IntechOpen

Advances in Discourse Analysis

Edited by Lavinia Suciu

Advances in
Discourse Analysis

Edited by Lavinia Suciu

IntechOpen

Supporting open minds since 2005

Notice
Statements and opinions expressed in the chapters are these of the individual contributors and not necessarily those of the editors or publisher. No responsibility is accepted for the accuracy of information contained in the published chapters. The publisher assumes no responsibility for any damage or injury to persons or property arising out of the use of any materials, instructions, methods or ideas contained in the book.

We are IntechOpen,
the world's leading publisher of Open Access books
Built by scientists, for scientists

4,100+
Open access books available

116,000+
International authors and editors

120M+
Downloads

151
Countries delivered to

Our authors are among the

Top 1%
most cited scientists

12.2%
Contributors from top 500 universities

Interested in publishing with us?
Contact book.department@intechopen.com

Numbers displayed above are based on latest data collected.
For more information visit www.intechopen.com

Meet the editor

Lavinia Suciu is a reader in the Department of Communication and Foreign Languages at Politehnica University Timişoara, Romania. She teaches the following courses: Discourse Analysis, Introduction to the Theories of Communication, Oral and Written Communication, Pragmatics, Text Analysis and Production, and Contemporary Romanian Language. From 2012, Lavinia Suciu has been the coordinator of the interdisciplinary master's degree program "Communication, public relations and digital media", in collaboration with the Faculty of Electronics and Telecommunications. She holds a bachelor and doctoral degree from the West University of Timişoara. Her PhD thesis is entitled "The Institutional Discourse: Structure and Specific Functions". It analyzes the institutional communication on the basis of an original and interdisciplinary analytical model, which has elements of discourse analysis, pragmatic linguistics, sociology, and psychology. Her constant interest in the interdisciplinary research of communication and in the analysis of the organization's communication is reflected in the published and communicated scientific research papers (35 national and international scientific articles), in the teaching materials (4 online courses), and in 5 published books.

Contents

Preface

The discourse analysis domain is defined by mobility and diversity. Based on the interdisciplinarity of discourse research, in which rhetorical and philological practices meet philosophical or socio-normative ones, discourse analysis provides relevance in deciphering the meaning of communication as an important qualitative research method. As an epistemological framework for the investigation of discourse, discourse analysis offers the instruments of highlighting the everyday manifestations of social problems in communication and interaction.

Current communication is increasingly revealing various ways in which content can be expressed as well as the diversity of dissemination means. The studies on discourse revealed the indisputable influence that situational and technical factors exert on communication, generating its variety and complexity.

The Discourse Analysis book is structured in three sections: "Introduction", "Discourse, Society, Culture" and " Discourse in Professional Contexts". The Introductory Chapter, which is a retrospective approach to research on discourse, represents the theoretical frame of reference for the following chapters of the book.

In this book, the authors have chosen a selection of specific topics from real-life communication situations, highlighting the usefulness of discourse analysis in producing and interpreting meaning. The authors of the chapters have various scholarly affiliations and they work in international academic circles. Their research represents an attempt to provide various theoretical and empirical frameworks that may convince us about the connection between language and society.

All the contributions to the book reveal originality in conception or interpretation of data. Each chapter provides a rationale for the topic being covered. The authors observe the social and political life and they use the theories of discourse analysis to explain several events, facts or actions from the social, political, or professional context. They try to offer an image of our world, from different points of view and in different social and interactional contexts.

Even though the methods and the problems discussed vary, the authors pursue the same objective: to offer a relevant vision of actual society and also to answer the future challenges. I believe that this book provides some important insights into the complexities of present-day communication by studying the interaction of the twenty-first century.

Lavinia Suciu, PhD
Assistant Professor, Politehnica University Timisoara,
Department of Communication and Foreign Languages,
Timisoara, Romania

Section 1

Introduction

Introductory Chapter: Discourse and Discourse Analysis. A Retrospective Approach

Lavinia Suciu

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to highlight the theoretical frame of reference for the works included in this book. We intend to delimit the field of study for discourse analysis by highlighting the main theories and concepts that ensure its specificity. Interdisciplinary, which is the distinctive feature of discourse analysis, marks the evolution of research in this field that we are trying to capture in our proposed retrospective approach.

The review of research that configures the domain of discourse analysis illustrates the latter relevance in deciphering the meaning of communication as an important qualitative research method in the field of communication sciences. This is, in fact, the orientation we propose to the *Discourse Analysis* book, since the studies that it contains reflect the usefulness of discourse analysis in determining the meaning in real-life communication situations.

2. Key premises

Discourse analysis has emerged as a field of discourse research, responding to the interdisciplinary requirement claimed by the complexity of the subject matter. According to D. Rovenţa-Frumuşani [1], the discourse analysis field is defined by mobility and diversity, 'a crucible in which recent tendencies converge (the philosophy of language, the theory of enunciation, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, etc.) and century-old practices (rhetorical or philological)'—or socio-normative ones, thinking about the various concepts of the interactive ritual. Thus, discourse analysis provides a heterogeneous epistemological framework for the investigation of the discourse as a signifying system.

In these terms, discourse analysis becomes a viable qualitative method in communication research. Following a period when structuralist theories dominated the search for the meaning of communication, discourse analysis emerged as an interdisciplinary space in which the epistemological paradigms of pragmatics (the new rhetoric, the theory of enunciation, the theory of speech acts) and of sociology (ethnomethodology, ethnography of communication, analysis of conversation, sociolinguistics) cohabit. In her book, *Approaches to Discourse* [2], Deborah Schiffrin presents six approaches that she considers to be dominant in discourse analysis in order to study 'the use of language for social, expressive and referential purposes': the theory of speech acts, pragmatics, ethnomethodology, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication and variational sociolinguistics.

The trans- and interdisciplinary character of the field is thus updated in theories and concepts that intend to articulate the language with social, psychological and cultural factors in order to produce and decipher its meaning. Despite its heterogeneity, from this perspective, the discourse analysis finds its unity and consistency in the existence of certain common points of the disciplines that contribute to its constitution, namely:

- Conceptualization of the discourse as a collective construction

- Intervention of social and cultural norms, which determines roles and relationships of the participants, as well as the content of the messages

- Social and interactive character of language

- Dynamics of the enunciation

Linguistic research on discourse channelizes interest towards detecting regularities through which coherence of phrases is achieved therein. Observations about the transphrastic connection at the level of discourse have existed since antiquity. Creating an oration implied the division of the orator's task into five stages: *inventio* (searching for ideas and arguments), *dispositio* (organisation of arguments), *elocutio* (application of writing/stylistic techniques), *actio* (application of oral expression techniques) and *memoria* (application of techniques of recalling the arguments of the oration, intervening either in free or improvised speech) [3]. Thus, classical rhetoric pointed out both the way of linking the demonstrative moments of the speech, hence the semantic connection, as well as the way of linking the linguistic elements, by *elocutio*, i.e. the explicit interphrastic connection.

The study of the transphrastic connection as a feature of the discourse is addressed in modern linguistics by introducing the conceptual couples' *theme* and *rheme*/*topic* and *comment* (in the American discourse analysis) where the significance attributed to the *theme* reflects the transgression of the sentence and the reference to earlier elements expressed in the discourse. In this respect, an important role is played by the representatives of the Prague school who asserted the unity of the discourse as communicative act, where the information input and, consequently, the progression of the text are mirrored by the relationship between *theme* and *rheme* [4, 5].

Zelig Harris's article *Discourse Analysis* (1952), which establishes the term *discourse analysis* to refer to research on the discourse, addresses the question of discursive contiguity on a formal plane, highlighting two issues relevant to what will later become discourse analysis. The first refers to overcoming the perspective limited to the study of the sentence, and the second concerns the correlation between culture (understood as nonlinguistic behaviour) and language/linguistic behaviour. For Harris, the connection between sentences is the result of the situation in which they have been articulated, which would lead to the conclusion that similar situations produce similarities of discourses. Harris' theory has been compromised, in the opinion of Segre, by ignoring the signified and the intention of the speaker, a fact that generates the acknowledgement of the necessity that, in the analysis, one should relate to the semantic aspects of the discourse [4].

Following the issue of discoursiveness, we consider it important to refer to the conceptual distinction between competence and performance in Noam Chomsky's generative grammar, developed in the second half of the 1950s.

Chomsky's theory of linguistics opposes the notions of competence and performance, defining *linguistic competence* as a set of knowledge/information about the

language available to any ideal speaker-listener, while *linguistic performance* involves the different ways in which this knowledge/information is used in the activity of producing statements, that is, in communication [6]. This conceptualization highlights the dissociation of grammar knowledge (rules, syntactic structures) from a set of other knowledge and skills related to the use of language.

The issue of competence-performance opposition, according to Latraverse [7], is relative to the neglect of aspects of speech activity that are not regulated by grammar competence and neither do they reveal any performance. The nature of communication, assuming not only the utterance of words or sentences but also mimicry, gesticulation, etc., implies the observation that beyond the verbal message one can identify an aspect whose role is not limited to illustrating the fact that the statement was produced by someone who speaks a language in a context, but that it works in order to make sense. This aspect, which falls under both competence and performance, is rendered with the help of discoursiveness.

