,047 miles) from Tibet in China to the sea. According to International Rivers (IR), an organisation working on trans-boundary rivers, China has built six "mega dams" on the river and is planning another 14 over the next 10 years

China's dam construction on the Upper Mekong has already had an impact downstream, especially along the Thai-Lao border where communities have suffered declining fisheries and changing water levels that are seriously affecting their livelihoods, the IR says in one report.

By changing the river's hydrology, blocking fish migration and affecting the river's ecology, the construction of dams on the Lower Mekong will have repercussions throughout the basin.

(4) The United Nations (UN)

Examples from the news extract:

G52: The current El Nino is one of the strongest climate events in the past 60 years "that is not over yet," said Kundhavi Kadiresan, assistant director-general at the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization. It is the main factor in the drought, but "dams along the Mekong can and certainly do cause some problems," she said.

G111: China's plans to build a series of eight dams on the upper reaches of the Mekong River have come under criticism by the United Nations, which released a report last week stating that the Chinese plan "may pose the single greatest threat to the river".

This dynamism will increase pressure on the river, but according to Mukand S Babel, one of the authors of the UN report, "The Mekong is in good condition at this time and can take more pressure such as irrigation development or industrial development."

The report did note that river basins along the Mekong including Tonle Sap in Cambodia, Nam Khan in Laos and Sekong-SesanSrepok in Vietnam and Cambodia are in danger from increasing water demand and development and called for coordinated planning by the region's governments to deal with existing and future problems before they get out of hand.

(5) Local People Who are Affected from the Dams

Examples from the news extract:

Local Vietnamese/G1: "Vietnam should prepare scenarios to cope with climate change, sea rising and impacts from hydropower dams on the Mekong River. We should request international support in protecting the Mekong River Delta," said Nguyen Thanh Hung, deputy chairman of Dong Thap Province People's Committee.

Local Cambodian/G9: Dams have already brought dramatic change to fishery communities, including Om Meng's is head of the local fishery

community in PattSanday commune in Cambodia's Kompong Thom province. "We experienced drought and that created a very difficult" Dams on the upper reaches of the Mekong have already affected the flow of water in Cambodia's Tonle Sap Lake. "China built many big dams upstream, and we saw decreased numbers of fish.

Locals Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand/G66: more than 100 people gathered in An Giang Province for the historic Mekong People's Forum, including community representatives from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand.

They released a statement titled "Mekong governments: Listen to the People!" to regional governments, which has been signed by more than 6,400 people living in the Mekong Basin.

The statement calls for the governments to listen to the concerns of the people, respect the rights of local communities to make decisions about the future of their lives and protecting their rivers.

The common problems and concerns about Mekong dams and their impact on fisheries, ecology, hydrology and the loss of land along the Mekong have been shared by people in Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia over the past two decades.

Local Chinese/G43: Crops along the banks face odd floods or drought. Fishermen say catches are down. The likely reason: six giant dams built hundreds of kilometres upstream in China.

3) Compromising group is defined as social parties who are not refuse the idea of hydropower development in the Mekong region, but they prefer not explicitly show their interest and support in hydropower industry. Instead, they may perform themselves as compromising group who aims to promote the concept of doing a better dam or sustainable hydropower where development and sustainability can be paralleled with a better practice. This group consists of (1) The Mekong River Commission (MRC), (2) the World Bank, and (3) The Asian Development Bank (ADB).

(1) Mekong River Commission (MRC)

Examples from the news extract:

MRC/G1: (MRC Vietnam) “Vietnam wants all upstream Mekong River nations to adopt proper policies in exploiting the river, especially in hydropower dam construction, in order to ensure rights for downstream nations, like Vietnam,” Minister of Natural Resources and Environment and chairman of the Vietnam Mekong River Commission, Tran Hong Ha, said at a conference on the issue last weekend in the Mekong Delta city of Can Tho. “Vietnam is seriously worried about the increasing exploitation of hydropower in the Mekong River in recent years by upstream nations. Vietnam has recently suffered severe drought, saline intrusion and land sinking,” he added. “Energy development trends in Laos are indispensable because hydropower is the only natural resource for Laos,” Minister Ha added. “To stop construction of hydropower dams is nearly impossible but we should contribute our ideals to limit maximum impact,” he added

MRC/G6: “Some impacts are unavoidable,” the email from the Mekong River Commission secretariat says, adding that implementing the recommended changes was beyond the commission’s mandate and “final decision[s] rest with the proposing country.”

MRC/G11: chief executive Pham Tuan Phan, in comments, said the commission’s role was a "platform" for cooperation, not a regulatory body. “The MRC is imperfect but it’s indispensable,” Phan told local media.

MRC/ G20: The Mekong River Commission, an organization that groups together Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand for joint management of the river, said in a statement it has received notice from Laos that it will undertake a process of consultation about the Pak Beng dam.

In the previous consultation cases for the Xayaburi and Don Sahong dams, Laos pressed forward with the projects despite vociferous objections from the other countries, scientists and conservationists.

MRC/G38: The MRC does not have a role to agree or disagree on the project of a sovereign country. In January 2015, the members of the Joint

Committee (JC) could not reach an agreement on what conditions could be applied to the construction and operation of the dam that would address the concerns of the notified countries. The views, concerns and recommendations of notified countries are reflected in the respective reply forms which available on MRC website

MRC/G49: A Strategic Environmental Assessment report commissioned by the MRC in October urged countries in the lower Mekong River region to delay any decisions about building hydropower dams for 10 years.

(2) World Bank Group (WBG)

Examples from the news extract:

WBG/ N2: The World Bank has given China's second-largest hydro project a satisfactory rating on the resettlement of 46,000 people, despite having no data to assess whether anyone is better or worse off. The US\$2.2-billion Ertan dam on the Yalong River in Sichuan, now in its eighth year of operation, received more than US\$1 billion in loans and a decade of technical assistance from the WB, the biggest loan package ever extended by the world's leading financier of large dams.

(3) Asian Development Bank (ADB)

Samples from the news extract:

ADB/G72: Chong Chi Nai, director of the ADB's Southeast Asian energy division, said the bank had no plans to finance hydropower projects on the Mekong, or any other mainstream rivers. "This is to allow further in-depth studies, to better understand and assess the potential impacts, and to allow for strengthening of management and regulatory processes to address social and environmental safeguards," he said. However, the ADB is not opposed in principal to hydropower development in Southeast Asia. "ADB believes that hydropower, when developed in an inclusive and sustainable manner — by adhering to the highest international social and environmental standards, and if

the revenues from such projects are used for poverty reduction — can make an important contribution to the low carbon footprint of developing member countries and the respective country's development,” Chong said.

6.6 Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, the social group is defined by social identity, in which based on mutual norms and values. The social group and social identity is also a representation of ideological discourse shared by the same group. Each group is struggle in power negotiation with other groups. As such, each group is attempting to strengthen the group by produce, reproduce and distribute the ideological discourse. This is the point where ideological discourses crashed. Each group possesses ideological discourse based on its norms and value of social group and social identity.

The texts (news) lay in the context of Mekong hydropower dam development have unwrapped social events, social interaction and social groups interplayed. Mekong hydropower development is controversial in which its discursive practice and socio-cultural practice has triggers different opinions from various social groups. The data reveals the use of pronouns WE and THEY that embedded in the texts of the news, these two pronouns signify the polarization of opinions that lead to be categorized into the social groups. The pronouns of WE and THEY are used by various social groups, in the context of the Mekong hydropower development, and they portrayed into two major opposite social groups: Pros and Cons.

The news (data) representing the social events have portrayed a wide range of opinions toward the same issue. Those diverse opinions from various social parties have also yield that people in the society view the issue of Mekong hydropower dams differently in terms of development based on their diverse background, belief and interest. The context has portrayed the key social players as well as their discursive practice and socio-cultural practice. To sum, there are three salient groups within the context: 1) Pro-Dam group, 2) Anti-Dam group, and 3) Compromising group. Those key social players will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study's analysis. The online news related to the context of Mekong hydropower was selected. Using the key words search "Mekong hydropower dam". Data are selected from the two search engines: NewsCenter and Google. After having selected the online news (108 pieces of online news presented from 1995-2017) as the major data for the analysis, the research has applied the (Critical Discourse Analysis) as an analytical tool the study. The study aims to answer three research questions: 1) What are the notions of Development constituted in the context of Mekong hydropower dams found in the news article? 2) What are the discursive strategies employed to establish the notions of Development in such context? 3) What are contending discourses generated under Development discourses in such context?

In order to answer the research questions, the researcher has employed the analytical framework of Critical discourse analysis (CDA) proposed by Fairclough (1995b), and Sociocognitive Approach (SCA) initiated by of Van Dijk (1988) to analyze discursive strategies presented in the selection of news. The analysis is conducted at two levels: micro structure analysis and macrostructure analysis. The micro analysis examines the presentation of the texts, while the macrostructure investigates discursive practice and sociocultural practice of development practice interacted in the context of Mekong hydropower development.

Apart from the two main theoretical frameworks above, the researcher also adopted the approach of ideological discourse analysis by Van Dijk to analyze discursive strategy found in the text. Ideologies are largely produced and reproduced in text and talk, discourse is reproduction of ideology (Van Dijk, 1998). Discourse analytical approach reveals how ideologies emerge, spread and used by social groups.

Ideology is the relationship between discourse and society that mediated by socio-cognitive. Based on social cognition, ideologies are defined as social beliefs that are shaped by members of particular social groups.

The selection of the online news appearing in the context of Mekong's hydropower development as the data of the analysis has revealed two salient analysis. First analysis put emphasis on discursive practice and sociocultural practice of the context, in which illustrate 1) analysis of text and text's production, distribution and consumption, and 2) analysis of key social players and their background in such context. Second analysis portrays the analysis on discursive strategies analysis which includes 1) analysis of social group and identity, and 2) analysis of description of occurrence and co-occurrence of discursive strategies that express ideological beliefs.

7.2 Discursive Practice and Sociocultural Practice in the Context of Mekong's Hydropower Development

This study refers to the selection of online news related to such context. The texts of the news represent the particular social events i.e. hydropower development in the Mekong region and reflect the condition and opinion surrounding the issue. The discursive practice and sociocultural practice also reveal the process in which the text is produced in such context. The analysis gives explanation on how the text is distributed to their audiences through various websites and news agencies.

7.3 Key Social Players Interplayed within the Context of Mekong Hydropower Development

The Pro-Dam group involved are those who express support or favorable view towards the construction of dams, they are the authority group like state, state-enterprise and Inter-state who has power to push forward the national policy to the practice. The group refers to some governments of the Mekong nations (Laos, China and Thailand) who support the idea of hydropower development on the Mekong. They are also those at the level of policy makers of the countries who determine the

national policy that legitimate activities related to the hydropower dams construction on the Mekong.

The state-enterprise (e.g. Egat Thailand) is a state agent who is able to do business with the state's authority in its hands (i.e. investment). The private developers group who have concession for the dams construction i.e. Ch Karnchang Plc Thailand, EGCO Thailand, Ptt Thailand, BEM Thailand, CP group Thailand and Italian-Thai Development. The last sub- group is the inter-state organization, Lancang Mekong Cooperation, the brand new established inter-state organization is the cooperation among the Mekong countries in a particular issue i.e. hydropower development on the Mekong. Those mentioned above may perceive hydropower dam in a similar fashion- an opportunity to develop economic growth in the nation and the region.

1) Hydropower is viewed as an opportunity for economy development: hydropower is viewed of a promising renewable energy which would be a vital source for further energy supply. Laos strongly claimed its own right to build the hydropower dams and aims to be an energy hub of Asian by selling energy to other Mekong nations, and one of the major customers is Thailand. China rejected the blame of being a cause for the drought of downstream nations and the changing flow of the Mekong due to Chinese dams upstream. Thai and Cambodia governments claim that hydropower is crucial for national's energy security.

2) Hydropower is seen as a product for sell: with massive investment in hydropower, the outcome product is electricity that can be sold with huge return profit. This business is claimed in helping to improve national economic growth and reduce poverty of the country and the region. Laos warships the hydropower development as a hero that helps eradicate poverty and enhances economic growth of the country.

3) Hydropower is perceived as business and investment with good return profit. The capital group (Thai commercial banks: Bangkok Bank, Krunthai Bank, Kasikorn Bank, Siam Commercial bank, TESCO and EXIM bank) who give financial support to the private developers (retrieved from <https://voicetv.co.th/>) may see hydropower dams as a promising business for investors, and the developers of the

hydropower dams are big customers with the big loan. So the banks can expect huge return interest as profit from the loans.

4) Hydropower is manipulated as hegemonic power of China over the region. The Lancan –Mekong Cooperation (LMC), the inter-state with China backed claims that the organization would focus on development and encourage “good neighborliness” among the region. The LMC is an indication of a stronger influence of China in the region, and it also signals water diplomacy- the one who can control the river’s flow and the energy resource is the one has power over the region.

The Anti-Dam may see the hydropower dams as massive threat to the Mekong’s ecology and the Mekong community (Mekong nations) at large. They also view the Mekong as an international river that has been shared as valuable asset by several nations, thus any exploitation of the Mekong should be based on the consensus of the Mekong nations, not by some groups. The mega construction and operation of the dams on the mainstream Mekong without an acceptable consensus from other Mekong nations therefore seemed to be a violation to other members of the Mekong.

The members of the Anti-Dam group are from various social groups:

1) The governments like Vietnam, Cambodia and USA view the hydropower dams as the exploitation of the Mekong in unfair and improper manner because it affects social economy and livelihood of millions of people who rely on the Mekong. The mega dams have negative impact in terms of ecology and environment to the countries downstream the dams. The changing of the river’s flows due to the upstream dams has resulted to the change in quantity and quality of the water which has strong effect to the fishery production and agriculture.

2) The academia (university professors, researchers, experts and scientists) and

3) NGOs view the hydropower development in a similar fashion. They may perceive the hydropower dams as an enormous threat to the Mekong’s ecology and the Mekong’s communities. However, the NGOs also see the Mekong dams as a social event in which reflects social inequality. The affected communities from the dams have no access to raise their voices and participation in the state’s policy in making the dams. It seemed that their right is oppressed by the state’s policy, and also

the state's policy seemed intentionally not to include the civil voices and participations in to account at the first place.

4) The fourth member of the Anti-dam is the affected people and communities from the Mekong hydropower development. Their major livelihood has relied on the river, but the mega dams directly have negative impact to their socio-cultural and socio-economy. This poor group is the only one who receives direct negative impact of the dams in multi- dimension. State's policy seems never concern to listen to their voices and needs, but instead the civil voices and participation are marginalized in the process of policy making.

The Compromise group consists of the inter-state organization i.e. Mekong River Commission (MRC), Asean Power Grid (APG), World Bank Group (WBG) and Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the group may see the hydropower development on the Mekong as a crucial mean to establish linkage among the Mekong nations in the Mekong region in terms of energy, economy and politic. Mekong River Commission River (MRC) consists of the Mekong nations' members like Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. The Asean Power Grid (APG) is a linkage of Singapore and Peninsula Malaysia, Thailand and Peninsula Malaysia, and via Thailand to Cambodia, Lao PDR and Vietnam, it aims to secure electricity infrastructure to support regional economic growth in the region. Both MRC and APG are the inter-states who act as a middle man as well as a communication channel of the Mekong nations in terms of the Mekong and energy security.

The World Bank Group and Asian Development Bank act in similar fashion- they provide financial support for governments and dam developers. WBG gives a major financial support for upstream China dams on the Mekong. Asian Development Bank has been a strong supporter of hydropower development in the region for decades. There is more than US\$900 million proposed for hydropower projects from 2007 to 2009, including new dams in Laos. Similar to the World Bank, the ADB supports large dams comes in a variety of shapes and sizes, for instance, the controversial Nam Theun II Dam in Laos. The ADB provides instant package for dam developers e.g. loans and guarantees, funds related technical assistance studies and transmission lines, pro-dam policy advice, convenes regional meetings to tout proposed dam projects, and backs regional integration of the power sector,

particularly in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) (retrieved from <https://www.internationalrivers.org>).

7.4 Summary and Findings

The analysis along with the outcome of the study gears toward to answer three research questions.

Research Question 1: What are the notions of Development constituted in the context of Mekong hydropower dams found in the news article? The contending discourses produced by the three group of social players reflect diverse perceptions toward development's notion.

In this research, dam and dam construction are assign meaning in relation to that of development. People have varying point of view forwards dam and dam construction. Their interpretation can be aligned with varied development discourses.

Pro-dam: The social players who advocate hydropower development are Government and state agencies (China, Lao PDR, Cambodia), State agencies and State-enterprise (EGAT Thailand), Capital group who give financial support to developers, Private Developers and Inter-state (Lancang-Mekong Cooperation). Those social players perceive development's notion as: 1) energy security as a crucial resource for industrial development, 2) development should be able to reduce poverty, 3) development should be a cooperation of among the neighboring 4) development should be able to enhance economic growth. This group sees the dam and dam construction as a crucial constitutive of economic growth because they provide energy security needed. In this regard, Pro-dam can be considered part of the dominant development discourse.

The Anti-dam: The social players who anti hydropower development are State or Government (USA, Vietnam, Cambodia), Academia, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), UN (United Nations), Local people who are affected from the dams and Assembly of the Poor (AOP). These social players perceive development's notion as : (i) development should be operated based on ecological and environmental friendly (ii) development should be operated based on the concern of animal population especially fish, (iii) development should be operated based on the concern

of food security, (iv) development should be operated based on the concern of indigenous way of life, livelihood and identity of the local people, and (v) development should be operated based on the concern of human right inequality, and (vi) development should be operated based on the concern of public participation in state's policy and practice. This group sees the dam and dam construction as a threat to the traditional way of life, ecology and natural resources. According to them, it seems like development means the conservation of traditional way of like, peaceful and sustainable coexistence between human and nature. Since they see the dam as the disruption of ecological balance, they are in opposition to it on the ground that it does not correspond with their idea of development.

Compromising group: The social players are Inter-state Mekong River Commission (MRC), World Bank Group (WBG) and Asian Development Bank (ADB). They perceived the notion of development as sustainability, in which it does combine viewpoints from both Pro-dam and Anti-dam together, then seeking for the best practice in doing hydropower development. This group sees the dam and dam construction as a crucial part of development, but all should be done in a sustainable manner. Due to the conflicts emerging from the issue of hydropower dam from various stakeholders, they may have realized it as a lesson learnt., and seeking to provide a better solution for every party. Therefore, this group is hoping to establish mutual understanding and practice as well as cooperation among the Mekong nations. The better practice to do hydropower should be based on the combined opinions of both groups, Pro-dam and Anti-dam into account, the emphasis should be put on how to do dam with a strong consideration of sustainable ecology of the river, fish biodiversity and the maintenance of the local livelihood.

In this light, those diverse development thinkings reflecting from various social players are crucial to establish understanding development practice circulated in our globe. Moreover, for the betterment of human society, those shades of development thinking perceived by various social actors profoundly help to construct the best practice of development for all.

Research question 2: What are the discursive strategies employed to establish the notions of Development in such context? The discursive strategies that used in the construction of development in the context of the Mekong hydropower development

can be portrayed as follow. First discursive strategy is Group's social identity (Van Dijk, 1950b), he proposes group schema which identify Ingroup and Outgroup. There are six categories of strategies: (1) Self-identity descriptions (membership), (2) Activity-descriptions, (3) Goal-description (aim), (4) Norm and value description, (5) Position and Relation description (relations) and (6) Resource description. The discursive strategy that express ideological belief of social groups proposed by Van Dijk (1995), there are 12 in category: 1) Negative Lexicalization, 2) Hyperbole, 3) Compassion Move, 4) Apparent Altruism Move 5) Apparent Honesty Move, 6) Negative Comparison, 7) Generalization, 8) Concretization, 9) Alliteration, 10) Warning, 11) Norm and Value Violation and 12) Presupposition. In this research, we found that all 12 strategies are in operation.

Research question 3: What are the contending discourses generated under Development discourses in such context? According to the social groups defined by their shared ideological beliefs, norms and values, they can be classified as the Pros and the Cons. Both groups have produced contending discourses of development under the context of Mekong hydropower development.

Discourses of the Pro-dam: In support of dam construction, these social players i.e. Government and state agencies (China, Lao PDR, Cambodia), State agencies and State-enterprise (EGAT Thailand), Capital group who give financial support to developers, Private Developers and Inter-state (Lancang-Mekong Cooperation), have employed these discourses: (i) discourse clean, cheap and renewable energy (ii) energy security, (iii) discourse of Battery of Asian, (iv) discourse of Poverty reduction (produced by Lao PDR), (v) discourse of cooperation of Mekong's nations (produced by international agencies i.e. the Asean Power grid (APG) and the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC), and (vi) discourse of economic growth and development (produced by the Mekong nations who join in MRC, APG and LMC).

Discourses of the Anti- dam: In order to express anti-dam standpoint, these social players i.e. State or Government (USA, Vietnam, Cambodia), Academia, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), UN (United Nations), Local people who are affected from the dams and Assembly of the Poor (AOP), have employed these discourses: (i) discourse of damaged Mekong's ecology and environment, (ii)

discourse of the threat to the Mekong fish number and species (iii) discourse of food security, (iv) discourse of threat to economic security, (v) discourse of the threat to the maintenance of indigenous way of life, livelihood and identity of the local people, and (vi) discourse of human right inequality, and (vii) discourse of lacking public participation in state's policy and practice.

Discourse of the Compromising group: In order to express compromising viewpoint, these social players i.e. Inter-state Mekong River Commission (MRC), World Bank Group (WBG) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) have employed the discourse of doing sustainable hydropower.

7.5 Discussion

Notion of development has been defined variedly throughout history from Enlightenment era, colonial and post-colonial by various social players of the globe. When the notion of it is produced, reproduced and circulated in our society, it has influenced the perception of people and has been widely circulated in diverse fields and institutions. Throughout the process of discourse production, development and its notion has been developed as a particular knowledge. Since the discourse is largely determined by the stance of the person in the matter and that the stance is determined, as the analysis of social actors suggests by the position and the stake the person has in the issue, no development discourse can be considered value free.

The concept of development comes with power because it is a matter of Who defines it. The one in power is the one who defines it. To a large extent, development was determined by the global North who is powerful in terms of advanced technology and economic's growth. This is still the dominant discourse.

Another reason that Northern led idea of development has assumed supremacy over others is the fact that it has acquired a status of knowledge. Development studies is an academic field with institutions and participants all over the world who help propagating it. "Development" has become a sacred term that determine social practice globally. It is a means to legitimize Western intervention in the "underdeveloped" countries. Also the term instills a sense of desire to change and become "developed" in the western fashion.

Development discourse, therefore, derived from knowledge constructed by the Eurocentric ideology defined what is considered “developed” and “underdeveloped”. Thus, nations of the world are classified in accordance with the criteria set by this knowledge of the global North. Therefore, the practice has suppressed indigenous knowledge of the people of the rest of the world.

However, since the new digital media allow various social actors to voice their opinions, other contending discourse on development becomes more apparent. In the analysis of online news, we found not only the dominant Eurocentric notion of development but also other contentious ones. The Anti dam and the compromising group represent the alternative idea of development that is inclusive of other, non-European stances.

The findings of the study, therefore have potential to shed light on the process of development making and moreover, to provide other shades of development in post-colonial era. De-colonized thinking on development is an option for the new world. The world where diversity in races, ideologies and knowledge is recognized and respected. The world where various discourse and equally acknowledged and taken into consideration. The world where different groups of people collaborate and participate in drafting the roadmap of their own future.

7.6 Contribution of the Study

The text analysis of the study may assist the readers and national policy makers to have a better understanding on: 1) the context of the Mekong hydropower dams which involve with various social groups interplayed, 2) The discursive practice and sociocultural practice of the development in such context are problematized, and from what influences, 3) Other shades of development's notions emerged from a clash of development discourses in such context, 4) the awareness on ideological discourses battle of development presented in such context, in which they could lead to conflicts among social groups.

7.7 Limitations

This dissertation is interdisciplinary and require broad analysis restrained by time limitation. Due the study's theme which requires to deal with a variety of aspects of social dimensions. The social dimensions are broad and complex in which it is time consuming to elicit. Therefore, time may not allow research to cover all in-depth information of each social aspect. There are yet some areas that can investigated in a more thorough and in-dept manner.

7.8 Further Study

There are angles where the studies related to development, discourse, Mekong and hydropower can be produced. From conducting the analysis from the text (news), the researcher sees the limitation where the real voices of local people and communities can be expressed and heard. It could be because they still have limited access to the media and mainstream media, so that theie voices hardly reach to the public. The further studies related to this context can be focused on indigenous voices from the real field site.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NEWS HEADLINES AND LEADS RELATED TO MEKONG HYDROPOWER DAMS (1995-2017)

Coding	Head	Lead
G1	Vietnam urges Laos to rethink Mekong River dams	Vietnam wants Lao to reconsider the Pak Beng hydropower project as its environmental impacts to the Mekong Delta will strike Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos badly.
G6	Laos Dam Poses Environmental Dangers to Lower Mekong Basin	Plans for the newest hydropower dam on the Mekong River will need dramatically improved environmental safeguards in order to minimize damage to fish and other wildlife in the river basin, researchers say.
G7	Experts 'greatly disappointed' by yet another Mekong hydropower dam ...	International environment experts are urging Vietnam and its Mekong River neighbors to cancel another hydropower project amid concerns that the project is flawed and needs to be fixed.
G9	River of Change: Hydropower dams and the Mekong River's Uncertain Future	Irrevocably change is underway upriver and downriver – from China to the Mekong delta – as countries along the river's length pursue hydroelectric dams as a path to power generation.

Coding	Head	Lead
G11	More Alarms Over Next Hydropower Dam in Laos	The Laos government is pressing ahead with a new dam on the Lower Mekong River, leading scientists and activists to warn of growing threats to regional food security.
G16	New Laos dam draws criticism	News that Laos will move ahead with the proposed 912-megawatt Pak Beng dam, which would be the third mainstream dam in Laos' Lower Mekong River, has sparked criticism from environmental groups who say downstream countries should decide the fate of potentially harmful development projects.
G17	China Hydropower Having Major Impact Along Mekong River: Study ...	Hydropower facilities along the upper reaches of the Lancang, which becomes the Mekong River as it flows out of China, have led to major river-flow changes affecting Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, according to a <u>study</u> from Finland's Aalto University
G18	Mekong basin dams pose danger: experts	VietNamNet Bridge – Countries in the Mekong River basin have been urged to stop building hydroelectric dams on the river's main stream as alluvial soil and vital nutrients are being seriously depleted.

Coding	Head	Lead
G19	Dams, drought and disaster along the Mekong river	The dry months before the monsoon rains arrive are often tough for Cambodian fishermen and farmers. But with rivers drying up and drinking water running out, conditions have rarely been as bad as they are now.
G20	Laos moves ahead with third contentious Mekong dam	Laos has notified its Southeast Asian neighbors that it's moving ahead with a third contentious hydroelectric dam on the Mekong River's mainstream.
G21	'Vicious capitalism' speeds up completion of first mainstream dam in ...	Like many hydropower projects, the Xayaburi Dam in northern Laos comes with pros and cons. While the Lao government and investors focus on economic benefits, environmentalists and residents voice concerns over risks it may bring to the Mekong. In her 1,800-kilometre journey across Thailand and Laos, Channel NewsAsia's Pichayada Promchertchoo investigates who actually benefits from the controversial project.
G24	Multiple dams are an ominous threat to life on the Mekong River	A total of 11 dams are planned along the Mekong, storing up trouble for millions of people, the world's largest inland fishery and critically endangered species
G25	NGOs slam the new Mekong dam	Environmental organizations and civil society groups have expressed concern at plans to build another dam along the

Coding	Head	Lead
		Mekong River in Laos and asked the Lao government to suspend the project due to the effects it will have on communities, water flow and fishery resources in Cambodia.
G29	Cambodia News: hydropower dam	Cambodian groups are asking the government to stop the controlled flooding of their villages as a hydroelectric dam goes into operation. The floodgates of the Lower Se San 2 hydropower dam are being closed and water levels are rising in Stung Treng province. In time, many villages will be under water. The villages are in eastern Cambodia near a river that flows into the Mekong, one of Southeast Asia's longest rivers.
G32	Lao hydropower project death sentence for Mekong fish -	The construction of the Don Sahong hydropower project in southern Laos' Champasak Province has cut off a main fish migration channel in the Mekong River, compromising the livelihoods of millions of people along the river basin
G33	A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ...	Climate change is expected to increase global competition for water. Under President Xi Jinping, China has been aggressively asserting claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks

Coding	Head	Lead
		of rock into artificial islands. Another water fight could be just as explosive—this one involving fresh water.
G38	New era of big dam building on the Mekong? .	More than 50 years have passed since Australian engineers from the Snowy Hydroelectric Authority did site studies for the huge Sambor Dam on the Mekong River in Cambodia, but the mega project is now back on the drawing board.
G40	China's Huge Dam Projects Will Threaten Southeast Asia As Water ...	A river is born high in the Tibetan Plateau, before snaking its way 3,000 miles south and emptying itself into the South China Sea. On its journey, it passes through six countries, sustaining their ecosystems and local economies, its fisheries providing a lifeline for 60 million people in its lower basin.
G41	Climate Change: Mekong Delta heads for troubled waters	<p>Lush greenery in the lower Mekong region sprawls (stretch out)+ as far as the eye can see, an illustration of just how fertile the delta is.</p> <p>The endless green fields scored by the river's nine tributaries, which the Vietnamese call "Nine Dragons", explain why this area is one of the world's major food baskets</p>

Coding	Head	Lead
G43	Chinese dams draining the life from Mekong River - The Australian	DOZENS of stranded Chinese cargo boats wallow by the parched banks of the Mekong River. Trading companies, their names emblazoned in Chinese characters, are shuttered.
G44	Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta region	<p>Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region.</p> <p>The problem was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region's water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos.</p> <p>At the forum, Professor Ha ThanhToan, Headmaster of Can Tho University, said that in recent years, the Mekong Delta has been affected by climate change and the effects of hydropower dams.</p>
G45	BBC News - China rejects Mekong River dam criticism	China has rejected claims that its dams on the Mekong River are to blame for record low water levels in downstream nations.
G46	Why ASEAN must pay more attention to the Mekong Delta - Opinion ...	The recent diplomatic spat between Indonesia and Singapore over the city-state's effort to prosecute an Indonesian businessman for his alleged involvement in the haze last year was a frank reminder of the