Taking the intermediate position between competence and performance, the discourse has two dimensions: a contextual one (it cannot be dissociated from the context) and another dimension, the practice of language. Through the practical dimension of language, the discourse involves acts and interactions in which language plays the role of instrument or means of the communicative action. From this perspective, redefining competence and performance, one may say that the former relates to the rules that mechanically fix the structural description of the sentences, and the latter refers to norms, conventions and even rules that specify how contextual factors interact with grammatical structures to determine the meaning of the statement. Such an approach allows the *installation* of the interpretative approach proper to discourse analysis.

In response to Chomsky's theory, Dell Hymes, the founder of ethnographic trend in communication research, introduces the notion of *communicative competence*, meaning a feature of the individual, constituting an ensemble of cultural and interactive knowledge, a hyper-competence resulting from the completion of the linguistic knowledge obtained from grammars and dictionaries, with a series of extralinguistic knowledge.

The impossibility of addressing the discourse outside of the situation in which it is issued implies the disclosure of the pragmatic aspect of communication and opens the way of establishing a pragmatic perspective on the one hand and an anthropo-sociological perspective on the other. Pragmatics, attempting, in Ch. Morris' conception, 'to develop some appropriate terms for studying the relationship of signs with those who make use of them, and for systematically ordering the results of this study' [4] is considered a framework capable of justifying and clarifying the discursive elements that cannot be elucidated or exhausted by linguistic analysis. On the other hand, the anthropo-sociological perspective can constitute the complementary paradigm necessary to reach the semantic plurality of discourse, by taking into account the interactive and socio-normative contexts.

3. The evolution of research on the discourse

The first stage in the study of discourse, marked by the indissoluble relationship between the signified and the signifier, according to which the perception of the signified is conditioned by the one of the signifier, covers its microstructural level (phrastic and transphrastic). It is brought forward by modern theories aimed at revealing connections at macrostructural level that are necessary to understand discourse as a whole, that is, as a set of discursive units.

Structuralist theories, claiming to relate exclusively to the linguistic system, are clearly unsatisfactory, as well as the perspective of interaction that ignores the semiotic and symbolic plane. These 'disadvantages' lead to the formation of a new interdisciplinary field, based on concepts such as enunciation, interaction, transaction and performance, in which an investigative apparatus is formed, which establishes certain parameters to determine the meaning: intent, act, context and socio-interactional norms. The close connection between language act and social act is underlined by the notion according to which 'Discourse analysis should not only explain why certain statements and not others have been preferred, but also reflect how these statements have mobilised forces and have influenced social networks' [8]. The refusal of discourse analysis, in general, to conceptualise language through its representation function and to promote a communicative action designation for it causes a considerable change in the perspective that establishes the meaning of communication.

Research in the field has been going on to various directions for more than 30 years. Many of the research perspectives that form the field of discourse analysis are grouped in two directions, the Anglo-American one and the French one. Baylon [9] makes a comparative synthesis of research on the discourse in the two directions, of which we mention a few general aspects.

First of all, four fundamental paradigms are detected in discourse analysis that can be traced on both axes on which discourse research has evolved:

- Structural-functional

- Social/sociolinguistic

- Pragmatic

- Critical

The Anglo-American approach focuses almost exclusively on the internal properties of the discourse, namely, consistency, cohesion and pertinence, refusing the wider perspective situated beyond interpersonal connections and the reference to social context. The trends that marked the Anglo-American direction are anthropology and sociology, while the French direction was influenced by psychoanalysis, Marxism and linguistics.

In the Anglo-American discourse research, one can find a direction in which a great part of the theories was written, namely, the study of the structures of the discourse and of the functions they perform in social and cultural contexts. Since the 1970s, with the advent of Dell Hymes's ethnography of communication, which suggests that the interest of discourse analysis consists in the way how language works in different communication events to create and reflect elements of culture (an approach to communication across the cultural factor).

Then, there is sociolinguistics, oriented to the description of language used inside small social groups, to the study of conversation, argumentation and of other conventional interactions [10, 11]. The gender analysis [12] focuses on describing the structure of the text in context in the discourses of certain communities, on how the text reflects the social aspect of the domain, no matter if it belongs to natural, social or human sciences. Halliday focuses on the structural analysis of the text, while representatives of critical discourse analysis (van Dijk) appeal to various social theories to analyse the complex relationship between language and ideology in various contexts.

Potter highlights three significant aspects regarding the preoccupations of Anglo-American discourse analysis [13]:

- The way in which some conceptions on the world, society, events and inner universes of the individuals involved in the social practices are produced through the discourse

- The manners in which participants develop and undermine their constructions in verbal exchanges

- The way in which a text is a version that presents an objective reality and develops, in terms of coherence, as a stand-alone reality

The French orientation privileges language study in the social context, focusing on revealing interdisciplinary, intertextual or sequential relationships. Based on Bahtin's writings, strongly impregnated by Marxist ideology, the French direction highlights the communicative function of language, which is regarded as social action. Starting from the premise of the social and interactive dimension of language, a linguistic trend is developed that some theoreticians consider socially relevant and realistic. In this context, the discourse acquired a strong social determinant. Thus, in the view of D. Maingueneau, the discourse analysis sums up approaches to discourse, bringing the subjects' activity, the enunciation dynamics and the relation to the social context to the foreground [8].

The methodology of discourse analysis in French research relates to language on the one hand and to historical, sociological, psychoanalytic, philosophical and pragmatic considerations on the other, due to the correlation of the statement with its production conditions. From this perspective, the analysis of the discourse is not about *what* the text says, but about *how* it says it, along two indissociable orientations, namely, the analysis of the actual discourse (assuming the study of the statements made in the corpus) and the theory of discourse (aiming at establishing rules that organise potential sequences of sentences).

In the view of M. Pêcheux, the discourse analysis offers the opportunity to study the immediate communicative situations through the appeal to the statement-enunciation relationship and to the pertinence of the discourse situations, as well as to the possibility to study the sociocultural situations within the pragmatic framework by approaching them with linguistic criteria: 'the language [...] establishes the possibility of discoursive processes, which may be set in specific production conditions determined historically by the ideological orientation of social formations' [14].

4. The new media and the new discourse

The performance of verbal exchanges in modern society reveals a context that undoubtedly bears the imprint of new means of communication, whose justification is to ensure the adaptation and integration of the individual in society, by mediating interindividual relations [15].

Through the intrusion of the new forms of media, current communication claims to provide a social binder, partly through the frequency of interpellation and the speed of exchange, partly due to the ability of the environment to privilege the primary dimension of communication. The presence of sound and image, in combination or not with the text, has become a constant of everyday verbal exchanges. The peculiarities of the environment lead to the proliferation of the forms of

communication, depending on the means of representing the meanings and their various possibilities of combining. Consequently, the production and deciphering of the meaning of communication requires a heterogeneous set of knowledge, likely to capture its complexity.

The reality of current verbal exchanges thus reflects the coexistence of the new with the old, in the sense of manifesting two parallel systems of communication—the old resources and the new technologies [16]. The coexistence of the old with the new in modern communication is marked by the remodelling of some of the traditional resources with the help of the new technologies (e.g. the principles of text organisation). According to this approach, the reconsideration of the discourse and of its means of investigation is a matter of exigency.

In our recent studies on digital discourse, we have proposed a method of research that involves the imbrication of certain elements of discourse analysis with some elements of image production and analysis as well as with elements related to the electronic environment. With regard to the latter, we need to specify that they can be converted into communication evaluation units, either by equating them with discourse analysis elements (e.g. the number of posts of a transmitter signifies an increase in the act of enunciation by that transmitter) or by semantic acquisition. Thus, the networks, the networking, the type of social channel and the way people communicate become indices of the transmitter's intention of positioning in relation to her/his receiver.

5. Research on the virtual/digital discourse

The interest in the virtual discourse began to manifest in the 1980s, when some linguists signalled the effect of electronic communication on language [17]. Thus, the study of virtual discourse focuses on language and language usage in the electronic environment, involving the application of methods of discourse analysis to interpret it.

In the first instance, the preoccupations for virtual discourse turned to a certain discursive genre, materialising in descriptions of virtual communication systems (the IBM synchronous message system or the Swedish COM conference system). Since the 1990s, an exploration has been made of this type of discourse.

The first wave of studies, focusing either on empirical descriptions of language in the virtual environment or on the variety of discourse in this environment, appears as a reaction to the existing perception of the virtual discourse. It is known that, in general, certain properties have been routinely attributed to virtual communication such as anonymity, impersonalism, egalitarianism, fragmentation or orality, generated by the nature of the channel. These studies have contributed to the development of the research axis by individualising this type of discourse and plotting its boundaries as a discursive genre.

Subsequently, the studies on the discourse revealed the indisputable influence that situational and technical factors exert on communication, generating its variety and complexity. The importance of environmental characteristics for understanding the nature of language in the digital environment has been demonstrated, while the effects of the electronic environment on the users' linguistic behaviour have been pointed out. Moreover, these particularities create a unique, special environment that, far from the competitive influence of other communication channels or the physical context, allows the study of verbal interaction and of the relationship between discourse and social practice.