Coding	Head	Lead
		devastating impact man-made disasters can have on the region.
G49	Tensions rise over Mekong dam	Laos faced pressure from its neighbours on Tuesday to delay construction of a controversial dam on the Mekong River as they failed to agree on a project that has sparked deep environmental concerns.
G51	Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'	Laos' planned dams will halve fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study BANGKOK • Experts are warning that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face depleting (ทำให้หมดไป) fish stocks, further erosion of the coastline and rising salinity that will make rice fields uncultivable.
G52	Chinese dams blamed for exacerbating (worsen) Southeast Asian ... - AP News	HANOI, Vietnam (AP) — As China opened one of its six dams on the upper Mekong River last month to help parched Southeast Asian countries down river cope with a record drought, it was hailed as benevolent (kind) water diplomacy.
G53	Pressure mounts to delay "dangerous" \$3.5 billion Mekong	BANGKOK (Reuters) - Plans for the first dam across the lower Mekong River are putting Laos on a collision course with its neighbors and environmentalists who fear livelihoods, fish species and farmland

Coding	Head	Lead
		could be destroyed, potentially sparking a food crisis
G54	Hydropower threatens Mekong ecosystem	Scientists have once again warned against the 12 hydropower projects along the Mekong River that will cause non-recoverable damages to the river's ecosystem as well as threaten food security of residents in the riparian countries.
G57	No More Dams on the Mekong	The Mekong River runs more than 4,000 kilometers, from China into Myanmar and then through Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam, where it empties into the sea. Traditionally a major transport route and food source, it is also increasingly becoming a supply of energy — at its own peril and at the cost of instability among states in the region.
G66	Thousands sign petition against Mekong dam ...	Huynh Thi Kim Duyen said her community in Ca Mau Province has seen a significant decline in fish stocks and water levels in the Mekong River in the past decade.
G67	Mekong River dam proposal a conservation crisis? Laos defers decision amid controversy that the plan would destroy a lifeline for	Millions of people living along the Mekong River face a crisis that could destroy their lifeline and kill off whole species of fish: construction of a dam — the first of 11 proposed in the

Coding	Head	Lead
	millions in Southeast Asia	waterway's lower basin — in Laos. Conservationists warn that the dam could significantly reduce the critical fish stock in the Mekong, the world's most productive inland fishery.
G71	China and the Mekong Delta: Water Savior or Water Tyrant?(พจนานุกรม) Don't be fooled by reports about China discharging water to alleviate drought along the Mekong.	The Mekong Delta is facing its worst drought in recent history, causing food and water shortages for over half a million people. The Chinese government has made headlines amidst the disaster for its decision to release water from upstream dams within China's borders. Chinese ministry spokesman Lu Kang said in a news briefing that China "hopes it can be of help in alleviating the drought downstream."
G72	Surge in Mekong hydropower projects riles neighbors, environmentalists	CHIANG SAEN, Thailand — Laos is proceeding with ambitious plans to build two hydroelectric dams on the Mekong river, angering its downstream neighbors and environmentalists, who see the projects as a catastrophe in the making.
G77	In Laos, poorly designed Don Sahong dam threatens Mekong	Environmentalists slam Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) based on "incomplete" research. The project endangers fish and more than 60 million people living in the

Coding	Head	Lead
		<p>lower basin of the river. Some of the endangered species are "unique".</p> <p>Damage is estimated at between US\$ 1.4 and 3.9 billion a year.</p>
G78	<p>Xayaburi Dam, Mekong River Hydroelectric Project, In Laos Remains ...</p>	<p>A proposed dam project in Southeast Asia is drawing greater concerns as it pits opportunities for economic and infrastructural developments against environmental worries.</p>
G92	<p>Study begins to look at impact of Mekong hydropower plans</p>	<p>A study has been kicked off to look at proposed hydropower developments on the Mekong River and their impact on more than 60 million people living around it, officials said Friday.</p>
G93	<p>Hydropower dams, water diversion threaten Mekong Delta's water ...</p>	<p>VietNamNet Bridge – Scientists have once again raised their concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta, saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's plans to divert the river are the biggest threats.</p>
G94	<p>Loas has been accused of starting work on the controversial Mekong dam without formal approval.</p>	<p>Environmentalists opposed to the construction on one of Asia's most important rivers have accused the authorities of going ahead with plans to build roads and remove villagers, the Independent reports.</p> <p>Environmentalists claim the dam could lead to the extinction of</p>

Coding	Head	Lead
		endangered fish and adversely affect 60 million people.
G99	Decision looms (appear) for controversial Xayaburi dam on lower Mekong.	As plans go ahead for construction of the US\$3.5 billion (107 billion baht) Xayaburi Dam along the Lower Mekong, critics warn that the dam would irreversibly change (cannot regain) the ecology of the Mekong River, threaten fisheries and pose risks to the food security and livelihoods of millions of people. The dam is also bringing renewed attention on the lack of transparency and dubious energy planning by the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT).
G111	UN report cites Chinese dams as threat to Mekong	China's plans to build a series of eight dams on the upper reaches of the Mekong River have come under criticism by the United Nations, which released a report last week stating that the Chinese plan "may pose the single greatest threat to the river".
G112	Dams upriver exacerbate drought in Mekong Delta -- 1000 Years	Experts at the conference reject study results that claimed the 11 hydropower dams in the Mekong River had little impact on Vietnam and millions of people downstream Aside from natural forces like climate change, countries' actions have worsened the drought and salinity in Vietnam's Mekong Delta.

Coding	Head	Lead
G114	Dams Threaten Mekong Basin Food Supply Inter Press Service	The future of food security in the Mekong region lies at a crossroads, as several development ventures, including the Xayaburi Hydropower Project, threaten to alter fish migration routes, disrupt the flow of sediments and nutrients downstream, and endanger millions whose livelihoods depend on the Mekong River basin's resources.
G115	Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta – Talk Vietnam	Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region. The problem was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region's water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos.
G117	Kith Meng Backs Plans for Three Hydropower Dams –...	Kith Meng, one of the country's wealthiest businessmen, is behind three proposed hydropower dams, the Council of Ministers has confirmed, including what would be the largest by far on the main stream of the Mekong River in Cambodia.
G123	Mekong River Commission Announces Construction of Xayaburi Dam ...	Guam – – Senator Jim Webb, who has led Congressional efforts to prevent irreversible environmental damage that would result from hydroelectric

Coding	Head	Lead
		dams on the main stem of the Mekong River, called the decision to delay the Xayaburi Dam “an important step toward responsible policy that will protect the economic and environmental conditions of more than 60 million people.” Earlier today, the Mekong River Commission announced that construction of the controversial dam in Laos will be postponed until additional environmental impact studies can be completed.
G127	Laos moves ahead with third contentious Mekong dam	Laos has notified its Southeast Asian neighbors that it's moving ahead with a third contentious hydroelectric dam on the Mekong River's mainstream.
G128	Misery on the Mekong - Gulf News	A new front line in the global battle over water emerges as China dams the mighty river to quench its thirst for hydro-electric power
G131	Laos' Dam Project and the China-Vietnam Balance - Stratfor Worldview	Laos reportedly has deferred its decision on whether to pursue a controversial dam on the Mekong River that has sparked strong opposition from its downstream neighbors, particularly Vietnam. Though Vietnam retains strong influence over Laos, and could use its investment and aid as a bargaining chip to influence the dam plan, it can

Coding	Head	Lead
		do so only at the risk of expanding China's growing influence in Laos.
G133	CAMBODIAN VILLAGERS REFUSE TO LEAVE HOMES AS DAM TESTING FLOODS SESAN DISTRICT	Villagers affected by the U.S. \$781 million Lower Sesan 2 hydropower dam project on Mekong River tributaries in northeastern Cambodia's Stung Treng province said on Monday that they will remain in their villages as the water level keeps rising during a test of the 400-megawatt project.
G136	Hydropower dams, water diversion threaten Mekong Delta's water security	VietNamNet Bridge - Scientists have once again raised their concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta, saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's plans to divert the river are the biggest threats.
G150	<u>China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism The Daily Star</u>	China rejected criticism yesterday of its dams on the shrinking Mekong River, telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people. At a landmark meeting with the heads of four Southeast Asian nations, Beijing's Vice Foreign Minister Song Tao denied activists' criticism that the hydropower dams had exacerbated (worsen) decades-low water levels downstream.

Coding	Head	Lead
G166	Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions	In November Laos notified its neighbours—Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam—of its intention to move forward with a contentious third hydropower dam on the Mekong River, the Pak Beng dam. The announcement indicates that despite the environmental concerns of other countries that the Mekong flows through, particularly downstream countries Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will continue to pursue its goal of becoming the "battery of South-east Asia". Although relations between the three countries remain good at present, we caution that the pursuit of such a policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources.
N1	Dam projects require serious debate	A review of Thailand's energy plans reveals an abundant electricity supply that vastly exceeds demand. So in the midst of this energy glut (abundant), why are we pushing hard to build more problematic hydroelectric dams in our neighbours' territories?
N2	World Bank says benefits of Chinese hydro dam 'impossible to quantify'	The World Bank has given China's second-largest hydro project a satisfactory rating on the resettlement of 46,000 people, despite having no data to assess whether anyone is better

Coding	Head	Lead
		<p>or worse off. The US\$2.2-billion Ertan dam on the Yalong River in Sichuan, now in its eighth year of operation, received more than US\$1 billion in loans and a decade of technical assistance from the WB, the biggest loan package ever extended by the world's leading financier of large dams</p>
N4	<p>Laos insists Thai investment projects are moving forward</p>	<p>Bangkok--October 4--Post--THAI media reports that the Laotian Government will scrap some of its contracts with Thai companies are exaggerated, according to the secretary-general of Laos' Foreign Investment Management Office. "We are not seriously considering dumping these Thai projects,"</p> <p>LeuaneSombounkhan told Business Post. The Foreign Investment Management Committee is currently negotiating with the investors in question, he said.</p>
N5	<p>EXIM Thailand Backs Thai-Lao Partnership in Sustainable Hydropower Development</p>	<p>EXIM Thailand is fully prepared to provide loans and equity financing to support Thai investments in hydropower development projects in Lao PDR to promote clean energy utilization and sustainable economic advancement for both Thailand and Lao PDR.</p>

Coding	Head	Lead
N6	Environment group calls for delay in Lao dam projects	Thailand and Laos should delay signing deals for 1,500 megawatts of hydroelectricity this month until the social and environmental impact from past projects is addressed, the International Rivers Network said yesterday.
N7	PEA sets up international investment unit	The Provincial Electricity Authority (PEA) plans to emulate (copy) the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (Egat) by setting a company to pursue power projects overseas, said PEA governor Adisorn Kiatchokewiwat.
N8	Egat upbeat (optimistic) on Hatgyi prospects	The Electricity Authority of Thailand targets early next year to set up the joint venture to develop the Hatgyi dam construction project on the Salween River of Burma.
N9	CK targets B50bn backlog in 2 years Goal will rely on megaprojects	Ch. Karnchang Plc (CK) expects its construction backlog to hit 50 billion baht within two years, up from 20 billion this year, as long as the government follows through with its heavy infrastructure spending, says chief executive Plew Trivisavavet.
N10	Egco seeks more power plants abroad	Electricity Generating Plc (Egco), the country's second largest power producer, has been in talks to acquire shares in one or two power plants in

Coding	Head	Lead
		neighbouring countries next year for about US\$150 million to \$300 million each.
N11	Burmese villagers question China over impact of dam	Minority groups in Burma are calling on the Chinese government to look into the negative impacts a dam on the Nam Mao River is having on people living downstream.
N12	Nam Theun 2 opens	VIENTIANE:NamTheun 2, the largest hydropower facility in Laos, has officially opened with more than 90% of the electricity being sold to Thailand, providing Laos with a \$2-billion revenue stream over the next 25 years. The \$1.43-billion project is jointly owned by Electricite de France International, Egco Group Plc of Thailand and the Laotian government.
N13	CK predicts B15bn in revenue for 2011	Ch. KarnchangPlc (CK), the country's second-largest contractor, expects its revenue to grow to at least 15 billion baht next year after less than 10 billion this year, with backlog orders set to hit a record of 100 billion baht next year.
N14	Laos keeps its hydropower hopes alive	Don't dream the Xayaburi hydropower project is over. It's not dead yet, but Laos has a long fight ahead.
N15	The politics of power	Sudden changes in energy policy have become as predictable as an oil price hike ahead of a major national

Coding	Head	Lead
		<p>holiday. But even taking into account the capricious (sudden change) nature of such policies and the impact of external factors outside our control, the last few months have been as turbulent as a roller-coaster ride.</p>
N16	<p>Surapong to discuss power with Burma</p>	<p>Foreign Minister SurapongTovichakchaikul will discuss energy issues with Burma on the sidelines of the Greater Mekong Sub-region Summit meeting to be held in Nypidaw early next week.</p>
N17	<p>Xayaburi in hot water Mekong dam project is halted, feared doomed</p>	<p>Concerns are mounting that the US\$3.7-billion Xayaburi Dam cannot proceed after the four-Analysts said the decision at last week's MRC meeting disappointed the Thai market and raised concerns about the outlook of Ch. Karnchang (CK),Thailand's No.3 construction company by value and the project's developer.</p>
N19	<p>Species, threats grow in Mekong region</p>	<p>Scientists identify a new species every two days in the Greater Mekong region, the WWF said Monday, in a report detailing 2010's more unusual finds such as a leaf warbler and a self-cloning lizard.</p>
N20	<p>FOOD SECURITY KEY ISSUE IN MEKONG DAM DEBATE</p>	<p>Not only is the waterway home to millions of people, but the freshwater fish it supplies is a major food source</p>

Coding	Head	Lead
		for the people of four different countries By PiyapornWongruang
N23	126 new species found in region	From a devilish-looking bat to a frog that sings like a bird, scientists have identified 126 new species in the Greater Mekong area, the WWF said in a new report detailing discoveries in 2011
N25	Moody's latest report on China's top renewable energy firms	Hong Kong, December 18, 2012 -- Moody's Investors Service has just released a detailed credit analysis on China Longyuan Power Group Corporation Limited (Baa3 stable) -- the world's second-largest wind power company by installed capacity -- following Moody's announcement on 28 November that it had assigned a first-time rating for the company.
N26	Moody's latest report on China's top renewable energy firms Italian-Thai says local investors wary of project	The Thai and Myanmar governments agreed to raise funds to finance the development of the massive Daweideepsea port and special economic zone project during a key meeting in Myanmar yesterday.
N28	Myanmar takes the long view	30-year national development plan will set priorities as well as roles for international institutions and investors.
N29	Thailand must say 'no'	While I share your contributor WasantTechawongtham's views in wishing "nothing but the best for Laos

Coding	Head	Lead
		and its people"(BP , Dec 7,"Illusory riches await Laos in its dam quest"), I would suggest the real responsibility for the human and environmental disaster that is likely to occur if the mainstream Xayaburi dam project is allowed to proceed lies not with the Lao government but with Thailand and our insatiable appetite for energy, at any cost.
N30	Hydrotek plans Lao hydropower units	NAN: HydrotekPlc (HYDRO), the MAI-listed water company, wants to launch small hydropower plants worth 500 million to 1 billion baht in Laos in the near future.
N31	PLAIN TALK: Illusory riches await Laos in its dam quest	Among Thailand's neighbours, Laos is the country with which Thai people feel the strongest affinity. Not only do we share a common border, but we also share a common language and culture.
N32	Vietnam and World Bank Sign The First Emission Reductions Purchase Agreement for Renewable Energy Development	Hanoi, December 20, 2013 – Vietnam is now ready to launch a carbon finance program that will help green the country's national electricity grid in a commercially sustainable manner.
N33	Rising Mekong halts Xayaboury work	Workers have temporarily halted construction work on the Xayaboury hydropower dam in northern Laos due to high water levels of the Mekong River.

Coding	Head	Lead
N34	PTT power unit plans 2014 SET listing	PTT Plc, the national oil and gas conglomerate, plans to list its wholly owned Global Power Synergy Co (GPSC) on the Stock Exchange of Thailand next year.
N35	CKP eyes eight SPP licences Total investment estimated at B40bn	AYUTTHAYA:CK Power Plc (CKP), a SET-listed subsidiary of Ch. KarnchangPlc, says it will apply for eight small power producer (SPP) licences next year.
N36	Thailand signs up for Asean grid	Joining 5 neighbours in GMS electricity pact Electricity trading in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) is starting to take shape now that Thailand is the last Southeast Asian country to sign an agreement under the "Asean grid".
N37	China pledges (make agreement) \$11.5 billion aid to Mekong nations	BEIJING - China will provide more than US\$11.5 billion in loans and aid to neighbouring Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam, mostly for infrastructure and industrial capacity building, state media said Saturday.
N38	Laos has moved from tiny service unit to regional energy supplier	From having only one small power plant with a low installed capacity that generated electricity for only a few areas, Laos has now become a major regional supplier of electricity.

Coding	Head	Lead
N39	Greater Mekong Subregion likely still a decade away	WITH the vast Chinese market on its northern doorstep, it is being touted as the next big growth area in Southeast Asia. And it is due to receive a US\$51.5 billion (S\$67 billion) boost when Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) leaders meet last week in Bangkok.
N40	Public consultations on Mekong dam project commence	The first regional public consultation on the Don Sahong hydropower project took place in Pakxe town of Champassak province on Friday to further the Mekong River Commission's prior consultation process.
N41	Government green light for power purchase from Laos	The government approved a draft memorandum of understanding (MoU) yesterday to purchase electricity from the Nam Thuen 1 hydropower project in Laos.
N42	HAT GYI SCHEME FOR SALWEEN CRITICISED Villagers 'ignored' in dam study	Civic groups and villagers have accused electricity authorities of pushing through a controversial hydropower dam project on the Salween River without input from the public or transparency in negotiations.
N43	China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd. Assigned 'AA-' And 'cnAAA' Ratings; Outlook Stable	HONG KONG (Standard & Poor's) Dec. 16, 2015--Standard & Poor's Ratings Services today said that it has assigned its 'AA-' long-term corporate

Coding	Head	Lead
		credit rating to China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd. (CSG). The outlook is stable. At the same time, we assigned our 'cnAAA' long-term Greater China regional scale rating to the company.
N44	TRIS Rating Assigns “BBB+/Stable” Rating to Senior Unsecured Debt Worth Up to US\$200 Million of “Lao PDR	TRIS Rating has assigned the rating of “BBB+” to the proposed issue of up to US\$200 million in senior unsecured bonds of Lao People’s Democratic Republic (Lao PDR). TRIS Rating has also affirmed the sovereign rating and the issue rating of Lao PDR at “BBB+”. The outlook remains “stable”.
N45	should Asia aim for in Paris?	This week global leaders convene in Paris for the UN Climate Conference (COP 21) to strike a deal on climate change, their fourth attempt in the past 20 years to curb potentially catastrophic global warming.
N46	CK targets up to B38bn in revenue	SET-listed Ch. KarnchangPlc (CK) expects revenue of 35-38 billion baht next year, thanks to the government's massive investment in infrastructure projects, which would provide bidding opportunities for the company, says chairman of the executive board, PlewTrivisvavet.

Coding	Head	Lead
N47	China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd. 'AA-' And 'cnAAA' Ratings Affirmed On Stable Cash Flows; Outlook Negative	HONG KONG (S&P Global Ratings) Dec. 13, 2016--S&P Global Ratings affirmed its 'AA-' long-term corporate credit rating on China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd. (CSG). The outlook is negative. At the same time, we affirmed our 'cnAAA' long-term Greater China regional scale rating on the company.
N48	BRAHMA CHELLANEY: A water war in Asia?	Tensions over water are rising in Asia - and not only because of conflicting maritime claims. While territorial disputes, such as in the South China Sea, attract the most attention - after all, they threaten safety and freedom of navigation, which affects outside powers as well - the strategic ramifications of competition over transnationally shared freshwater resources are just as ominous.
N49	Egco swings back from loss to B2.84bn profit Chaiyaphum plant to supply national grid	SET-listed Electricity Generating Plc (Egco) said its latest 80-megawatt wind farm in Chaiyaphum province has started commercial operation, helping to generate more revenue for the company as well as support renewable energy.

Coding	Head	Lead
N50	Vietnam to Strengthen Renewable Energy Potential with Stations to Measure Solar Resources	HANOI, September 20, 2017- The World Bank and the Electricity of Vietnam (EVN) launched today a campaign to promote the deployment of renewable energy in the country, with the installation of five solar measurement stations across the country.
N51	Dam projects require serious debate	A review of Thailand's energy plans reveals an abundant electricity supply that vastly exceeds demand. So in the midst of this energy glut, why are we pushing hard to build more problematic hydroelectric dams in our neighbours' territories?
N52	Column: COMMENTARY: Neighbourly diplomacy shifts from Laos	The twists and turns of Thailand's diplomacy toward its neighbouring countries have recently undergone a metamorphosis. The military's seizure of power from the elected government in May 2014 allowed civilian decisionmakers and security officers to reboot ties with the bordering countries. But not all such attempts have been successful.
N53	PTT plans lithium ion battery plant Facility envisioned for EEC, to open by 2019	Global Power Synergy Plc (GPSC), the energy business arm of national oil and gas firm PTT Plc, is planning to develop a lithium ion battery factory worth 1 billion baht.

Coding	Head	Lead
N54	Ample reason to put Stung Nam plans on hold QUESTIONS OF TRANSPARENCY AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY NEED TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE THAILAND FINALISES THE DEAL WITH CAMBODIA	<p>The Prayut government appears to have learned an important lesson from the controversial Bt40-billion Stung Nam hydropower-water supply project. Just before Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha was due to visit Cambodia on September 7, the project became controversial, with critics sharply questioning the feasibility and transparency of the scheme.</p>
N55	Silence on suspended dam deal as Prayut and Hun Sen agree to stronger bilateral ties	<p>ONLY DAYS after Thailand halted the Bt40-billion Stung Nam hydropower project, Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha and his Cambodian counterpart Hun Sen yesterday agreed to enhance economic ties and connectivity.</p>
N56	PM plays down impact of dam suspension on ties PRAYUT TO VISIT CAMBODIA TODAY BUT POSTPONED PROJECT 'NOT ON AGENDA' FOR BILATERAL TALKS	<p>PRIME MINISTER Prayut Chan-o-cha has defended his decision to suspend the Bt40-billion Stung Nam hydropower dam project, saying mishandling the venture would affect relations with Cambodia where he will hold a joint Cabinet meeting today.</p>
N57	PM on defensive over Stung Nam dams	<p>Following fierce criticism about possible vested interests in the Stung Nam hydropower scheme, Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha has tried to allay concerns, saying the project will benefit both Thailand and Cambodia</p>

Coding	Head	Lead
N58	Prayut suspends Bt40-bn Cambodian dam project	PRIME MINISTER Prayut Chan-o-cha, who is scheduled to visit Cambodia tomorrow, has ordered a suspension of the Bt40-billion project to buy electricity and fresh water from Cambodia's Stung Nam hydropower scheme.
N59	Prayut puts Cambodia hydropower deal on hold Water need in doubt as energy price stuns	Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha has ordered authorities to delay investment in the Stung Nam hydropower project and buying power from Cambodia, amid mounting criticism over unusually high prices in the proposed contract.
N63	TRIS Rating Affirms Company Rating and Outlook of “EGATi” at “AAA/Stable”	TRIS Rating affirms the company rating of “AAA” to EGAT International Co., Ltd. (EGATi). The rating reflects the company's status as a wholly-owned subsidiary of Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) to invest in power and energy projects abroad. EGATi's rating also reflects its high degree of operational integration with EGAT and its important role in supporting EGAT's long-term strategy of providing a sufficient supply of electricity for the country. The rating also takes into consideration the strong support EGATi receives from EGAT.

Coding	Head	Lead
N64	B Grimm goes big with power projects in Laos SEVEN CONCESSIONS SECURED AS CHAMPASAK PLANTS START UP B GRIMM POWER has taken an aggressive move in building and operating hydropower plants in Laos.	The company officially opened on Friday the Xanamnoy 2 and Xekatom 1 hydropower plants in Champasak province that shares a border with Thailand's Northeastern UbonRatchathani province.
N65	Hydro plants power Laos into middle-income status	THE LAOS government is leveraging its rich hydropower resources in a bid to lift the country out of lower-middle income status by 2020.

APPENDIX B

DISCURSIVE STRUCTURE AND STRATEGIES OF HEADS AND LEADS

1. Negative Lexicalization

Negative lexicon used in the context of Lower Mekong hydropower dams can be referred to the choices of word which signify further negative sociocultural impacts to the Mekong communities such as life and culture, environmental system and economic growth.

Coding	Head	Lead
G7	Experts 'greatly <u>disappointed</u>' by yet another Mekong hydropower dam ...	International environment experts are <u>urging</u> Vietnam and its Mekong River neighbors <u>to cancel another hydropower project</u> amid <u>concerns</u> that the <u>project is flawed and needs to be fixed.</u>
G9	RIVER OF CHANGE: HYDROPOWER DAMS AND THE MEKONG RIVER'S <u>UNCERTAIN FUTURE</u>	<u>Irrevocably change</u> is underway upriver and downriver – from China to the Mekong delta – as countries along the river's length pursue hydroelectric dams as a path to power generation.
G11	<u>More Alarms Over Next Hydropower Dam in Laos</u>	The Laos government is pressing ahead with a new dam on the Lower Mekong River, leading <u>scientists and activists to warn of growing threats to regional food security.</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
G17	China Hydropower Having <u>Major Impact</u> Along Mekong River: Study ...	Hydropower facilities along the upper reaches of the Lancang, which becomes the Mekong River as it flows out of China, have led to major river-flow changes affecting Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, according to a <u>study</u> from Finland's Aalto University
G18	Mekong basin dams pose <u>danger</u>: experts	VietNamNet Bridge – Countries in the Mekong River basin <u>have been urged to stop</u> building hydroelectric dams on the river's main stream as alluvial soil and vital nutrients are being <u>seriously depleted</u> .
G19	Dams, <u>drought and disaster</u> along the Mekong river	The dry months before the monsoon rains arrive are often tough for Cambodian fishermen and farmers. But with <u>rivers drying up</u> and <u>drinking water running out</u> , conditions have rarely been as bad as they are now.
G21	'<u>Vicious capitalism</u>' speeds up completion of first mainstream dam in ...	Like many hydropower projects, the Xayaburi Dam in northern Laos comes with pros and cons. While the Lao government and investors focus on economic benefits, environmentalists and residents voice concerns over risks it may bring to the Mekong. In her 1,800-kilometre journey across

Coding	Head	Lead
		Thailand and Laos, Channel NewsAsia's Pichayada Promchertchoo investigates who actually benefits from the <u>controversial project</u> .
G24	Multiple dams are <u>an ominous threat</u> to life on the Mekong River	A total of 11 dams are planned along the Mekong, storing up <u>trouble for millions of people</u> , the world's largest inland fishery and <u>critically endangered</u> species
G25	NGOs <u>slam</u> the new Mekong dam	Environmental organizations and civil society groups have <u>expressed concern</u> at plans to build another dam along the Mekong River in Laos and asked the Lao government to suspend the project due to the effects it will have on communities, water flow and fishery resources in Cambodia.G
G29	Cambodia News: hydropower dam	Cambodian groups are asking the government <u>to stop the controlled flooding</u> of their villages as a hydroelectric dam goes into operation. The floodgates of the Lower Se San 2 hydropower dam are being closed and water levels are rising in Stung Treng province. In time, many villages will be under water. The villages are in eastern Cambodia near a river that flows into the Mekong, one of Southeast Asia's longest rivers.

Coding	Head	Lead
G32	Lao hydropower project <u>death sentence</u> for Mekong fish -	The construction of the Don Sahong hydropower project in southern Laos' Champasak Province has <u>cut off a main fish migration channel in the Mekong River</u> , compromising the livelihoods of millions of people along the river basin
G33	A <u>Water Fight</u> Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ...	<u>Climate change</u> is expected to increase global competition for water. Under President Xi Jinping, China <u>has been aggressively asserting</u> claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks of rock into artificial islands. Another water fight could be just as <u>explosive</u> —this one involving fresh water.
G40	China's Huge Dam Projects Will <u>Threaten</u> Southeast Asia As Water ...	A river is born high in the Tibetan Plateau, before snaking its way 3,000 miles south and emptying itself into the South China Sea. On its journey, it passes through six countries, sustaining their ecosystems and local economies, its fisheries providing a lifeline for 60 million people in its lower basin.
G43	Chinese dams <u>draining</u> the life from Mekong River - The Australian	DOZENS of stranded Chinese cargo boats wallow by the parched banks of the Mekong River. Trading companies, their names emblazoned in Chinese characters, are shuttered.

Coding	Head	Lead
G44	Hydropower dams <u>threaten</u> Mekong Delta region	<p><u>Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region.</u></p> <p><u>The problem</u> was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region's water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos. At the forum, Professor Ha ThanhToan, Headmaster of Can Tho University, said that in recent years, <u>the Mekong Delta has been affected by climate change</u> and the effects of hydropower dams.</p>
G45	BBC News - China <u>rejects</u> Mekong River <u>dam criticism</u>	China has <u>rejected</u> claims that its dams on the Mekong River are to <u>blame</u> for record low water levels in downstream nations.
G46	Why ASEAN must pay more attention to the Mekong Delta - Opinion ...	The recent <u>diplomatic spat</u> (dispute) between Indonesia and Singapore over the city-state's effort to <u>prosecute</u> an Indonesian businessman for his <u>alleged</u> involvement in the haze last year was a frank reminder of the <u>devastating impact man-made disasters</u> can have on the region.
G49	<u>Tensions rise over Mekong dam</u>	<u>Laos faced pressure</u> from its neighbours on Tuesday to delay construction of a <u>controversial dam</u> on the Mekong River as they <u>failed to agree on a project</u> that has sparked deep environmental concerns.