The idea is that the virtual environment considerably marks the communication process in all its aspects, especially the way in which it unfolds. Both changes in the

communication practices regarding the type of interaction and writing, the content of communication and the public exposure (by adopting a virtual identity) are mentioned as well as the emergence and development of certain social communication channels (blog, forums, social networks) [18].

In terms of organisational interactions in the virtual environment, P. Levy emphasises the role played by the computer and the virtual networks in creating the interactive character of communication: 'The cyber-space provides cooperative construction tools for a common context for multiple, geographically scattered groups. The communication highlights its entire pragmatic dimension. It is no longer a diffusion or a transport of the message, but an interaction within a situation that everybody seeks to alter or stabilize, a negotiation of meanings, a process of mutual recognition and a contribution of individuals/groups in the communication process' [19].

Herring identifies two features of the virtual environment as sources of barriers in organising the interaction [17]:

1. Interruption/fragmentation of the chaining of replies caused by the fact that the messages are posted in the order they are received by the system, without taking into account the message with which a reply is related.

2. Absence of simultaneous feedback due to reduced audiovisual indices.

Verbal exchanges in the electronic environment are characterised by more rapidity than those specific to the written form of communication (e.g. letters, published essays, which require the other's response). On the other hand, compared to oral verbal exchanges, in the electronic environment, the verbal exchanges take place at a significantly slower pace, even in situations when the forms of electronic communication unfold in real time.

The discourse in the virtual environment allows the simultaneous participation of several interlocutors, which is difficult if not impossible in other environments due to cognitive limits on the ability of participants to perform more than one exchange at a particular moment [17].

Dissemination of electronic messages implies a transfer of information that does not occur in a context of coexistence: the transmitter and the receiver are not in the same physical context; the transmitter addresses a receiver he or she does not see and sometimes does not even know. Nevertheless, apparently, this fact leaves the impression of direct interaction, even 'private', in the opinion of King [20].

All these particularities of the discourse, which derive from the specificity of the environment in which it takes place, create the feeling of a distinct experience to the protagonists in relation to what the written or oral communication provides. Face-to-face interaction has a *rich* informational transfer environment updated in the many channels that go into operation: visual, auditory, gustatory, tactile, etc. In contrast, virtual communication only has a visual and sometimes auditory channel for transmitting information. The finding led to the conclusion that the electronic environment is an inappropriate one for the development of social relations. Despite the lack of specific direct communication indices, this claim was denied by the many expressive possibilities used by participants.

The electronic environment allows interlocutors to act/interact concomitantly on multiple communication channels (e.g. they listen to music while chatting). This capacity offered by new communication technologies is called *polyfocality* [21].

In contrast, the virtual environment is permissive from this point of view, the phenomenon being called *mutual monitoring possibilities*: writing or engaging in a

discussion in the real world does not impede a chat conversation at all, for example. Moreover, the environment gives users the opportunity to manifest themselves in the *primary involvement* without the interlocutor/interlocutors might feel offended. It is a shift in attention, in focus, which ultimately works as a limit imposed by the environment.

Therefore, communication in the virtual environment appears both permissive and coercive: on the one hand, it expands the possibilities of the interlocutors, on the other it restricts. In this sense, attention is more a social issue than an individual one, always being manifested in relation to someone (paying attention to *someone/* attracting *someone's* attention). Debray [22] uses the concept of *mediology* by attributing it a meaning that embraces both the one of 'communication media' and a significance related to their function.

Refraining from focusing on the means in a strict sense and rather focusing on their functional valences of the communication ('to be in between', to bind, to organise), this design implies understanding the concept of means in the present-day communication in a broader sense, given by the indissociable cohabitation of the technology and the social.

Encompassing the meaning of the interactional field, the context in virtual communication implies the social-individual game (which allows us to live together separately). According to Bougnox [15], technical equipment acquire their profound significance, completed by utilisation: 'No technique in itself carries its full meaning, as no statement is carrying meaning outside its enunciation'.

6. Conclusion

The analysis of the discourse seeks to understand the interactions in society, by trying to identify and analyse the rules used by individuals, the relationship between the linguistic regularities, on the one hand, meanings and finality, on the other hand that are negotiated through the discourse. In this respect, Maingueneau points out that the object of discourse analysis is neither the textual organisation in itself nor the communication situation, but the 'enunciative device that correlates a textual organization and a determined social place' [23].

In the opinion of van Dijk, 'discourse analysis gives us powerful and yet subtle instruments of highlighting the everyday manifestations of social problems in communication and interaction' [24]. Rovența-Frumușani [1] highlights the legitimacy of research that is found both at the level of content interpretation—through the existence of units that can only be dealt with using the discourse framework and the interpretation of the discourse that exceeds the sum of the meanings of the sentences—and at the level of the text-context relationship, using the ability to elucidate the utilization of language by individuals in real situations.

Author details

Lavinia Suciu
Politehnica University Timisoara, Timisoara, Romania

*Address all correspondence to: lavinia.suciu@upt.ro

IntechOpen

References

[1] Rovenţa-Frumuşani D. Analiza discursului Ipoteze şi ipostaze. Vol. 7. Bucureşti: Tritonic; 2004. 12 p

[2] Schiffrin D. Approaches to Discourse: Language as Social Interaction. Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell; 1994

[3] Robrieux JJ. Éléments de Rhétorique et d'Argumentation. Paris: Édition Dunod; 1993

[4] Segre C. Istorie–Cultură–Critică. Bucureşti: Editura Univers; 1986. pp. 331-348

[5] Lohisse J. Comunicarea De la transmiterea mecanică la interacţiune. Iaşi: Polirom; 2002

[6] Chomsky N. Le langage et la pensée. Paris: Édition Payot; 1994

[7] Latraverse F. La pragmatique Histoire et critique. Bruxelles: Mardaga; 1987. 184 p

[8] Maingueneau D. L'énonciation en linguistique française. Paris: Hachette; 1991. pp. 11-35

[9] Baylon C. Sociolinguistique Société, langue et discours. Paris: Nathan; 1991. pp. 235-238

[10] Schiffrin D. Meaning, Form, and Use in Context: Linguistic Applications. 1984. Available from: https://www.researchgate. net/profile/Mary_Fitzpatrick5/ publication/318912801_Personal_ group_and_couple_identities_ Towards_a_relational_context_ for_the_study_of_language_ attitudes_and_linguistic_forms/ links/598b1b0a0f7e9b9d44d46dec/ Personal-group-and-couple-identities- Towards-a-relational-context-for- the-study-of-language-attitudes-and- linguistic-forms.pdf [Accessed: 10, 2016]

[11] Tannen D. Conversational Style: Analyzing Talk among Friends. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation; 1984. Available from: https://www.scirp.org/ (S(lz5mqp453edsnp55rrgjct55))/ reference/ReferencesPapers. aspx?ReferenceID=1596691 [Accessed: 10, 2016]

[12] Bhatia VJ. Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings. London: Longman; 1994

[13] Silverman D. Interpretarea datelor calitative. Metode de analiză a comunicării, textului şi interacţiunii. Iaşi: Editura Polirom; 2004. 198 p

[14] Pêcheux M. Analyse du discours, langues et idéologies. Langages. 1975;**XXXVII**:11-27

[15] Bougnoux D. Introducere în ştiinţele comunicării. Editura Polirom: Iaşi; 2000. pp. 80-88

[16] Weasenforth D. Language Learning & Technology. 2006. 25-28 p. Available from: http://llt.msu.edu/vol10num2/ review2/ [Accessed: 02.2014]

[17] Herring, Susan C. Computer- mediated discourse. In: Schiffrin D, Tannen D, Hamilton HE, editors. The Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.; 2001. pp. 612-634. Available from: http://www google ro/books?hl=ro&lr =&id=6RfarwereacC&oi=fnd&pg=PR 7&dq=schiffrin+d +approaches+to+di scourse&ots=wDIW0eUI7n&sig=KXQ R5K05_DEUc7AQxAJGf8XP3yg&redir_ esc=y#v=onepage&q=schiffrin%20 d%20approaches%20to%20 discourse&f=false [Accessed: 04, 2014]

[18] Beciu C. Sociologia comunicării şi a spaţiului public. Iaşi: Polirom; 2011

[19] Lévy P. Qu'est-ce le virtuel? Paris: La Découverte; 1995. 111 p

[20] King S. Researching internet communities: Proposed ethical guidelines for the reporting of results. Information Society. 1996;**12**(2):119-127

[21] Jones RH. The problem of context in computer-mediated communication. In: Philip le Vine and Ron Scollon, editors. Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press; 2004. pp. 20-34. Available from: https:// repository library georgetown edu/ bitstream/handle/10822/558208/ GURT_2002_text pdf?sequence=1 [Accessed: 01, 2014]

[22] Debray R. Cours de médiologie générale. Paris: Editions Gallimard; 1991

[23] Charaudeau P, Maingueneau D, editors. Dictionnaire de l'analyse du discours. Paris: Seuil; 2002

[24] Van Dijk T, editor. Handbook of Discourse Analysis. New York: Academic Press; 1985

Section 2

Discourse Society Culture

Chapter 2

Discourses Analysis by a Decolonial Perspective

María Noel Míguez Passada

Abstract

In the last years in Latin America, the decolonial perspective has been growing up to analyze discourses in qualitative research. This theoretical, methodological, and epistemological way to deconstruction has done an interesting way to analyze social topics. Some authors like Dussel, Quijano, etc. have done the bases about this decolonial regard, which provides Latin American researchers a way to analyze social problems taking the North Global theories but also increasing them with our decolonial perspective. We call it the South Global regard. It is not only to know that the classifications and qualifications of the north global reproduce the inequalities in the material life, but also the theoretical and epistemological way to analyze it. The decolonial theory, used also to analyze discourses, gives the possibility to understand people's feelings, emotions, and sensations; meanwhile, words are given in the speeches, interviews, participating observation, focus group, etc.