Coding	Head	Lead
G51	Mekong dams 'a <u>grave threat</u> to river'	Laos' planned dams will <u>halve</u> (split) fish stocks, <u>ruin</u> rice fields, <u>harm</u> people, says Vietnamese study BANGKOK • Experts are <u>warning</u> that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face <u>depleting</u> (ทำให้หมดไป) fish stocks, further <u>erosion of the coastline</u> and <u>rising salinity</u> that will make rice fields <u>uncultivable</u> .
G52	Chinese dams <u>blamed for exacerbating</u>(worsen) Southeast Asian ... - AP News	HANOI, Vietnam (AP) — As China opened one of its six dams on the upper Mekong River last month to help <u>parched</u> Southeast Asian countries down river cope with a record <u>drought</u> , it was hailed as benevolent (kind) water diplomacy.
G53	Pressure mounts to delay "<u>dangerous</u>" \$3.5 billion Mekong	BANGKOK (Reuters) - Plans for the first dam across the lower Mekong River are putting Laos on a <u>collision</u> course with its neighbors and environmentalists who <u>fear</u> <u>livelihoods, fish species and farmland could be destroyed</u> , potentially sparking a <u>food crisis</u>
G54	Hydropower <u>threatens</u> Mekong ecosystem	Scientists have once again <u>warned</u> <u>against</u> the 12 hydropower projects along the Mekong River that will cause <u>non-recoverable damages</u> to the river's ecosystem as well as <u>threaten</u> <u>food security</u> of residents in the riparian countries.

Coding	Head	Lead
G57	<u>No More Dams on the Mekong</u>	The Mekong River runs more than 4,000 kilometers, from China into Myanmar and then through <u>Laos</u> , <u>Thailand</u> , <u>Cambodia</u> and <u>Vietnam</u> , where it empties into the sea. Traditionally a major transport route and food source, it is also increasingly becoming a supply of energy — at its own <u>peril</u> and at the cost of <u>instability</u> among states in the region.
G66	<u>Thousands sign petition against Mekong dam ...</u>	Huynh Thi Kim Duyen said her community in Ca Mau Province has seen a <u>significant decline in fish stocks</u> and water levels in the Mekong River in the past decade.
G67	<u>Mekong River dam proposal a conservation crisis?</u> <u>Laos defers decision amid controversy that the plan would destroy a lifeline for millions in Southeast Asia</u>	Millions of people living along the Mekong River <u>face a crisis</u> that could <u>destroy their lifeline and kill off whole species of fish</u> : construction of a dam — the first of 11 proposed in the waterway's lower basin — in Laos. Conservationists <u>warn that the dam could significantly reduce the critical fish stock in the Mekong</u> , the world's most productive inland fishery.
G71	<u>China and the Mekong Delta: Water Savior or Water Tyrant?</u> ^(ကိန္နိက) <u>Don't be fooled by reports</u>	The Mekong Delta is facing its <u>worst drought in recent history, causing food and water shortages for over half a million people</u> . The Chinese

Coding	Head	Lead
	about China discharging water to alleviate <u>drought along the Mekong</u>	government has made headlines amidst the <u>disaster for its decision</u> to release water from upstream dams within China's borders. Chinese ministry spokesman Lu Kang said in a news briefing that China "hopes it can be of help in alleviating the drought downstream."
G72	Surge in Mekong hydropower projects <u>riles</u> neighbors, environmentalists	CHIANG SAEN, Thailand — Laos is proceeding with ambitious plans to build two hydroelectric dams on the Mekong river, <u>angering its downstream neighbors</u> and environmentalists, who see the projects as a <u>catastrophe</u> in the making.
G77	In Laos, <u>poorly designed</u> Don Sahong dam <u>threatens</u> Mekong	Environmentalists <u>slam</u> Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) based on "incomplete" research. <u>The project endangers fish and more than 60 million people living in the lower basin of the river.</u> Some of the endangered species are "unique". <u>Damage is estimated at between US\$ 1.4 and 3.9 billion a year.</u>
G78	Xayaburi Dam, Mekong River Hydroelectric Project, In Laos Remains ...	A proposed dam project in Southeast Asia is drawing <u>greater concerns</u> as it pits opportunities for economic and infrastructural developments against <u>environmental worries.</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
G92	Study begins to look at <u>impact of Mekong hydropower plans</u>	A study has been kicked off to look at proposed hydropower developments on the Mekong River and <u>their impact on more than 60 million people living around it</u> , officials said Friday.
G93	Hydropower dams, water diversion<u>threaten</u> Mekong Delta's water ...	VietNamNet Bridge – Scientists have once again raised their <u>concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta</u> , saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's plans to divert the river are <u>the biggest threats</u> .
G94	<u>Loas has been accused of starting work on the controversial Mekong dam without formal approval.</u>	Environmentalists <u>opposed to the construction</u> on one of Asia's most important rivers <u>have accused the authorities</u> of going ahead with plans to build roads and remove villagers, the Independent reports. Environmentalists claim the <u>dam could lead to the extinction of endangered fish and adversely affect 60 million people</u> .
G99	<u>Decision looms (appear) for controversial Xayaburi dam on lower Mekong.</u>	As plans go ahead for construction of the US\$3.5 billion (107 billion baht) Xayaburi Dam along the Lower Mekong, critics <u>warn</u> that the dam would <u>irreversibly change (cannot regain) the ecology of the Mekong River, threaten fisheries and pose risks</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
		<u>to the food security and livelihoods of millions of people.</u> The dam is also bringing renewed attention on <u>the lack of transparency and dubious energy planning</u> by the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT).
G111	UN report cites Chinese dams as <u>threat</u> to Mekong	China's plans to build a series of eight dams on the upper reaches of the Mekong River <u>have come under criticism</u> by the United Nations, which released a report last week stating that the Chinese plan "may pose the single <u>greatest threat</u> to the river".
G112	Dams upriver <u>exacerbate drought</u> in Mekong Delta -- 1000 Years	Experts at the conference <u>reject</u> study results that claimed the 11 hydropower dams in the Mekong River had little impact on Vietnam and millions of people downstream Aside from natural forces like climate change, countries' actions <u>have worsened the drought and salinity in Vietnam's Mekong Delta.</u>
G114	Dams <u>Threaten</u> Mekong Basin Food Supply Inter Press Service	The future of food security in the Mekong region lies at a crossroads, as several development ventures, including the Xayaburi Hydropower Project, <u>threaten to alter fish migration routes, disrupt the flow of sediments and nutrients downstream, and endanger millions whose livelihoods depend on the Mekong River basin's resources.</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
G115	Hydropower dams <u>threaten</u> Mekong Delta – Talk Vietnam	<p><u>Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region.</u></p> <p>The <u>problem</u> was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region’s water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos.</p>
G117	Kith Meng Backs Plans for Three Hydropower Dams –...	<p>Kith Meng, one of the country’s wealthiest businessmen, is behind three proposed hydropower dams, the Council of Ministers has confirmed, including what would be the largest by far on the main stream of the Mekong River in Cambodia.</p>
G123	Mekong River Commission Announces Construction of Xayaburi Dam ...	<p>Guam – – Senator Jim Webb, who has led Congressional efforts <u>to prevent irreversible environmental damage</u> that would result from hydroelectric dams on the main stem of the Mekong River, called the decision to delay the Xayaburi Dam “an important step toward responsible policy that will <u>protect the economic and environmental conditions of more than 60 million people.</u>” Earlier today, the Mekong River Commission announced that construction of <u>the controversial dam in Laos</u> will be</p>

Coding	Head	Lead
		postponed until additional environmental impact studies can be completed.
G127	Laos moves ahead with third contentious Mekong dam News OK	Laos has notified its Southeast Asian neighbors that it's moving ahead with a third contentious hydroelectric dam on the Mekong River's mainstream.
G128	Misery on the Mekong - Gulf News	A new front line in <u>the global battle over water</u> emerges as China dams the mighty river to quench its thirst for hydro-electric power
G131	Laos' Dam Project and the China-Vietnam Balance - Stratfor Worldview	Laos reportedly has deferred its decision on whether to pursue a <u>controversial dam on the Mekong River</u> that has <u>sparked strong opposition from its downstream neighbors</u> , particularly Vietnam. Though Vietnam retains strong influence over Laos, and could use its investment and aid as a bargaining chip to influence the dam plan, it can do so only at the risk of expanding China's growing influence in Laos.
G133	CAMBODIAN VILLAGERS REFUSE TO LEAVE HOMES AS DAM TESTING FLOODS SESAN DISTRICT	<u>Villagers affected by the U.S. \$781 million Lower Sesan 2 hydropower dam project on Mekong River</u> tributaries in northeastern Cambodia's Stung Treng province said on Monday that they will remain in their villages

Coding	Head	Lead
		as the water level keeps rising during a test of the 400-megawatt project.
G136	Hydropower dams, water diversion threaten Mekong Delta's water security	VietNamNet Bridge - Scientists have once again raised their <u>concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta</u> , saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's plans to <u>divert the river are the biggest threats</u> .
G150	<u>China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism The Daily Star</u>	<u>China rejected criticism</u> yesterday of its dams on the <u>shrinking Mekong River</u> , telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not <u>to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people</u> . At a landmark meeting with the heads of four Southeast Asian nations, Beijing's Vice Foreign Minister Song Tao denied activists' criticism that <u>the hydropower dams had exacerbated (worsen) decades-low water levels downstream</u> .
G166	<u>Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions</u>	In November Laos notified its neighbours—Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam—of its intention to move forward with a contentious third hydropower dam on the Mekong River, the Pak Beng dam. The announcement indicates that despite the <u>environmental concerns of other</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
		<u>countries that the Mekong flows through</u> , particularly downstream countries Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will continue to pursue its goal of becoming the "battery of South-east Asia". Although relations between the three countries remain good at present, <u>we caution that the pursuit of such a policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources.</u>
N1	<u>Dam projects require serious debate</u>	A review of Thailand's energy plans reveals an abundant electricity supply that vastly exceeds demand. So in the midst of this energy glut (abundant), why are we pushing hard to build more <u>problematic hydroelectric dams in our neighbours' territories?</u>
N6	<u>Environment group calls for delay in Lao dam projects</u>	Thailand and Laos should <u>delay</u> signing deals for 1,500 megawatts of hydroelectricity this month until the <u>social and environmental impact</u> from past projects is addressed, the International Rivers Network said yesterday.
N15	The politics of power	<u>Sudden changes in energy policy</u> have become as predictable as an oil price hike ahead of a major national holiday. But even taking into account the <u>capricious (sudden change) nature of</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
		<u>such policies and the impact of</u> external factors outside our control, the last few months have been <u>as</u> turbulent as a roller-coaster ride.
N17	Xayaburi in hot water <u>Mekong dam project is</u> <u>halted, feared doomed</u>	<u>Concerns</u> are mounting that the US\$3.7-billion Xayaburi Dam cannot proceed after the four- Analysts said the decision at last week's MRC meeting disappointed the Thai market and <u>raised concerns</u> about the outlook of Ch. Karnchang (CK), Thailand's No.3 construction company by value and the project's developer.
N33	Rising Mekong <u>halts</u> Xayaboury work	Workers have temporarily <u>halted</u> <u>construction</u> work on the Xayaboury hydropower dam in northern Laos due to high water levels of the Mekong River.
N51	<u>Dam projects require serious</u> <u>debate</u>	A review of Thailand's energy plans reveals an abundant electricity supply that vastly exceeds demand. So in the midst of this energy glut, why are we pushing hard to build more <u>problematic hydroelectric dams</u> in our neighbours' territories?

2. Hyperbole

Coding	Head	Lead
G9	RIVER OF CHANGE: HYDROPOWER DAMS AND THE MEKONG RIVER'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE	<u>Irrevocably change</u> is underway upriver and downriver – from China to the Mekong delta – as countries along the river's length pursue hydroelectric dams as a path to power generation.
G33	<u>A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ...</u>	Climate change is expected to increase <u>global competition for water</u> . Under President Xi Jinping, China has been aggressively asserting claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks of rock into artificial islands. Another <u>water fight could be just as explosive</u> —this one involving fresh water.
G43	<u>Chinese dams draining the life from Mekong River - The Australian</u>	DOZENS of stranded Chinese cargo boats wallow by the parched banks of the Mekong River. Trading companies, their names emblazoned in Chinese characters, are shuttered.
G51	<u>Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'</u>	Laos' planned dams will halve (split) fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study BANGKOK • Experts are warning that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face depleting (ทำให้หมดไป) fish stocks, further erosion of the coastline and rising salinity that will make rice fields uncultivable.

Coding	Head	Lead
G52	Chinese dams blamed for exacerbating (worsen) Southeast Asian ... - AP News	HANOI, Vietnam (AP) — As China opened one of its six dams on the upper Mekong River last month to help parched Southeast Asian countries down river cope with a record drought, it was hailed as <u>benevolent (kind) water diplomacy.</u>
G67	Mekong River dam proposal a conservation crisis? Laos defers decision amid controversy that the plan would destroy a lifeline for millions in Southeast Asia	Millions of people living along the Mekong River face a crisis that could destroy their lifeline and <u>kill off whole species of fish</u> : construction of a dam — the first of 11 proposed in the waterway's lower basin — in Laos. Conservationists warn that the dam could significantly reduce the critical fish stock in the Mekong, the world's most productive inland fishery.
G71	China and the Mekong Delta: Water Savior or Water Tyrant?(พริ้งพริ้ว) Don't be fooled by reports about China discharging water to alleviate drought along the Mekong.	The Mekong Delta is facing its worst drought in recent history, causing food and water shortages for over half a million people. The Chinese government has made headlines amidst the disaster for its decision to release water from upstream dams within China's borders. Chinese ministry spokesman Lu Kang said in a news briefing that China "hopes it can be of help in alleviating the drought downstream."

Coding	Head	Lead
G128	Misery on the Mekong - Gulf News	A new front line in the <u>global battle over water emerges</u> as China dams the mighty river to quench its thirst for hydro-electric power
G150	<u>China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism The Daily Star</u>	China rejected criticism yesterday of its dams on the <u>shrinking Mekong River</u> , telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people. At a landmark meeting with the heads of four Southeast Asian nations, Beijing's Vice Foreign Minister Song Tao denied activists' criticism that the hydropower dams had exacerbated (worsen) decades-low water levels downstream.
G166	<u>Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions</u>	In November Laos notified its neighbours—Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam—of its intention to move forward with a contentious third hydropower dam on the Mekong River, the Pak Beng dam. The announcement indicates that despite the environmental concerns of other countries that the Mekong flows through, particularly downstream countries Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will continue to pursue its goal of becoming the <u>"battery of South-east Asia"</u> . Although relations between the

Coding	Head	Lead
		three countries remain good at present, we caution that the pursuit of such a policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources.
N15	The politics of power	Sudden changes in energy policy have become as predictable as an oil price hike ahead of a major national holiday. But even taking into account the capricious (sudden change) nature of such policies and the impact of external factors outside our control, the last few months <u>have been as turbulent as a roller-coaster ride.</u>

3. Compassion move None
4. Apparent Altruism move None
5. Apparent Honesty move None
6. Negative comparison (3)

Coding	Head	Lead
G71	China and the Mekong Delta: Water Savior or Water Tyrant?(พริตท) Don't be fooled by reports about China discharging water to alleviate drought along the Mekong.	The Mekong Delta is facing its worst drought in recent history, causing food and water shortages for over half a million people. The Chinese government has made headlines amidst the disaster for its decision to

Coding	Head	Lead
		release water from upstream dams within China's borders. Chinese ministry spokesman Lu Kang said in a news briefing that China "hopes it can be of help in alleviating the drought downstream."
G51	<u>Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'</u>	Laos' planned dams will halve (split) fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study BANGKOK • Experts are warning that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face depleting (ทำให้หมดไป) fish stocks, further erosion of the coastline and rising salinity that will make rice fields uncultivable.
N48	BRAHMA CHELLANEY: A water war in Asia?	Tensions over water are rising in Asia - and not only because of conflicting maritime claims. While territorial disputes, such as in the South China Sea, attract the most attention - after all, they threaten safety and freedom of navigation, which affects outside powers as well - the strategic ramifications of competition over transnationally shared freshwater resources are just as ominous.