Keywords: qualitative research, discourses, decoloniality

1. Introduction

This chapter gives an account of one of the perspectives framed in the Latin American critical theory around the processes of research: decolonial perspective. This theory, emerged at the end of the last century, has been generating more and more theoretical-methodological, ethical-political, and epistemological inputs, which have allowed to address reality in a social-historical framework from the Global South. The concepts of Global North and the Global South refer, more than to territorial delimitations around the northern hemisphere and the southern hemisphere of the globe, to epistemic demarcations in the production of knowledge of societies that have been colonizing or colonized and the power that this provides in the apprehension of knowledge and deconstruction of reality particularized and mediated by it. This epistemic break enhances the recognition of reality from a perspective that deconstructs the coloniality/modernity of the Global North, which has been internalized as absolute truth.

The logic of the exposition goes to the presentation of decoloniality as a theoretical-methodological approach to carry out the analysis of discourses and, substantially, to analyze them reflexively from a perspective that breaks the instituted and normative of the heterogeneity of the "should be." In this way, this decolonial turn is presented in his short history, to later reflect on the power that it has in the analysis of discourses.

2. Becoming of the modernity/coloniality group

In the mid-90s of the last century, various Latin American authors of social and human sciences began to meet in university spaces, such as Enrique Dussel, Aníbal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, Ramón Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado, and several others. These spaces would come to be the so-called Modernity/Coloniality Group. This generated the power of a collective feed through the analysis of reality from the particularities of a Global South colonized on the plane of being and thinking by a Global North in constant expansion.

For the presentation of this shallow development, the publication of Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel [1] is taken as the main source.

In 1996, the Peruvian sociologist, Aníbal Quijano, worked at the State University of New York (SUNY), in Binghamton, with Immanuel Wallerstein, who at the time was the director of the Ferdinand Braudel Center in Paris. Both authors were recognized in the international sphere since the 70s for their productions around the Theory of Dependence and System-World Analysis. By this time, Quijano participated in the seminars organized by the "Coloniality Working Group", directed by Kelvin Santiago, in which the Puerto Rican Grosfoguel also participated. Afro-Caribbean thinker Sylvia Wynters was also a part of that group, well-known in the United States for her work on colonial heritages.

In 1998, Edgardo Lander, a sociologist based in Venezuela, organized an event in Caracas, where Mignolo, Escobar, Quijano, Dussel, and Coronil were invited. From that event came one of the most important books produced by the group: "The coloniality of knowledge: Eurocentrism and social sciences", published in Buenos Aires in 2000. Also in that year, Grosfoguel and Quijano organized in Binghamton the international congress "Transmodernity, historical capitalism, and coloniality: a post-disciplinary dialogue", where Quijano, Wallerstein, and the Argentinians philosopher Enrique Dussel and semiologist Walter Mignolo participated. It was at this congress that Dussel, Quijano, and Mignolo met for the first time to discuss their approach to colonial legacies in Latin America, in dialog with Wallerstein's world-system analysis. Dussel was known in Latin America for being one of the founders of the Philosophy of Liberation in the 70s, while Mignolo was beginning to be recognized in the growing circle of postcolonial studies as a result of his book "The Darker Side of the Renaissance."

In 1999, the Binghamton group organized the event "History Sites of Colonial Disciplinary Practices: The Nation-State, the Bourgeois Family and the Enterprise", where the dialog with the postcolonial theories of Asia, Africa, and Latin America was opened. In this event, Vandana Swami, Chandra Mohanty, Zine Magubane, Sylvia Winters, Walter Mignolo, Anibal Quijano, and the Venezuelan anthropologist Fernando Coronil participated. On the other hand, Oscar Guardiola and Santiago Castro-Gómez organized, with the support of the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, the International Symposium "The restructuring of the social sciences in the Andean countries." Argentinean semiologist, Zulma Palermo, and German Romanist, Freya Schiwy, also joined. This event served as a catalyst for everything that had been happening in the other nodes of the network. From this activity, an academic cooperation agreement was signed between the Javeriana University of Bogotá, the Duke University, the University of North Carolina, and the Andean Simón Bolívar University of Quito to organize activities and publications on the subject of the geopolitics of knowledge and coloniality of power. From these spaces arise two books that will be the first publications of the group: "Think (in) the interstices, Theory and practice of postcolonial criticism" (1999) and "The restructuring of social sciences in Latin America" (2000).

For the beginning of the present millennium, the confluence of the System-World Analysis and the Latin American Theories on Coloniality were directed toward the production of knowledge of a new way of being and thinking. In the year 2000,

Grosfoguel organized in Boston the conference corresponding to the 24th edition of the PEWS "Political Economy of the World-System," inviting the Colombian philosophers Santiago Castro-Gómez and Oscar Guardiola Rivera, of the Thinking Institute of the Javeriana University. At that time, a new node of the network in Colombia was also being formed, based on the activity generated by Santiago Castro-Gómez at the Institute of Social and Cultural Studies Pensar.

In 2001, a first group meeting was organized, where the progress made from the different spaces that were working on the theme was discussed. The event meeting was organized by Walter Mignolo at Duke University under the name "Knowledge and the Known", which was also joined by the Bolivian cultural theorist Javier Sanjinés and the American linguist Catherine Walsh, professor at the Andean University Simón Bolívar.

In 2002, the second meeting of this group was held in Quito, by Catherine Walsh. Here, a dialog was established with indigenous and Afro-American intellectuals from Ecuador. This meeting produced the book "Indisciplinary Social Sciences. Geopolitics of knowledge and coloniality of power," edited by Catherine Walsh, Freya Schiwy, and Santiago Castro-Gómez.

In 2003, the third meeting of the group was held at the University of California (Berkeley), this time organized by Grosfoguel and Saldívar. In that moment, the Puerto Rican philosopher Nelson Maldonado-Torres joined the group. The result of this meeting was the book "Unsettling Postcoloniality: Coloniality, Transmodernity and Border Thinking," published in 2007.

In 2004, the fourth meeting of the group "Modernity/Coloniality" was organized by Grosfoquel, Maldonado-Torres, and Saldívar in the University of California. The main topic was the decolonization of the American empire in the twenty-first century. In this instance, the group begins a dialog with the Afro-Caribbean philosopher, Lewis Gordon, (president of the Caribbean Philosophy Association) and the Portuguese sociologist, Boaventura de Sousa Santos [6], one of the most important organizers and theoreticians of the World Social Forum. The book "Latins in the World System: Decolonization Struggles in the 21st Century US Empire" (published in 2005), and the volume edited by Ramón Grosfoguel in an academic journal directed by Immanuel Wallerstein, entitled "From Postcolonial Studies to Decolonial Studies". In the same year, a few months later, the fifth meeting of the group was held by Escobar and Mignolo under the name "Critical theory and decoloniality." The publication "Globalization and Decolonial Thinking" arises.

In 2005, the sixth meeting of the group was held in Berkeley, called "Mapping the Decolonial Turn", by Maldonado-Torres, and coordinated together with Grosfoguel and Saldívar. It counted with the participation of members of the Caribbean Philosophical Association and a group of Latin American, African-American, and Chicano intellectuals.

In 2006, the seventh meeting was held in Quito, organized by Catherine Walsh.

In the following decade, the Modernity/Coloniality Group continued to produce knowledge about the epistemic turn of the Global South, generating the most diverse accessions and critical reproductions of this analytical-reflective proposal of social reality.

3. The conceptual/theoretical framework: the decolonial turn and the discourses analysis

3.1 The decolonial turn

This new matrix of analysis distanced itself from postcolonial studies of the time, which had emerged from French poststructuralism instead of *"the dense history of*

decolonial planetary thought"[1] (Mignolo in [1], p. 27). In these postcolonial studies, the concept of "truth" (aletheia), widely discussed, analyzed, formulated, and reformulated by the theorists of the Global North, continued to appear from a colonial totality, there being no space for *"the traces of the colonial wound from which it weaves decolonial thinking. Gates that lead to another type of truth whose foundation is not the Being, but the coloniality of the Being, the colonial wound"* (p. 29). The postcolonial postures ended up reproducing with their positions the same logics of location of an "outside" (barbarian) and an "inside" (civilized) own of the Global North. This continued to classify and qualify subjects according to their social and global space of origin, so it was more of a "chronicle of an announced death" than of the possibilities of projecting themselves singularly and collectively of those who were born and lived in the Global South.

In contrast, the called "decolonial turn" proposed since the beginning *"the openness and freedom of thought and ways of life-other (economies-other, political-other-theories); the cleanliness of the coloniality of being and knowledge; the detachment of the rhetoric of modernity and its imperial imaginary "* (Mignolo in [1], p. 30). Its reason for being was the colonial matrix of power, and in its deconstruction, the decoloniality of power. This begins to recognize that coloniality was (and it is) one of the substantial forms for the global logics of distribution of power in the capitalism of modernity, where *"all social-historical phenomenon consists of and/or expresses a relationship social network or a mesh of social relationships"* in a field of relationships that transcends it (Quijano in [1], p. 103). Here is the concept of social-historical totality. From this perspective, modernity is understood in decolonial terms:

> *... with America (Latin) capitalism becomes global, Eurocentric and coloniality, and modernity are installed, until today, as the constitutive axes of this specific pattern of power. In the course of the deployment of these characteristics of current power, the new social identities of coloniality (Indians, blacks, olives, yellows, whites, mestizos) and the geoculturals of colonialism (America, Africa, the Far East, the Near East, The West and Europe) were configuring. The corresponding intersubjective relationships, in which the experiences of colonialism and coloniality were merged with the needs of capitalism, were configured as a new universe of intersubjective relations of domination under the eurocentric hegemony. That specific universe is what will later be called modernity. (...). This way of knowledge was, by its nature and by its Eurocentric origin, called rational; it was imposed and admitted into the whole capitalist world as the only valid rationality and as an emblem of modernity."* (Quijano in [1], p. 94)

In this sense, Mignolo ([1]) suggests that conceptualizing coloniality as constitutive of modernity implies positioning itself from a decolonial perspective. Modernity, in its phenomenal[2] discursive anchoring of the rhetoric of salvation and progress, does not offer greater margins of objectification before the ideological components that make it up, nor concretions in an asphyxiating global capitalism for most of the people. The various forms that today are added to the expression of the "social question"[3] are hardly understood within the framework of coloniality

---

[1] The translations of the texts of the authors of the decoloniality that appear from here at the end in the present chapter, are of own authorship.

[2] By "phenomenal" is understood the apparent, to what emerges as the first way of understanding reality.

[3] The reference of the "social question" in the framework of the research processes of social and human sciences remains a constant. Such expression has been brought to account for the ways in which the "unfortunate consequences" of coloniality materialize today. From the decolonial position, the form of naming a "social question" does not appear in the jargon and writings of its various authors.

"hidden under the rhetoric of modernity" (p. 26), and in its systematic and naturalized reproductions of a unique truth of the rationality of modernity.

As stated by Maldonado [2], the decolonial attitude provides the basis for what he calls decolonial reason. These (attitude and reason) are substantial in this "decolonial turn."

> *The de-colonial turn refers rather, first, to the perception that modern forms of power have produced and hidden the creation of technologies of death that differentially affect different communities and people. This also refers to the recognition that colonial forms of power are multiple, and that both the knowledge and the lived experience of people that have been most marked by the project of modern death and dehumanization are highly relevant to understand the modern forms of power and to provide alternatives to them. (...). A third element of the des-colonial turn is a differentiation between idea and feeling on the one hand, and the decolonization project on the other.* ([2], p. 65)

It is considered that recognizing the social framework in which the people (singular and collective subjects) unfold in a universality that accounts for a historical-social totality enables one to think about their particular and singular realities beyond the phenomenal. Further, Quijano (In [1]) raises its decolonial court also through its distance from the Hegelian totality; personally, it is understood that the analysis that this author makes at this specific point may have other reflective edges. A social-historical totality is thus proposed in the dialectic of the universal-particular-singular for the understanding of the singular and collective reality of people within the framework of specific and generic territorial contexts mediated by ideological logics that transcend their daily lives. Hence, the objectification process that is achieved through research is key to the materialization of what the knowledge apprehended generates for this analysis of reality.

This decolonial perspective gives power to the social and human sciences of today, since it allows thinking and producing knowledge about the long-term processes that cross-section people in the disputes over the *"control of the basic areas of social existence and from whose results a pattern of power distribution centered on relations of exploitation /domination/conflict between the population of a society and in a given history is configured"* (Quijano in [1], p. 114). This allows thinking and rethinking reality transcending the "unique thought" of coloniality/modernity.

Taking the theoretical-methodological, ethical-political, and epistemological foundations of decoloniality, it is presented below what the analysis of discourses from decoloniality would be, in the overcoming of master-slave relations in a historical-social framework that contains both (who investigates as who is the subject of the investigation).

3.2 The discourses analysis

The awakening of the Global South before the internalized ideologies of the Global North was a fundamental point to generate new ways of understanding reality, and to investigate and intervene in it. These forms of apprehension of reality are far from the concretions of capitalism in the daily people and communities lives.

How to investigate from a decolonial perspective when what is demanded in the academy is clearly the opposite? How to overcome colonial logics that generate gaps between "us" and "others" so that it is possible to objectify oneself in the historical-social totality? It is believed that the social and human sciences of today are conditioned by a context of exercise and power logic of big capital (colonial/modern), and it should not throw away the objectification that is achieved from the

delimitation of the research object from theoretical-methodological, ethical-political, and epistemological frameworks "others." That exercise is learned, strengthened, and expanded (or constrained) from the "think" spaces of the academy.

Research from a decolonial perspective enables to generate knowledge and provides tools to achieve real processes of objectification in the subject-subject relationship. This is considered substantial since the colonial forms of power in modernity have been in charge of *"dividing the world between hierarchies of lordship and different forms of slavery based, no longer on ethnic or religious differences, but more properly on presumed natural differences, this is, anchored in the very corporality of subjects considered as not entirely human"* ([2], p. 65). It is a struggle against the required forgetfulness of people relegated to non-existence in this modern/ colonial and global world, in a relationship identified as master and slave: *"The turn-decolonial refers to the moment when the suspicion of the slave remains ratified and alters the consciousness of the slave in a global way. To the reason of the colonizer invested with lies, is opposed in this case a des-colonizadora reason (reason des-colonial) that is opposed to the lie and modern/colonial hypocrisy."* ([2], p. 70). It is considered that the production of knowledge from the decolonial perspective allows: on the one hand, to transcend the phenomenal and generate analytical-reflexive detours necessary for the analysis of reality; and, on the other, to find the substance of the problems in a round trip with the "others." Thus, the power of the decolonial perspective as a theoretical-methodological framework enables us to work with people in their various concretions to overcome relations of inequality, classifications, and power logics of colonial modernity. Who investigates from the Global South must have the clarity that is before a modernity/coloniality metamorphosed discursively in concepts (like rights and citizenship) that continues reproducing the logics of power of always.

Based on what has been raised about decoloniality, the relationship between the researcher and who is the subject of the research changes epistemic and methodological substance, giving rise to the potential to generate analytical tools that account for this substance. In this context, the analysis of the discourses comes to contain a strong implication in the reflection on what was said and not said, how it was said and the sensations and perceptions that mediate the people, who are raising their experiences, their pains, their joys, their expectations, etc. In this way, the breakthroughs that this decolonial perspective generates in the analysis of discourses for the social and human sciences are presented:

- Relationships comprised in decolonial power logics (based on subject-subject relations and joint processes of objectification) that overcome the colonial (diverse and metamorphosed reproductions of inequalities).

- Recognition of a historical-social totality as a field of research, where the overcoming of the logic of modernity/coloniality anticipates the knowledge.

- Ethical exercise in research processes that generate knowledge from both: the subjects who investigate and the subjects of research.

- To know part of a societal framework that contains and expands singular and collective pains of hegemonic logics of big capital, which violent symbolically and/or literally, and that only in the encounter in and with the others there is the power for change it.

These aspects generate the possibility of intersubjective relationship between the researcher and who is the subject of the research, analyzing the discourses not only from the spoken word, but incorporating sensations, perceptions, emotions, etc. framed in a social-historical context. Recognizing parts of a network that produces

and reproduces the logic of modernity allows us to analyze these discourses by grounding the belief of an absolute truth (aletheia), and relocating them in collective historical processes of social pains generated by the imposed coloniality.

In this sense, it is imperative to distance oneself from the internalized colonialities imposed by a "unique" scientific knowledge from the Global North for the analysis of a dissimilar societal framework such as that of the societies of decoloniality. As Zimmermann says, with this decolonial turn, they are enabled and share *"arguments about scientific knowledge, freed from Western modern rhetoric, that is, from science or knowledge subject to norms and formalities, giving voice to other covert cultural interpretations, colonized and discredited as primitive or mystical, by modern rationality"* ([3], p. 3). The discourses and their analyses are generated and interpreted based on the recognition embodied in each of the colonized subjects of the Global South, focusing on certain aspects and leaving aside dissimilar ones from the logic of power and analysis of colonial modernity. It is committed to the *"ideological and socio-cultural positioning, which supposes an ethical attitude of respect to man in all his cultural expressions, of care of the values that improve him, and opposed to the global social injustice that corresponds to a global cognitive injustice"* ([3], p. 3). Value and meaning are given to "other" issues that are not registered from coloniality because they focus on their modern "truths."