7. Generalization

Coding	Head	Lead
G21	'Vicious capitalism' speeds up completion of first mainstream dam in ...	Like many hydropower projects, the Xayaburi Dam in northern Laos comes with pros and cons. While the Lao government and investors focus on economic benefits, environmentalists and residents voice concerns over risks it may bring to the Mekong. In her 1,800-kilometre journey across Thailand and Laos, Channel NewsAsia's Pichayada Promchertchoo investigates who actually benefits from the controversial project.
G33	A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ...	Climate change is expected to increase global competition for water. Under President Xi Jinping, China has been aggressively asserting claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks of rock into artificial islands. Another water fight could be just as explosive—this one involving fresh water.
G166	<u>Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions</u>	In November Laos notified its neighbours—Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam—of its intention to move forward with a contentious third hydropower dam on the Mekong River, the Pak Beng dam. The

Coding	Head	Lead
		announcement indicates that despite the environmental concerns of other countries that the Mekong flows through, particularly downstream countries Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will continue to pursue its goal of becoming the " <u>battery of South-east Asia</u> ". Although relations between the three countries remain good at present, we caution that the pursuit of such a policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources.

8. Concretization

Coding	Head	Lead
G11	More <u>Alarms</u> Over Next Hydropower Dam in Laos	The Laos government is pressing ahead with a new dam on the Lower Mekong River, leading scientists and activists to warn of growing threats to regional food security.
G33	A Water Fight Like No Other May Be <u>Brewing</u> Over Asia's Rivers ...	Climate change is expected to increase global competition for water. Under President Xi Jinping, China has been aggressively asserting claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks of rock into artificial islands. Another water fight could be just as <u>explosive</u> —this one involving fresh water.

Coding	Head	Lead
G43	Chinese dams <u>draining the life</u> from Mekong River - The Australian	DOZENS of stranded Chinese cargo boats wallow by the parched banks of the Mekong River. Trading companies, their names emblazoned in Chinese characters, are shuttered.
G150	<u>China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism The Daily Star</u>	China rejected criticism yesterday of its dams on the <u>shrinking Mekong River</u> , telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people. At a landmark meeting with the heads of four Southeast Asian nations, Beijing's Vice Foreign Minister Song Tao denied activists' criticism that the hydropower dams had exacerbated (worsen) decades-low water levels downstream.
N15	The politics of power	Sudden changes in energy policy have become as predictable as an oil price hike ahead of a major national holiday. But even taking into account the capricious (sudden change) nature of such policies and the impact of external factors outside our control, the last few months have been <u>as turbulent as a roller-coaster ride</u> .

9. Alliteration None

10. Warning

Coding	Head	Lead
G1	Vietnam <u>urges</u> Laos to <u>rethink</u> Mekong River dams	Vietnam wants Lao to <u>reconsider</u> the Pak Beng hydropower project as its environmental impacts to the Mekong Delta will strike Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos badly.
G6	Laos Dam Poses Environmental Dangers to Lower Mekong Basin	Plans for the newest hydropower dam on the Mekong River will <u>need dramatically improved environmental safeguards in order to minimize damage to fish</u> and other wildlife in the river basin, researchers say.
G7	Experts 'greatly disappointed' by yet another Mekong hydropower dam ...	International environment experts are <u>urging</u> Vietnam and its Mekong River neighbors to <u>cancel</u> another hydropower project amid <u>concerns</u> that the project is flawed and needs to be fixed.
G9	RIVER OF CHANGE: HYDROPOWER DAMS AND THE MEKONG RIVER'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE	<u>Irrevocably change is underway upriver and downriver</u> – from China to the Mekong delta – as countries along the river's length pursue hydroelectric dams as a path to power generation.
G11	<u>More Alarms Over Next Hydropower Dam in Laos</u>	The Laos government is pressing ahead with a new dam on the Lower Mekong River, leading scientists and activists to <u>warn</u> of growing threats to regional food security.

Coding	Head	Lead
G16	New Laos dam draws criticism	News that Laos will move ahead with the proposed 912-megawatt Pak Beng dam, which would be the third mainstream dam in Laos' Lower Mekong River, <u>has sparked criticism from environmental groups who say downstream countries should decide the fate of potentially harmful development projects.</u>
G17	China Hydropower Having Major Impact Along Mekong River: Study ...	<u>Hydropower facilities along the upper reaches of the Lancang, which becomes the Mekong River as it flows out of China, have led to major river-flow changes affecting Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, according to a study from Finland's Aalto University</u>
G18	Mekong basin dams pose danger: experts	VietNamNet Bridge – Countries in the Mekong River basin <u>have been urged to stop building hydroelectric dams on the river's main stream as alluvial soil and vital nutrients are being seriously depleted.</u>
G25	NGOs slam the new Mekong dam	Environmental organizations and civil society groups <u>have expressed concern</u> at plans to build another dam along the Mekong River in Laos and asked the Lao government to suspend the project due to the effects it will have on communities, water flow and fishery resources in Cambodia.G

Coding	Head	Lead
G40	<u>China's Huge Dam Projects Will Threaten Southeast Asia As Water ...</u>	A river is born high in the Tibetan Plateau, before snaking its way 3,000 miles south and emptying itself into the South China Sea. On its journey, it passes through six countries, sustaining their ecosystems and local economies, its fisheries providing a lifeline for 60 million people in its lower basin.
G41	<u>Climate Change: Mekong Delta heads for troubled waters</u>	Lush greenery in the lower Mekong region sprawls (stretch out)+ as far as the eye can see, an illustration of just how fertile the delta is. The endless green fields scored by the river's nine tributaries, which the Vietnamese call "Nine Dragons", explain why this area is one of the world's major food baskets
G44	<u>Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta region</u>	Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region. The problem was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region's water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos. At the forum, Professor Ha ThanhToan, Headmaster of Can Tho University, <u>said that in recent years,</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
		<u>the Mekong Delta has been affected by climate change and the effects of hydropower dams.</u>
G51	Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'	Laos' planned dams <u>will halve (split) fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study</u> BANGKOK • <u>Experts are warning</u> that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face depleting (ทำให้หมดไป) fish stocks, further erosion of the coastline and rising salinity that will make rice fields uncultivable.
G53	Pressure mounts to delay "dangerous" \$3.5 billion Mekong	BANGKOK (Reuters) - Plans for the first dam across the lower Mekong River are putting Laos on a collision course with its neighbors and <u>environmentalists who fear livelihoods, fish species and farmland could be destroyed, potentially sparking a food crisis</u>
G54	<u>Hydropower threatens Mekong ecosystem</u>	Scientists have once again <u>warned against</u> the 12 hydropower projects along the Mekong River that will cause non-recoverable damages to the river's ecosystem as well as threaten food security of residents in the riparian countries.
G67	Mekong River dam proposal a conservation crisis? Laos defers decision amid	Millions of people living along the Mekong River face a <u>crisis that could destroy their lifeline and kill off whole</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
	controversy that the plan would destroy a lifeline for millions in Southeast Asia	species of fish: construction of a dam — the first of 11 proposed in the waterway's lower basin — in Laos. <u>Conservationists warn</u> that the dam could significantly reduce the critical fish stock in the Mekong, the world's most productive inland fishery.
G71	China and the Mekong Delta: Water Savior or Water Tyrant?(พริ้ง) Don't be fooled by reports about China discharging water to alleviate drought along the Mekong.	The Mekong Delta is facing its worst <u>drought in recent history, causing food and water shortages</u> for over half a million people. The Chinese government has made headlines amidst the disaster for its decision to release water from upstream dams within China's borders. Chinese ministry spokesman Lu Kang said in a news briefing that China "hopes it can be of help in alleviating the drought downstream."
G72	Surge in Mekong hydropower projects <u>riles neighbors,</u> environmentalists	CHIANG SAEN, Thailand — Laos is proceeding with ambitious plans to build two hydroelectric dams on the Mekong river, <u>angering its downstream neighbors and environmentalists, who see the projects as a catastrophe in the making.</u>
G77	In Laos, poorly designed Don Sahong dam threatens <u>Mekong</u>	<u>Environmentalists slam Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)</u> based on "incomplete" research. <u>The project</u>

Coding	Head	Lead
		<u>endangers fish and more than 60 million people living in the lower basin of the river.</u> Some of the endangered species are "unique". Damage is estimated at between US\$ 1.4 and 3.9 billion a year.
G78	Xayaburi Dam, Mekong River Hydroelectric Project, In Laos Remains ...	<u>A proposed dam project in Southeast Asia is drawing greater concerns</u> as it pits opportunities for economic and infrastructural developments against environmental worries.
G92	Study begins to look at impact of Mekong hydropower plans	<u>A study has been kicked off</u> to look at proposed hydropower developments on the Mekong River and their impact on more than 60 million people living around it, officials said Friday.
G93	Hydropower dams, water diversion <u>threaten Mekong Delta's water</u> ...	VietNamNet Bridge – <u>Scientists have once again raised their concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta</u> , saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's plans to divert the river are the biggest threats.
G94	Loas has been accused of starting work on the controversial Mekong dam without formal approval.	Environmentalists opposed to the construction on one of Asia's most important rivers have accused the authorities of going ahead with plans to build roads and remove villagers, the Independent reports.

Coding	Head	Lead
		<u>Environmentalists claim the dam could lead to the extinction of endangered fish and adversely affect 60 million people.</u>
G99	Decision looms (appear) for controversial Xayaburi dam on lower Mekong.	As plans go ahead for construction of the US\$3.5 billion (107 billion baht) Xayaburi Dam along the Lower Mekong, <u>critics warn</u> that the dam would irreversibly change (cannot regain) the ecology of the Mekong River, threaten fisheries and pose risks to the food security and livelihoods of millions of people. The dam is also bringing renewed attention on the lack of transparency and dubious energy planning by the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT).
G111	<u>UN report cites Chinese dams as threat to Mekong</u>	China's plans to build a series of eight dams on the upper reaches of the Mekong River have come under criticism by the United Nations, which released a report last week stating that the Chinese <u>plan "may pose the single greatest threat to the river"</u> .
G112	<u>Dams upriver exacerbate drought in Mekong Delta -- 1000 Years</u>	Experts at the conference reject study results that claimed the 11 hydropower dams in the Mekong River had little impact on Vietnam and millions of people downstream Aside from natural forces like climate

Coding	Head	Lead
		change, countries' actions have worsened the drought and salinity in Vietnam's Mekong Delta.
G114	<u>Dams Threaten Mekong Basin Food Supply</u> Inter Press Service	<u>The future of food security in the Mekong region lies at a crossroads</u> , as several development ventures, including the Xayaburi Hydropower Project, threaten to alter fish migration routes, disrupt the flow of sediments and nutrients downstream, and endanger millions whose livelihoods depend on the Mekong River basin's resources.
G115	<u>Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta</u> – Talk Vietnam	<u>Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region.</u> The problem was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region's water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos.
G136	Hydropower dams, water diversion <u>threaten</u> Mekong Delta's water security	VietNamNet Bridge - <u>Scientists have once again raised their concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta</u> , saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's plans to divert the river are the biggest threats.

Coding	Head	Lead
G166	<u>Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions</u>	In November Laos notified its neighbours—Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam—of its intention to move forward with a contentious third hydropower dam on the Mekong River, the Pak Beng dam. The announcement indicates that despite the environmental concerns of other countries that the Mekong flows through, particularly downstream countries Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will continue to pursue its goal of becoming the "battery of South-east Asia". Although relations between the three countries remain good at present, we caution that the pursuit of such a policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources.
N15	The politics of power	Sudden changes in energy policy have become as predictable as an oil price hike ahead of a major national holiday. But even taking into account the <u>capricious (sudden change) nature</u> of such policies and the impact of external factors outside our control, the last few months have been as turbulent as a roller-coaster ride.
N17	Xayaburi in hot water Mekong dam project is halted, feared doomed	<u>Concerns are</u> mounting that the US\$3.7-billion Xayaburi Dam cannot proceed after the four- Analysts said

Coding	Head	Lead
		the decision at last week's MRC meeting disappointed the Thai market and raised concerns about the outlook of Ch. Karnchang (CK), Thailand's No.3 construction company by value and the project's developer.

11. Norm and value violation

Coding	Head	Lead
G45	BBC News - <u>China rejects Mekong River dam criticism</u>	China has rejected claims that its dams on the Mekong River are to blame for record low water levels in downstream nations.
G52	Chinese dams blamed for exacerbating (worsen)Southeast Asian ... - AP News	HANOI, Vietnam (AP) — As China opened one of its six dams on the upper Mekong River last month to help parched Southeast Asian countries down river cope with a record drought, it was hailed as benevolent (kind) water diplomacy.
G94	<u>Loas has been accused of starting work on the controversial Mekong dam without formal approval.</u>	Environmentalists opposed to the construction on one of Asia's most important rivers have accused the authorities of going ahead with plans to build roads and remove villagers, the Independent reports.
		Environmentalists claim the dam could lead to the extinction of endangered fish and adversely affect 60 million people.

Coding	Head	Lead
G150	<u>China dismisses (ignore)</u> <u>Mekong dam criticism The</u> <u>Daily Star</u>	China rejected <u>criticism</u> yesterday of its dams on the shrinking Mekong River, telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people. At a landmark meeting with the heads of four Southeast Asian nations, Beijing's Vice Foreign Minister Song Tao denied activists' <u>criticism that the hydropower dams had exacerbated (worsen) decades-low water levels downstream.</u>
N42	HAT GYI SCHEME FOR SALWEEN CRITICISED Villagers 'ignored' in dam study	>> Civic groups and villagers have accused electricity authorities of pushing through a controversial hydropower dam project on the Salween River without input from the public or transparency in negotiations.