In this framework, the language becomes a core substance in this analytical logic, since it enables to reconstruct the social and cultural reality of the subjects through the meaning given in the interaction generated by one and another subject of the enunciation: *"the language builds social reality, interacts with culture, and produces with writing and reading how we see, understand and value the world, subjects and their relationships"* ([3], p. 4). With language, reality is created, which accounts for the societal framework of the moment as a synthesis of the social-historical totality that is singled out in the communication processes displayed by the subjects in discursivity. Throughout this process, subjectivity becomes a constitutive part, and therefore, the analysis of discourses that is mediated by decoloniality enables us to recognize subjects in their space, historical time, becoming, taking into account that from the epistemological point of view, a break with the colonial logics of the speeches and their interpretations. The questions imposed by the rationality of modernity/coloniality are no longer a substance of analysis, but the focus will be placed on the subject framed in its singular and collective history, where the analytical categories do not reflect the absolutes of the modern "truth."

From decoloniality, language is substantial in the framework of the social historical totality that accounts for its materialization, as well as grammatical reflection, which *"returns to the first meanings to understand the ideological content of discourse, although processes and structures, evaluations or social roles are only legible if we attend to a deep or crypto-typical level of pattern formation where these structures are installed"* ([3], p. 5). Thus, the analysis of discourses from the decolonial view recognizes human diversity as inexhaustible, so that the epistemology mediated by its analysis is self-referential and procedural, that is, constantly questioning and distancing itself from conceptual and political instruments that do not lead to a rhetoric of the discursive interpellated by language and writing. This is possible by taking distance from the absolute truths of modernity/coloniality, where modes of thinking and acting are homogeneous. The Global South is committed to an analysis of discourses from a decoloniality, where the subject who investigates and the subject of research work together for an exploration of internal and counter-hegemonic plurality.

Likewise, the concretion of the language displayed in the speeches is expressed through writing, which also contains ideological components that cross it out, since *"it brings the language to consciousness, makes it possible to structure, categorize and*

discipline, through two critical properties of grammar: nominalization and grammatical metaphor" ([3], p. 6). The grammatical terms require to be deconstructed in an ideological process that contains and expands them, which is present in the way of expressing and understanding the discourses.

In this way, both the subject who investigates and the subject of the investigation pass through the encounter of the discursive in an imprint that must be located in the social historical totality, on the one hand, and in the singularized concretions that give substance to reality. The way in which this is expressed in the writing is preoccupied with ideological components that the researcher must retrace to avoid falling into false ethnocentrisms typical of colonial modernity. Through the analysis and exposure of economies "others," subjects "others," ideologies "others," a process of discourse analysis is formed from the decoloniality of power and knowledge, with a view to meeting both the subject (singular or collective) as with the object in the process of delimitation.

In synthesis, the proposed decolonial turn as a theoretical-methodological and epistemological frame of reference for the analysis of discourses leads to "other" encounters between subjects that, on the one hand, on the plane of being reproduce in everyday life ways of being, being, feel and think proper to decoloniality, and, on the other hand, on the plane of thinking, enables the epistemic break with the colonialities imposed ideologically, culturally, and symbolically. From the decoloniality of discourses, in the comprehension of their boundless heterogeneity, analytic-reflexive detours are generated, where language is a substantial point as a construction of reality.

4. The analytical/empirical in the analysis of discourses from decoloniality perspective

Due to this decolonial turn could be interiorized to the analysis of discourses; in this part of the chapter, some examples will be presented.

In spaces of intersubjective communication exchange between the subject that investigates and the subject of the research, sensations and perceptions are enunciated and interpreted by each one. For example, when a space for interviews with people in a situation of disability is generated for the understanding of the reality that this population lives in Uruguay, the researcher must understand the social historical totality of these subjects, who materialize in expressions, gestures, looks, silences, etc. Who investigates from a decolonial perspective, is a constitutive part of the interview as a network shared with the subject of the investigation, where the knowledge of both sides is as valid as it is substantial for the subsequent discursive analysis. In this process, the naturalized hierarchies of knowledge and the asymmetry and inequality relations are overcome. The reality that is presented through the language that is handled is understood. The analysis becomes here in "other" ways, without truths as generic absolutes posited by coloniality.

In colonial modernity, the symbolic status of the researcher is produced and reproduced by the socially shared representations that place him as subject of knowledge. The domain of the latter on the subject of the research (in the present example, people with disabilities) is naturalized by the internalized ideological components of this colonial modernity. Thus, inequalities and asymmetries are the externalization of hierarchies imposed by the coloniality of knowledge that, in its processuality, also results in the coloniality of being. From this perspective, everything that happens in the instances of joint discourses are materialized and later analyzed from a pattern of domination. In the words of Pereira Lázaro: *"Coloniality and modernity within the context we intend to present arise as rhetoric about the lives*

of the populations that have been placed at the margins of the development project; these subjects enter the modernizing and globalizing plan of the world in the middle of ethnocentric justifications, once the West assumes control of the politics of identification of being" ([4], p. 1).

When located from this perspective, where modernity is part of a civilizatory project, the subject who investigates is positioned as a subject of domination, generating *"a space, and therefore, an exterior and an interior to it"* (Restrepo and Rojas, [5], p. 15). The interruption in communication thus becomes a constant in the course of the interviews that take place between the subject that investigates and the subject of the investigation, constituting a dialogue between "foreigners." In this dialog, some are inside (subject that investigates) and others are outside (subject of the investigation). The relationship we-others is mediated by the interruption in communication by corporeizing subjectivities and practices that are analyzed by the subject that investigates (from the colonial perspective) as disruptive alterities of normality (subject of research, in this example, people in disability situation). In this case, the disability will be deconstructed through the classification of these others as "abnormal" subjects, mediated by differentiations around the appropriation of knowledge and social inclusion potentialities from the "normality" that they fail to reach. Classical categories of modernity such as economy, politics, society, social class, among others, reproduced in the analytical discourse by the subject, who investigates, are delimited in the plane of thinking an object understood from the point of departure as foreign, external, and inferior in the framework of a "universal truth" (Eurocentric, modern, colonial). From this positioning, any space of real encounter between the subject that investigates and the subject of the investigation is destined to the mismatch, being *"the written language, the systematization of the observation, the taxonomy, etc., which will act as devices of the coloniality of power"* (Restrepo and Rojas, [5], p. 20).

Restrepo and Rojas [5] argue that to overcome this colonial difference of being and knowledge is necessary to make a decolonial inflection, which *"is a tool to understand what happens in a country or region, tied to a globalized system of power in geopolitical terms. To the extent that modernity has spread through political and economic forms resulting from the European experience and that … are the result of colonial expansion and have had repercussions in all areas of life up to the present"* (p. 19). This decolonial inflection enables the conjunction of looks, where the pluriversality, antagonistic of universality (unique and modern), becomes essence. For the analysis of discourses from this perspective, the ethics and policies of decoloniality are opposed to universalist and Eurocentric global models, generating the encounter based on multiple interpretations of knowledge with *"other ways of being and other aspirations about the world … (where) many worlds fit"* (Restrepo and Rojas, [5], p. 21).

As stated in the previous point, Mignolo [6] proposes the decoloniality of being and knowledge, overcoming the traditional conception of the coloniality of power. This allows us to understand and interpret the forms of domination imposed by the colonial power in the epistemic frameworks that produce, naturalize, and legitimize knowledge anchored in the distinction of the we-others that make any attempt at dialog and discourse analysis impossible without colonial premonitions and interpretations. Language enters into this discursive logic materializing the coloniality. The decolonial perspective in the analysis of discourses demystifies this created alterity and proposes the recognition and power found in cultural, ethnic, identity, age, disability, etc. distinctions for the delimitation of the research object that overcomes the "scientific objectivity" typical of the Global North.

The rhetoric becomes very important to complete the discourse analysis scheme, where the coloniality of being and of knowledge cross the language materialized in the dialogues that are generated in the framework of the interviews. The "art of

good saying", as rhetoric is defined in the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, preconfigure valuations of "good" and "bad" sayings, depending on the subject of the enunciation. In this way, in the example of people in a situation of disability, who are interviewed by the subject who investigates, they are relegated to a "bad saying" of their feelings, emotions, perceptions, and approaches regarding what disability policies would be in Uruguay. This "bad saying" will be corrected, reformulated, and metamorphosed by the subject that investigates from the colonial perspective to a "good to say". Thus, the rhetoric is imbued with pre-notional charges that distinguish between the plane of being and thinking of one and another subject.

The ideological components for these impositions have been (and are) centered on the Eurocentric idea of modernity of a Global North (civilized) superior to the Global South (barbarian), which unfolds in these binary logics in the various societal and intersubjective frameworks when they find subjects understood as diverse. These "others" will be both the subjects of the Global South in relation to the Global North, the subjects of the investigation in relation to the subject who investigates, the subjects who learn in relation to the subject who teaches, and so on. These "others," as proposed by Dussel ([7], p. 50), receive the *"cursed inheritance of the fallacy developed from the process of hegemonic modernization that has defined them as persons denied the benefits of modernity".* Beyond modernity is not only a European phenomenon and linked to the colonies, it continues to reproduce the rhetoric of modernity as a European story, displayed by the elites, who have narrated and hidden issues for the generation of their metanarratives. The "official history" is thus presented as the only truth, which spreads in the West as an absolute to reproduce.

If this rhetoric is posed from the decolonial perspective, the logic of coloniality is revealed in its political fabric of modernity, globalization, and capitalism: *"A logic not interested in hiding the brazenness of the project developed in the long history of disinterest for human life has always been reinvented in the sense of maintaining the order of things … in the colonial matrix of power, where power remains in the hands of the imperial subject and submission on the shoulders of subjects destined for the eternal process of colonization of their lives"* ([8], p. 1). In the example of people in a situation of disability, the discourses and their analyzes no longer place these subjects as guilty of their misfortunes and consequent problems of disability, and therefore, subjects that make up a "nonbeing" of modernity colonial. On the other hand, they are a constitutive and substantial part of all language, rhetoric and discursivity developed in processes shared with the subject that investigates. This population will no longer be constructed and located as an "other" colonial subject, where its precarious subjectivity is what allows the subject, who investigates to be an accomplice of that task, but as a constituent part of decoloniality of being and knowledge. From this decolonial turn, the "subject of the West" ceases to be the "only subject and theme" [9].

The analysis of discourses from decolonial perspective invites to unlearn the internalized, imposed, assumed, and externalized of coloniality, in order to reconstitute being in an emancipatory process. These standardized and modern institutes, just as they were created and scattered by the imperialist logic of the colonizers, are now being deconstructed by the colonized. Just as colonial logics have been imposed, there is no reason for their overcoming, which generates ways of thinking and being emancipated from decolonized subjects.

5. Conclusions

The ideological imperative of knowledge of the Global North has been imposed on the knowledge of the Global South from a unidirectionality that has truncated

ways of being, living, and thinking proper to the peoples who have been colonized. The knowledge generated by this unidirectional way turns with the decolonial perspective, giving its power and recognition.

The Latin American social and human sciences converge in a constant reproduction of power relations, where on the one hand, it is exercised, and at the same time, on the other hand, it is experienced in the coloniality of power. Realizing these contradictions would be a first step to delineate a path with as few paradoxes as possible. In this context, discourse analysis is essential to produce knowledge that is not only demarcated by the researcher but also by who is the subject of the research. This means a substantial turn of the screw toward what Mignolo referred to as *"the colonization of being through the colonization of knowledge"* (in [1], p. 39).

After the discovery of America, the creation and consolidation of a modern Europe with hegemonic ways of being and thinking in the understanding of the demarcation of "some" civilized and "other" barbarians to colonize were materialized. Thus arises the conviction from this Global North that everything that is "outside" of its territoriality and episteme is noncivilized, nonpolitical, and therefore, nonhuman. In this framework, these "barbarians" are required to think of themselves as responsible for their own misfortunes, and forced to reproduce the logic of modernity in favor of their dignity. According to Dussel [7], an *"irrational process that is hidden to their own eyes"* is generated. From the decolonial perspective, these colonized "others" account for having been *"the innocent victim of ritual sacrifice, who upon discovering himself as innocent, judges modernity as guilty of sacrificing, conquering, original, constitutive, essential violence"* (p. 49). In its overcoming, and betting on the emancipation of the colonized, it aims to *"discover the dignity of the Other (of the other culture, of the other sex and gender, etc.); when the victims are declared innocent from the affirmation of their otherness as identity in exteriority as people who have been denied by modernity"* (p. 50) [8].

Transposing this to the analysis of discourses, in the relation subject that investigates—subject of the investigation, the process to be realized must be a double movement in the decoloniality of the being and of the knowledge. In this way, *"must be made from critical and reflective positions that encourage the construction of reality from different perspectives, open, human and tolerant"* ([3], p. 7). This implies the critical look of the subject who investigates as enunciator of themes recovered from the discourses of the subjects of the research, which are deconstructed from "other" epistemologies. In this way, it is possible to overcome the coloniality of Eurocentric and modern knowledge, reproducers of cultural/imperial domain, which controls knowledge according to the global geopolitics of the coloniality of power [3].

In turn, this naturalization and discursive legitimation that adorns modern knowledge, generates a concrete link between knowledge and power that, according to Coronil [10], is characterized by the following components: *"(A) the operation of separating/splitting the "real"(dualism); (b) the exercise of dividing the components of the world into isolated units, denying their relations (atomism) and making it impossible to approach them in terms of historical-social totality; (c) the exercise of converting differences into hierarchies, and the exercise of naturalizing those representations"* (p. 8). In the field of academia, where the analysis of discourses finds its reason for being, this is imbued in logics such as: the evaluation of scientific production under the meritocratic-quantifiable criterion, on the one hand, and the hierarchy of the circuits of distribution of scientific texts according to privileged enunciation locus, on the other.

The discourse analysis from decolonial perspective invites the real encounter between the subject that investigates and the subject of the investigation, in a transfer that surpasses the predicted logics and sinks its roots in the decoloniality of being and thinking. The relations of asymmetry characterized by the Global North,

where colonizers and colonized are located as civilized and barbarian, respectively, find other correlates mediated by the fundamental knowledge of both parties for the process of research.

It is considered that decolonial perspective provides a theoretical-methodological frame of reference to transcend imposed by a "must be" hegemonic own the Global North. The power that the social and human sciences have in the analysis of a convoluted and chaotic reality is the engine that nourishes the collections of knowledge and objective social research. That is the decoloniality of power and knowledge that invades the being for the deployment of the encounter with "the others" in relations of expansion of the *"field of the possible"* [11] of those who make up this researcher subject-subject of the research.

Author details

María Noel Míguez Passada
Universidad de la República, Uruguay

*Address all correspondence to: marianoel.miguez@cienciassociales.edu.uy

IntechOpen

References

[1] Castro-Gómez S, Grosfoguel R. El giro decolonial. Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores; 2007

[2] Maldonado Torres N. La descolonización y el giro des-colonial. Bogotá: Tabula Rasa, No. 9; 2008. pp. 61-72

[3] Zimmermann L. Lectura y pensamiento decolonial: aportes del análisis del discurso para la lectura de textos. In: Actas Congreso Nacional Subsede Cátedra Unesco UNR. Santa Fé: Universidad Nacional del Litoral; 2015

[4] Castro-Gómez S. La hybris del punto cero: ciencia, raza e Ilustración en la Nueva Granada (1750-1816). Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana; 2007

[5] Restrepo E, Rojas A. La inflexión decolonial: Pensamiento crítico desde América Latina. Popayán: Instituto Pensar. 2010

[6] Mignolo W. La idea de América Latina. La herida colonial y la opción decolonial. Barcelona: Gedisa; 2007

[7] Dussel E. Europa, modernidad y eurocentrismo. En: Lander, E. (comp.). La colonialidad del saber: Eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas Latinoamericanas. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales. 2000

[8] Pereira Lázaro JP. La retórica de la modernidad, la lógica de la colonialidad y la globalización en el ámbito de las migraciones transnacionales: formación de subjetividades negadas y cotidianidad del migrante del sur. Ciudad de México: Pacarina del Sur-Revista de Pensamiento Crítico Latinoamericano; 2017, año 8, N°31

[9] Spivak GC. ¿Puede hablar el sujeto subalterno? Nueva York: Orbis Tertius. 1998;**III**(6):175-235

[10] Coronil F. Más allá del Occidentalismo: Hacia categorías geohistóricas no imperiales. La Habana: Casa de las Américas, No. 206; 1999. pp. 21-49

[11] Sartre JP. Crítica de la razón dialéctica. Buenos Aires: Eudeba; 2000

Chapter 3

The Appropriation of Discourses and Practices: Female Migration from Russia to Greece in the 1990s and 2000s

Alexander Manuylov

Abstract

The article examines transformations in identities of women as a result of their migration from Russia to Greece and appropriation of Greekness. The concept of appropriation is advocated as a key idea of analysis and interpretation of migrants' experiences. The author's position regarding the relevancy of the concept of appropriation is based upon Paul Ricoeur's understanding of the process of interpretation and some contemporary anthropological works. The results of the author's fieldwork in Greece are presented in the article which is concentrated on two life stories. These life stories are juxtaposed so as to compare different techniques of appropriation. The discussion provides evidence of ways in which identities can be manifested and changed during the process of appropriation. The argument is that the appropriation of Greekness may take place (and be used) in contrasting ways, the causes of which are rooted in pre-emigration experience. The author concludes that one case demonstrates how rural Greek identity was successfully appropriated and the other case shows how the process of appropriation and re-appropriation of urban Greekness resulted in construction of global identity.