12. Presupposition 74

Coding	Head	Lead
G1	Vietnam urges Laos to rethink Mekong River dams	Vietnam wants Lao to reconsider the Pak Beng hydropower project as its environmental impacts to the Mekong Delta will strike Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos badly.
G6	Laos Dam Poses Environmental Dangers to Lower Mekong Basin	Plans for the newest hydropower dam on the Mekong River will need dramatically improved environmental

Coding	Head	Lead
		safeguards in order to minimize damage to fish and other wildlife in the river basin, researchers say.
G7	Experts 'greatly disappointed' by yet another Mekong hydropower dam ...	International environment experts are urging Vietnam and its Mekong River neighbors to cancel another hydropower project amid concerns that the project is flawed and needs to be fixed.
G9	RIVER OF CHANGE: HYDROPOWER DAMS AND THE MEKONG RIVER'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE	Irrevocably change is underway upriver and downriver – from China to the Mekong delta – as countries along the river's length pursue hydroelectric dams as a path to power generation.
G11	More Alarms Over Next Hydropower Dam in Laos	The Laos government is pressing ahead with a new dam on the Lower Mekong River, leading scientists and activists to warn of growing threats to regional food security.
G16	New Laos dam draws criticism	News that Laos will move ahead with the proposed 912-megawatt Pak Beng dam, which would be the third mainstream dam in Laos' Lower Mekong River, has sparked criticism from environmental groups who say downstream countries should decide the fate of potentially harmful development projects.
G17	China Hydropower Having Major Impact Along Mekong River: Study ...	Hydropower facilities along the upper reaches of the Lancang, which becomes the Mekong River as it flows

Coding	Head	Lead
		out of China, have led to major river-flow changes affecting Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, according to a <u>study</u> from Finland's Aalto University
G18	Mekong basin dams pose danger: experts	VietNamNet Bridge – Countries in the Mekong River basin have been urged to stop building hydroelectric dams on the river's main stream as alluvial soil and vital nutrients are being seriously depleted.
G19	Dams, drought and disaster along the Mekong river	The dry months before the monsoon rains arrive are often tough for Cambodian fishermen and farmers. But with rivers drying up and drinking water running out, conditions have rarely been as bad as they are now.
G20	Laos moves ahead with third <u>contentious Mekong dam</u>	Laos has notified its Southeast Asian neighbors that it's moving ahead with a third contentious hydroelectric dam on the Mekong River's mainstream.
G24	Multiple dams are an ominous threat to life on the Mekong River	A total of 11 dams are planned along the Mekong, storing up trouble for millions of people, the world's largest inland fishery and critically endangered species
G25	NGOs slam the new Mekong dam	Environmental organizations and civil society groups have expressed concern at plans to build another dam along the Mekong River in Laos and asked the

Coding	Head	Lead
		Lao government to suspend the project due to the effects it will have on communities, water flow and fishery resources in Cambodia.
G32	Lao hydropower project death sentence for Mekong fish -	The construction of the Don Sahong hydropower project in southern Laos' Champasak Province has cut off a main fish migration channel in the Mekong River, compromising the livelihoods of millions of people along the river basin
G33	A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ...	Climate change is expected to increase global competition for water. Under President Xi Jinping, China has been aggressively asserting claims to most of the South China Sea, angering neighbors by turning specks of rock into artificial islands. Another water fight could be just as explosive —this one involving fresh water.
G38	New era of big dam building on the Mekong? .	More than 50 years have passed since Australian engineers from the Snowy Hydroelectric Authority did site studies for the huge Sambor Dam on the Mekong River in Cambodia, but the mega project is now back on the drawing board.
G40	China's Huge Dam Projects Will Threaten Southeast Asia As Water ...	A river is born high in the Tibetan Plateau, before snaking its way 3,000 miles south and emptying itself into

Coding	Head	Lead
		the South China Sea. On its journey, it passes through six countries, sustaining their ecosystems and local economies, its fisheries providing a lifeline for 60 million people in its lower basin.
G43	Chinese dams draining the life from Mekong River - The Australian	DOZENS of stranded Chinese cargo boats wallow by the parched banks of the Mekong River. Trading companies, their names emblazoned in Chinese characters, are shuttered.
G44	Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta region	<p>Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region.</p> <p>The problem was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region's water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos.</p> <p>At the forum, Professor Ha ThanhToan, Headmaster of Can Tho University, said that in recent years, the Mekong Delta has been affected by climate change and the effects of hydropower dams.</p>
G45	BBC News - China rejects Mekong River dam criticism	China has rejected claims that its dams on the Mekong River are to blame for record low water levels in downstream nations.

Coding	Head	Lead
G49	Tensions rise over Mekong dam	Laos faced pressure from its neighbours on Tuesday to delay construction of a controversial dam on the Mekong River as they failed to agree on a project that has sparked deep environmental concerns.
G51	Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'	Laos' planned dams will halve (split) fish stocks, ruin rice fields, harm people, says Vietnamese study BANGKOK • Experts are warning that the Lower Mekong Basin may soon face depleting (ทำให้หมดไป) fish stocks, further erosion of the coastline and rising salinity that will make rice fields uncultivable.
G52	Chinese dams blamed for exacerbating (worsen) Southeast Asian ... - AP News	HANOI, Vietnam (AP) — As China opened one of its six dams on the upper Mekong River last month to help parched Southeast Asian countries down river cope with a record drought, it was hailed as benevolent (kind) water diplomacy.
G54	Hydropower threatens Mekong ecosystem	Scientists have once again warned against the 12 hydropower projects along the Mekong River that will cause non-recoverable damages to the river's ecosystem as well as threaten food security of residents in the riparian countries.

Coding	Head	Lead
G66	Thousands sign petition against Mekong dam ...	Huynh Thi Kim Duyen said her community in Ca Mau Province has seen a significant decline in fish stocks and water levels in the Mekong River in the past decade.
G67	Mekong River dam proposal a conservation crisis? Laos defers decision amid controversy that the plan would destroy a lifeline for millions in Southeast Asia	Millions of people living along the Mekong River face a crisis that could destroy their lifeline and kill off whole species of fish: construction of a dam — the first of 11 proposed in the waterway's lower basin — in Laos. Conservationists warn that the dam could significantly reduce the critical fish stock in the Mekong, the world's most productive inland fishery.
G72	Surge in Mekong hydropower projects riles neighbors, environmentalists	CHIANG SAEN, Thailand — Laos is proceeding with ambitious plans to build two hydroelectric dams on the Mekong river, angering its downstream neighbors and environmentalists, who see the projects as a catastrophe in the making.
G77	In Laos, poorly designed Don Sahong dam threatens Mekong	Environmentalists slam Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) based on "incomplete" research. The project endangers fish and more than 60 million people living in the lower basin of the river. Some of the endangered species are "unique".

Coding	Head	Lead
		Damage is estimated at between US\$ 1.4 and 3.9 billion a year.
G92	Study begins to look at impact of Mekong hydropower plans	A study has been kicked off to look at proposed hydropower developments on the Mekong River and their impact on more than 60 million people living around it, officials said Friday.
G93	Hydropower dams, water diversion threaten Mekong Delta's water ...	VietNamNet Bridge – Scientists have once again raised their concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta, saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's plans to divert the river are the biggest threats.
G94	Laos has been accused of starting work on the controversial Mekong dam without formal approval.	Environmentalists opposed to the construction on one of Asia's most important rivers have accused the authorities of going ahead with plans to build roads and remove villagers, the Independent reports. Environmentalists claim the dam could lead to the extinction of endangered fish and adversely affect 60 million people.
G99	Decision looms (appear) for controversial Xayaburi dam on lower Mekong.	As plans go ahead for construction of the US\$3.5 billion (107 billion baht) Xayaburi Dam along the Lower Mekong, critics warn that the dam would irreversibly change (cannot

Coding	Head	Lead
		regain) the ecology of the Mekong River, threaten fisheries and pose risks to the food security and livelihoods of millions of people. The dam is also bringing renewed attention on the lack of transparency and dubious energy planning by the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT).
G111	UN report cites Chinese dams as threat to Mekong	China's plans to build a series of eight dams on the upper reaches of the Mekong River have come under criticism by the United Nations, which released a report last week stating that the Chinese plan "may pose the single greatest threat to the river".
G112	Dams upriver exacerbate drought in Mekong Delta – 1000 Years	Experts at the conference reject study results that claimed the 11 hydropower dams in the Mekong River had little impact on Vietnam and millions of people downstream Aside from natural forces like climate change, countries' actions have worsened the drought and salinity in Vietnam's Mekong Delta.
G114	Dams Threaten Mekong Basin Food Supply Inter Press Service	The future of food security in the Mekong region lies at a crossroads, as several development ventures, including the Xayaburi Hydropower Project, threaten to alter fish migration routes, disrupt the flow of sediments

Coding	Head	Lead
		and nutrients downstream, and endanger millions whose livelihoods depend on the Mekong River basin's resources.
G115	Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta – Talk Vietnam	Hydropower dams on the Upper Mekong River have seriously affected the Mekong Delta region. The problem was discussed at a forum on the Mekong Delta region's water source security held in Can Tho City on May 29, attracting the participation of experts of China, Cambodia, China, Thailand and Laos.
G123	Mekong River Commission Announces Construction of Xayaburi Dam ...	Guam – – Senator Jim Webb, who has led Congressional efforts to prevent irreversible environmental damage that would result from hydroelectric dams on the main stem of the Mekong River, called the decision to delay the Xayaburi Dam “an important step toward responsible policy that will protect the economic and environmental conditions of more than 60 million people.” Earlier today, the Mekong River Commission announced that construction of the controversial dam in Laos will be postponed until additional environmental impact studies can be completed.

Coding	Head	Lead
G127	Laos moves ahead with third contentious Mekong dam News OK	Laos has notified its Southeast Asian neighbors that it's moving ahead with a third contentious hydroelectric dam on the Mekong River's mainstream.
G131	Laos' Dam Project and the China-Vietnam Balance - Stratfor Worldview	Laos reportedly has deferred its decision on whether to pursue a controversial dam on the Mekong River that has sparked strong opposition from its downstream neighbors, particularly Vietnam. Though Vietnam retains strong influence over Laos, and could use its investment and aid as a bargaining chip to influence the dam plan, it can do so only at the risk of expanding China's growing influence in Laos.
G133	CAMBODIAN VILLAGERS REFUSE TO LEAVE HOMES AS DAM TESTING FLOODS SESAN DISTRICT	Villagers affected by the U.S. \$781 million Lower Sesan 2 hydropower dam project on Mekong River tributaries in northeastern Cambodia's Stung Treng province said on Monday that they will remain in their villages as the water level keeps rising during a test of the 400-megawatt project.
G136	Hydropower dams, water diversion threaten Mekong Delta's water security	VietNamNet Bridge - Scientists have once again raised their concerns about water security in the Mekong Delta, saying that hydropower dams on the Mekong River's upper course as well as Thailand, Laos and Cambodia's

Coding	Head	Lead
		plans to divert the river are the biggest threats.
G150	<u>China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism The Daily Star</u>	China rejected criticism yesterday of its dams on the shrinking Mekong River, telling Southeast Asian leaders that it was not to blame for a regional drought affecting millions of people. At a landmark meeting with the heads of four Southeast Asian nations, Beijing's Vice Foreign Minister Song Tao denied activists' criticism that the hydropower dams had exacerbated (worsen) decades-low water levels downstream.
G166	<u>Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions</u>	In November Laos notified its neighbours—Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam—of its intention to move forward with a contentious third hydropower dam on the Mekong River, the Pak Beng dam. The announcement indicates that despite the environmental concerns of other countries that the Mekong flows through, particularly downstream countries Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will continue to pursue its goal of becoming the "battery of South-east Asia". Although relations between the three countries remain good at present, we caution that the pursuit of such a

Coding	Head	Lead
		policy could lead to increased tensions over access to economic resources.
N1	Dam projects require serious debate	A review of Thailand's energy plans reveals an abundant electricity supply that vastly exceeds demand. So in the midst of this energy glut (abundant), why are we pushing hard to build more problematic hydroelectric dams in our neighbours' territories?
N2	World Bank says benefits of Chinese hydro dam 'impossible to quantify'	The World Bank has given China's second-largest hydro project a satisfactory rating on the resettlement of 46,000 people, despite having no data to assess whether anyone is better or worse off. The US\$2.2-billion Ertan dam on the Yalong River in Sichuan, now in its eighth year of operation, received more than US\$1 billion in loans and a decade of technical assistance from the WB, the biggest loan package ever extended by the world's leading financier of large dams
N4	Laos insists Thai investment projects are moving forward	Bangkok--October 4--Post--THAI media reports that the Laotian Government will scrap some of its contracts with Thai companies are exaggerated, according to the secretary-general of Laos' Foreign Investment Management Office. "We are not seriously considering dumping

Coding	Head	Lead
		these Thai projects," LeuaneSombounkhan told Business Post. The Foreign Investment Management Committee is currently negotiating with the investors in question, he said.
N5	EXIM Thailand Backs Thai-Lao Partnership in Sustainable Hydropower Development	EXIM Thailand is fully prepared to provide loans and equity financing to support Thai investments in hydropower development projects in Lao PDR to promote clean energy utilization and sustainable economic advancement for both Thailand and Lao PDR.
N6	Environment group calls for delay in Lao dam projects	Thailand and Laos should delay signing deals for 1,500 megawatts of hydroelectricity this month until the social and environmental impact from past projects is addressed, the International Rivers Network said yesterday.
N11	Burmese villagers question China over impact of dam	Minority groups in Burma are calling on the Chinese government to look into the negative impacts a dam on the Nam Mao River is having on people living downstream.
N12	Nam Theun 2 opens	VIENTIANE:NamTheun 2, the largest hydropower facility in Laos, has officially opened with more than 90% of the electricity being sold to

Coding	Head	Lead
		Thailand, providing Laos with a \$2-billion revenue stream over the next 25 years. The \$1.43-billion project is jointly owned by Electricite de France International, Egco Group Plc of Thailand and the Laotian government.
N14	Laos keeps its hydropower hopes alive	Don't dream the Xayaburi hydropower project is over. It's not dead yet, but Laos has a long fight ahead.
N15	The politics of power	Sudden changes in energy policy have become as predictable as an oil price hike ahead of a major national holiday. But even taking into account the capricious (sudden change) nature of such policies and the impact of external factors outside our control, the last few months have been as turbulent as a roller-coaster ride.
N17	Xayaburi in hot water Mekong dam project is halted, feared doomed	Concerns are mounting that the US\$3.7-billion Xayaburi Dam cannot proceed after the four- Analysts said the decision at last week's MRC meeting disappointed the Thai market and raised concerns about the outlook of Ch. Karnchang(CK), Thailand's No.3 construction company by value and the project's developer.
N19	Species, threats grow in Mekong region	Scientists identify a new species every two days in the Greater Mekong region, the WWF said Monday, in a

Coding	Head	Lead
		report detailing 2010's more unusual finds such as a leaf warbler and a self-cloning lizard.
N20	FOOD SECURITY KEY ISSUE IN MEKONG DAM DEBATE	Not only is the waterway home to millions of people, but the freshwater fish it supplies is a major food source for the people of four different countries By PiyapornWongruang
N25	Moody's latest report on China's top renewable energy firms	Hong Kong, December 18, 2012 -- Moody's Investors Service has just released a detailed credit analysis on China Longyuan Power Group Corporation Limited (Baa3 stable) -- the world's second-largest wind power company by installed capacity -- following Moody's announcement on 28 November that it had assigned a first-time rating for the company.
N26	Moody's latest report on China's top renewable energy firms Italian-Thai says local investors wary of project	The Thai and Myanmar governments agreed to raise funds to finance the development of the massive Daweideepsea port and special economic zone project during a key meeting in Myanmar yesterday.
N30	Hydrotek plans Lao hydropower units	NAN: HydrotekPlc (HYDRO), the MAI-listed water company, wants to launch small hydropower plants worth 500 million to 1 billion baht in Laos in the near future.

Coding	Head	Lead
N31	PLAIN TALK: Illusory riches await Laos in its dam quest	Among Thailand's neighbours, Laos is the country with which Thai people feel the strongest affinity. Not only do we share a common border, but we also share a common language and culture.
N32	Vietnam and World Bank Sign The First Emission Reductions Purchase Agreement for Renewable Energy Development	Hanoi, December 20, 2013 – Vietnam is now ready to launch a carbon finance program that will help green the country's national electricity grid in a commercially sustainable manner.
N33	Rising Mekong halts Xayaboury work	Workers have temporarily halted construction work on the Xayaboury hydropower dam in northern Laos due to high water levels of the Mekong River.
N36	Thailand signs up for Asean grid	Joining 5 neighbours in GMS electricity pact Electricity trading in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) is starting to take shape now that Thailand is the last Southeast Asian country to sign an agreement under the "Asean grid".
N37	China pledges (make agreement) \$11.5 billion aid to Mekong nations	BEIJING - China will provide more than US\$11.5 billion in loans and aid to neighbouring Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam, mostly for infrastructure and industrial

Coding	Head	Lead
		capacity building, state media said Saturday.
N38	Laos has moved from tiny service unit to regional energy supplier	From having only one small power plant with a low installed capacity that generated electricity for only a few areas, Laos has now become a major regional supplier of electricity.
N40	Public consultations on Mekong dam project commence	The first regional public consultation on the Don Sahong hydropower project took place in Pakxe town of Champassak province on Friday to further the Mekong River Commission's prior consultation process.
N41	Government green light for power purchase from Laos	The government approved a draft memorandum of understanding (MoU) yesterday to purchase electricity from the Nam Thuen 1 hydropower project in Laos.
N48	BRAHMA CHELLANEY: A water war in Asia?	Tensions over water are rising in Asia - and not only because of conflicting maritime claims. While territorial disputes, such as in the South China Sea, attract the most attention - after all, they threaten safety and freedom of navigation, which affects outside powers as well - the strategic ramifications of competition over transnationally shared freshwater resources are just as ominous.

Coding	Head	Lead
N50	Vietnam to Strengthen Renewable Energy Potential with Stations to Measure Solar Resources	HANOI, September 20, 2017- The World Bank and the Electricity of Vietnam (EVN) launched today a campaign to promote the deployment of renewable energy in the country, with the installation of five solar measurement stations across the country.
N51	Dam projects require serious debate	A review of Thailand's energy plans reveals an abundant electricity supply that vastly exceeds demand. So in the midst of this energy glut, why are we pushing hard to build more problematic hydroelectric dams in our neighbours' territories?
N54	Ample reason to put Stung Nam plans on hold QUESTIONS OF TRANSPARENCY AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY NEED TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE THAILAND FINALISES THE DEAL WITH CAMBODIA	The Prayut government appears to have learned an important lesson from the controversial Bt40-billion Stung Nam hydropower-water supply project. Just before Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha was due to visit Cambodia on September 7, the project became controversial, with critics sharply questioning the feasibility and transparency of the scheme.
N55	Silence on suspended dam deal as Prayut and Hun Sen agree to stronger bilateral ties	ONLY DAYS after Thailand halted the Bt40-billion Stung Nam hydropower project, Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha and his Cambodian counterpart Hun Sen yesterday agreed

Coding	Head	Lead
		to enhance economic ties and connectivity.
N56	PM plays down impact of dam suspension on ties PRAYUT TO VISIT CAMBODIA TODAY BUT POSTPONED PROJECT 'NOT ON AGENDA' FOR BILATERAL TALKS	PRIME MINISTER Prayut Chan-o-cha has defended his decision to suspend the Bt40-billion Stung Nam hydropower dam project, saying mishandling the venture would affect relations with Cambodia where he will hold a joint Cabinet meeting today.
N58	Prayut suspends Bt40-bn Cambodian dam project	PRIME MINISTER Prayut Chan-o-cha, who is scheduled to visit Cambodia tomorrow, has ordered a suspension of the Bt40-billion project to buy electricity and fresh water from Cambodia's Stung Nam hydropower scheme.
N59	Prayut puts Cambodia hydropower deal on hold Water need in doubt as energy price stuns	Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha has ordered authorities to delay investment in the Stung Nam hydropower project and buying power from Cambodia, amid mounting criticism over unusually high prices in the proposed contract.
N65	Hydro plants power Laos into middle-income status	THE LAOS government is leveraging its rich hydropower resources in a bid to lift the country out of lower-middle income status by 2020.

APPENDIX C

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES /PRESUPPOSITIONS

Coding	Head	Presupposition
G1	Vietnam urges Laos to rethink Mekong River dams	>> Laos thought about Mekong River dams.
G6	Laos Dam Poses Environmental Dangers to Lower Mekong Basin	>> Laos Dam is dangerous t environmental of the Lower Mekong Basin
G7	Experts 'greatly disappointed' by yet another Mekong hydropower dam ...	>> Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G9	RIVER OF CHANGE: HYDROPOWER DAMS AND THE MEKONG RIVER'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE	>> Hydropower dams already existed on the Mekong River.
G11	More Alarms Over Next Hydropower Dam in Laos	>> Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G16	New Laos dam draws criticism	>> Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G17	China Hydropower Having Major Impact Along Mekong River: Study ...	>> China hydropower dams were built on the Mekong River.
G18	Mekong basin dams pose danger: experts	>> Dams existed on the Mekong River.
G19	Dams, drought and disaster along the Mekong river	>>The relation of dams, drought and disaster is occurring on the Mekong.
G20	Laos moves ahead with third contentious Mekong dam	>> Laos already constructed two dams on the Mekong River.

Coding	Head	Presupposition
G21	'Vicious capitalism' speeds up completion of first mainstream dam in ...	
G24	Multiple dams are an ominous threat to life on the Mekong River	>> Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G25	NGOs slam the new Mekong dam	>>Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G29	Cambodia News: hydropower dam	
G32	Lao hydropower project death sentence for Mekong fish	>> Laos is planning for the hydropower dam on the Mekong River.
G33	A Water Fight Like No Other May Be Brewing Over Asia's Rivers ...	>> Water conflict is happening in the region.
G38	New era of big dam building on the Mekong? .	>> There are dam constructions on the Mekong River.
G40	China's Huge Dam Projects Will Threaten Southeast Asia As Water ...	>> China already built huge dams on the Mekong.
G41	Climate Change: Mekong Delta heads for troubled waters	
G43	Chinese dams draining the life from Mekong River - The Australian	>> China already built dams on the Mekong.
G44	Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta region	>> Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G45	BBC News - China rejects	>> A criticism on the China's dam on the

Coding	Head	Presupposition
	Mekong River dam criticism	Mekong was already made.
G46	Why ASEAN must pay more attention to the Mekong Delta - Opinion ...	
G49	Tensions rise over Mekong dam	>>Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G51	Mekong dams 'a grave threat to river'	>>Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G52	Chinese dams blamed for exacerbating (worsen) Southeast Asian ... - AP News	>> China already built dams on the Mekong.
G53	Pressure mounts to delay "dangerous" \$3.5 billion Mekong	
G54	Hydropower threatens Mekong ecosystem	>>Mekong hydropower dam (s) existed.
G57	No More Dams on the Mekong	>>Mekong dam (s) already existed.
G66	Thousands sign petition against Mekong dam ...	>>Mekong dam (s) already existed. >> Some social parties disagreed on the Mekong's dam projects.
G67	Mekong River dam proposal a conservation crisis? Laos defers decision amid controversy that the plan would destroy a lifeline for millions in Southeast Asia	>>Mekong dam (s) already existed. >> Laos is planning to build dam on the Mekong River.
G71	China and the Mekong Delta: Water Savior or Water Tyrant?(ทศพร) 	

Coding	Head	Presupposition
	Don't be fooled by reports about China discharging water to alleviate drought along the Mekong.	
G72	Surge in Mekong hydropower projects riles neighbors, environmentalists	>>Mekong hydropower dam (s) existed. >> Neighboring countries shared the Mekong River and its environment.
G77	In Laos, poorly designed Don Sahong dam threatens Mekong	>> Laos has built Don Sahong dam on the Mekong River. >> Don Sahong dam has poor design.
G78	Xayaburi Dam, Mekong River Hydroelectric Project, In Laos Remains ...	
G92	Study begins to look at impact of Mekong hydropower plans	>> The previous studies may have never looked closely on the impact of the Mekong hydropower before.
G93	Hydropower dams, water diversion threaten Mekong Delta's water ...	>>Mekong hydropower dam (s) already existed.
G94	Loas has been accused of starting work on the controversial Mekong dam without formal approval.	>> Laos is planning to build dam on the Mekong River. >> Building dam on the Mekong should be approved by others.
G99	Decision looms (appear) for controversial Xayaburi dam on lower Mekong.	>>Xayaburi dam already existed on the lower Mekong.
G111	UN report cites Chinese dams as threat to Mekong	>> China already built dams on the Mekong.
G112	Dams upriver exacerbate drought in Mekong Delta --	>> There are dams on the upper Mekong.

Coding	Head	Presupposition
	1000 Years	
G114	Dams Threaten Mekong Basin Food Supply Inter Press Service	>>Mekong hydropower dam (s) already existed.
G115	Hydropower dams threaten Mekong Delta – Talk Vietnam	>>Mekong hydropower dam (s) already existed.
G117	Kith Meng Backs Plans for Three Hydropower Dams –...	
G123	Mekong River Commission Announces Construction of Xayaburi Dam ...	>> There is a plan to construct Xayaburi dam on the Mekong.
G127	Laos moves ahead with third contentious Mekong dam 	>> Laos already built two dams on the Mekong.
G128	Misery on the Mekong - Gulf News	
G131	Laos' Dam Project and the China-Vietnam Balance - Stratfor Worldview	>> Laos is having a plan to build dam on the Mekong.
G133	CAMBODIAN VILLAGERS REFUSE TO LEAVE HOMES AS DAM TESTING FLOODS SESAN DISTRICT (SESAN DAM IS BUILT ON THE TRIBUTARY OF THE MEKONG)	>>Seasam dam is already built.
G136	Hydropower dams, water diversion threaten Mekong Delta's water security	>> Mekong hydropower dam (s) already existed.

Coding	Head	Presupposition
G150	<u>China dismisses (ignore) Mekong dam criticism</u>	>> China already built dams on the Mekong. >>there is criticism on China's dams on the Mekong.
G166	<u>Mekong hydropower could lead to an increase in tensions</u>	>>Mekong hydropower dam (s) already existed.
N1	Dam projects require serious debate	>> There already projects on dam construction.
N2	World Bank says benefits of Chinese hydro dam 'impossible to quantify'	>> China already built dams on the Mekong.
N4	Laos insists Thai investment projects are moving forward	>> There are Thai investment projects in Laos.
N5	EXIM Thailand Backs Thai-Lao Partnership in Sustainable Hydropower Development	>> EXIM bank (of Thailand) supports hydropower dam projects.
N6	Environment group calls for delay in Lao dam projects	>> Laos has projects on dam construction.
N7	PEA sets up international investment unit	
N8	Egat upbeat (optimistic) on Hatgyi prospects	
N9	CK targets B50bn backlog in 2 years Goal will rely on megaprojects	
N10	Egco seeks more power plants abroad	

Coding	Head	Presupposition
N11	Burmese villagers question China over impact of dam	>> China already built dams on the Mekong.
N12	Nam Theun 2 opens	Nam Theun 1 already existed.
N13	CK predicts B15bn in revenue for 2011	
N14	Laos keeps its hydropower hopes alive	>> Laos has projects on dam construction.
N15	The politics of power	>> There is a conflict on power among nations.
N16	Surapong to discuss power with Burma	
N17	Xayaburi in hot water Mekong dam project is halted, feared doomed	>> There is a plan to construct Xayaburi dam on the Mekong.
N19	Species, threats grow in Mekong region	>> Species on the Mekong is under threat.
N20	FOOD SECURITY KEY ISSUE IN MEKONG DAM DEBATE	>> Mekong hydropower dam (s) already existed.
N23	126 new species found in region	
N25	Moody's latest report on China's top renewable energy firms	>> China has operated several renewable energy firms.
N26	Moody's latest report on China's top renewable energy firms Italian-Thai says local investors wary of project	>> China has operated several renewable energy firms.

Coding	Head	Presupposition
N28	Myanmar takes the long view	
N29	Thailand must say 'no'	
N30	Hydrotek plans Lao hydropower units	>> Laos has hydropower dam.
N31	PLAIN TALK: Illusory riches await Laos in its dam quest	>> Laos has interests in dam project (on the Mekong).
N32	Vietnam and World Bank Sign The First Emission Reductions Purchase Agreement for Renewable Energy Development	>> Vietnam government promotes the use of renewable energy. >> The World Bank promotes the use of renewable energy.
N33	Rising Mekong halts Xayaboury work	>> There is a plan to construct Xayaburi dam on the Mekong.
N34	PTT power unit plans 2014 SET listing	
N35	CKP eyes eight SPP licences Total investment estimated at B40bn	
N36	Thailand signs up for Asean grid	>>Asean grid is already established.
N37	China pledges (make agreement) \$11.5 billion aid to Mekong nations	>> China has supported financial aid for the Mekong's nations.
N38	Laos has moved from tiny service unit to regional energy supplier	>> Laos is becoming a regional energy supplier.
N39	Greater Mekong Subregion likely still a decade away	

Coding	Head	Presupposition
N40	Public consultations on Mekong dam project commence	>> There is a plan for dam construction on the Mekong. >> The public consultation on the Mekong dam is made.
N41	Government green light for power purchase from Laos	>>Government (Thailand) has a plan to purchase power from Laos. >> Laos has produced power for selling.
N43	China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd. Assigned 'AA-' And 'cnAAA' Ratings; Outlook Stable	
N44	TRIS Rating Assigns “BBB+/Stable” Rating to Senior Unsecured Debt Worth Up to US\$200 Million of “Lao PDR	
N45	should Asia aim for in Paris?	
N46	CK targets up to B38bn in revenue	
N47	China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd. 'AA-' And 'cnAAA' Ratings Affirmed On Stable Cash Flows; Outlook Negative	
N48	BRAHMA CHELLANEY: A water war in Asia?	>> Conflict on water management existed in Aisa.
N49	Egco swings back from loss to B2.84bn profit Chaiyaphum plant to supply national grid	

Coding	Head	Presupposition
N50	Vietnam to Strengthen Renewable Energy Potential with Stations to Measure Solar Resources	>> Vietnam government supports to use renewable energy i.e. solar cell
N51	Dam projects require serious debate	>> Dam projects (on the Mekong) already existed.
N52	Neighbourly diplomacy shifts from Laos	
N53	PTT plans lithium ion battery plant Facility envisioned for EEC, to open by 2019	
N54	Ample reason to put Stung Nam plans on hold QUESTIONS OF TRANSPARENCY AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY NEED TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE THAILAND FINALISES THE DEAL WITH CAMBODIA	>> Thai government has an investment plan on Stung Nam dam with Cambodia government.
N55	Silence on suspended dam deal as Prayut(Thia Prime Minster)and Hun Sen(Cambodia Prime Minister)agree to stronger bilateral ties	>> Thai and Cambodia government had a mutual plan on dam project.
N56	PM plays down impact of dam suspension on ties PRAYUT TO VISIT	>>Thai and Cambodia government had a mutual plan on dam project.

Coding	Head	Presupposition
	CAMBODIA TODAY BUT POSTPONED PROJECT 'NOT ON AGENDA' FOR BILATERAL TALKS	
N58	Prayut (Thailand Prime Minister) suspends Bt40-bn Cambodian dam project	>> Thai government has a plan to invest dam project in Cambodia.
N59	Prayut puts Cambodia hydropower deal on hold Water need in doubt as energy price stuns	>> Thai government has a plan to invest dam project in Cambodia.
N65	Hydro plants power Laos into middle-income status	>> Laos is investing in power industry.

BIOGRAPHY

NAME

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ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

Bachelor Degree with a major in English from Mahasarakham University, Thailand in 1997 and a Master's Degree of Arts (Linguistics) in 2003.

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