Keywords: appropriation, re-appropriation, identity, migration, Greece, Russia

1. Introduction

1.1 State biopolitical discourses

Since Michele Foucault revived the discussion of the concept of biopolitics and imparted to it new intellectual impulses, some research communities of post-Foucaultian analysis of this phenomenon were formed. Foucault did not provide us with the "theory of biopolitics." Following the changes happened in Europe of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Foucault demonstrates two poles of "power over life": one of them is concentrated on the discipline of body, it relates to the seventeenth century and was named by Foucault "an anatomo-politics of the human body"; the second pole "formed somewhat later" is concentrated on the regulative control over "species body" and called by Foucault "a biopolitics of the population" ([1]: 139). When he bound biopolitics with its object—population, Foucault created a marking-off for studies of forms of state management. Introduction

of "biological" categories in the context of the social seems to be an inseparable quality of the field biopolitics describes. By means of biopolitics, the state regulates and controls its populations with no interest to subjectivity, cases, and personal stories. Concepts such as 'homogenization,' 'naturalization,' 'assimilation,' and even 'migration' have natural science connotations. All of them are elements of state discourses on populations but not discourses of people talking about their personal experience.

1.2 "Appropriation" as a key concept

As for my fieldwork of 2009–2011 in Greece, I was interested in opinions of people, those people who had lived through migration from Russia to Greece. The previously mentioned concepts could not enrich my toolkit in order to study their stories because those concepts are the products of state discourses and associated with them. In search of a relevant concept which would serve as an explanatory model of perception by former Russian citizens of Greek discourses and practices, I came to the anthropological literature operating with the term "appropriation." In June 2010 on the annual seminar *Newer Anthropological Theory* held in the University of Oslo, where I reported the results of my research of identity discourses of Greek migrants, Arnd Schneider presented his book about appropriation [2]. The concept of appropriation seemed me important in terms of explanation how migrants perceive and accept (or reject) the elements of everyday life of the Greek society they live. The head of the seminar, professor Bruce Kapferer, recommended me to try out the concept of appropriation in my research in order to interpret migrants' identity as an alternative to the state gaze on migrants and migration.

This article is an attempt to use the concept of appropriation in the analysis of two women's stories about their migration from Russia to Greece. Comparison of the stories gives evidences of how identities may be manifested and changed during the appropriation process. I have already demonstrated that migration with no capitals (except symbolic) was a widespread form of migration of ex-Soviet citizens to Greece [3], and women's stories represented here are evidences of such a form of migration. Characters of the stories are similar to a certain extent: both of them came from Russia, were about the same age, both made decisions to go to Greece, and became successful, each in their own way, in terms of appropriation of Greekness. But there are also significant differences between them: social and ethnic origin; attitude toward family, religion, and career; horizons of communication; and techniques of appropriation.

My main argument is that the appropriation of Greekness may take place (and be used) in contrasting ways, the causes of which are rooted in pre-emigration experience. Consequently, the aim of the article is to demonstrate what happens with identity[1] during individual woman migration and what elements of identity are rigid and are formed in the process of appropriation. With this aim in mind, I can formulate the next tasks (1) to discuss a possibility and relevance of the concept of appropriation to the study of migration; (2) to represent in short my field materials characterized two stories of woman migration collected by me in the period 2009–2011 in Greece[2]; to analyze and also afford a certain interpretation of migrants' stories; (3) to compare two stories of migration in terms of techniques of

---

[1]See the detailed discussion of the concept of identity in: [3].

[2]This fieldwork would be impossible without financial support by L. Meltzers Høyskolefond, Samfunnsvitenskapelige fakultet (Universitetet i Bergen), Institutt for sosialantropologi (Universitetet i Bergen).

appropriation; and (4) to demonstrate and evaluate changes in identities using two stories as examples. The main problem this article directed to is that the transformation in identity discourses during migration is underrepresented in contemporary anthropological literature. I look toward filling this gap proceeding from my field data, its analysis and interpretation.

1.3 Appropriation: from Ricoeur to anthropology

One of the sources for the aforementioned Schneider's understanding of appropriation is Paul Ricoeur's *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation* [4]. Therefore, I will dwell on Ricoeur's main statements regarding appropriation. Of course, he did not mention migrants. His interest is concentrated on the acceptance of a text by a reader. But who is (in semiotic sense) a newly arrived from Russia migrant if not a reader, the reader of an unfamiliar to her/him text under the name of *Greece*? Ricoeur says about that a reader appropriate the *meaning* of the text and this is "the culmination of reading in a concrete reader" ([4]: 144). He examines a problem of interpretation of a text as play of relations of distanciation and appropriation, borrowing the concept of play from Gadamer. Moreover, Ricoeur understands reading in a very broad sense as a familiarity with a discovering world:

> *If it is true that interpretation concerns essentially the power of the work to disclose a world, then the relation of the reader to the text is essentially his relation to the kind of world which the text presents (*[4]: 144*).*

Ricoeur as can be seen from above identifies world and text and puts on a par the concepts of disclosure a world, interpretation, and appropriation. As an opposition to appropriation, Ricoeur suggests the term "distanciation" which is understood by him as a concept "linked to any objective and objectifying study of a text." ([4]: 145). According to him, objectification of the world-text is expressed in the process of distanciation intrinsic, in my opinion, to biopolitics of the state, while subjective acceptance and understanding of the world-text are expressed in the process of appropriation, inaccessible to objectifying discourses of the state but accessible to people capable of understanding/reading. Therefore, the appropriation is the opposition not only to distanciation but also to biopolitics. Ricoeur notes that appropriation apart from everything else "*gives* the subject new capacities for knowing himself" ([4]: 154), and this remark is of fundamental importance for my migratory perspective. A migrant finds herself/himself in other country; often does not understand the language of this country; and faces with unfamiliar conduct, with different understanding of privacy and publicness, and sometimes with aggression and the criminality. She or he has to solve a lot of problems connected to bureaucracy procedures, job search, etc. And yet, as the friend of mine left together with his Russian family for Canada says: "Migration gives you another chance, the chance to become someone you will never be in your home country. And you have to use this chance." Understanding of appropriation as a process of acceptance of a new world and simultaneously a new ability and probability of self-improvement and in the end as formation of new identity corresponds in a better way to my tasks and aim. Ricoeur notes:

> *'Appropriation' is my translation of the German term Aneignung. Aneignen means 'to make one's own' what was initially 'alien'... Appropriation is the concept which is suitable for the actualisation of meaning as addressed to someone. It takes the place of the answer in the dialogical situation... (*[4]: 147*).*

At the present time appropriation as a term used for description of social and cultural processes is wide spread [5–8].[3] Schneider's version of appropriation [2] is developed by him on the base of his analysis of Buenos Aires art field integrated indigenous and European imaginaries. According to him, the process of appropriation is based on a play on identity in the art field. Ricoeur's idea of appropriation and its hermeneutic perspective allowed Schneider to consider globalization and cultural processes from the points of view of individual actors; and his main purpose became the discussion of crossings of different processes of collective and individual construction of identity ([2]: 33, 169–170).

> ...[A]ppropriation in its formal sense means a taking out of one context and putting into another, yet the extended meaning I have been advocating sees it as a hermeneutic procedure that, consequently, implies not only that cultural elements are invested with new signification but also that those who appropriate are transformed, and ultimately construct and assume new identities ([2]: 29).

Schneider in such a way links the topic of appropriation with the topic of new identities. It is important because it demonstrates the difference in the positions of state viewing the picture of gradual homogenization of the populations in terms of naturalization of migrants (or, at least, having a platform to view it) and a migrant appropriating a new life, becoming such a person she/he 'has never been before', and acquiring new identities. For a migrant, this process is a disclosure of a world and changing of herself/himself (though not always successful and not always happening in the direction acceptable to the state); for the state, the same process at the best looks like homogenization, at the worst—like formation of new ethnic and social groups together with their rules, borders, and political interests.

No less attractive is the concept of appropriation of Roger Sansi [9]. He studies appropriation in the framework of his research of Candomblé, a system of Afro-Brazilian sorcery, and its transformations. He poses a question: how did the forbidden until the mid-twentieth century magic practices become "Culture" and even "National Heritage" of Brazil ([9]: 2)? This process, according to Sansi, was brought about by "a historical transformation of practices, values, and discourses" ([9]: 3). Brazilian intellectuals objectified Candomblé as the Afro-Brazilian culture, but it was not a reification because the objectification of intellectuals was supported and appropriated by supporters of Candomblé, who " have assumed the discourses and practices of Afro-Brazilian culture as their own" ([9]: 3). Sansi demonstrates three stages of this big transformation: objectification, appropriation, and re-appropriation ([9]: ch. 2, 3, 8, 9). He explains this as follows:

> ...I use 'objectification' to describe processes in which things, persons and places are recognised as bearers of specific and different forms of value or quality... This notion of objectification always has to be accompanied by its complementary term: appropriation, or the process by which strange things are recognised as familiar, as parts of the self ([9]: 4).

---

[3]In this article, I do not discuss all the spectrum of the term of appropriation use in English, Russian and Roman Languages. This term is derived from Latin *approprio*—"to make one's own" ([14]: 144), *appropriare*—"to take to one's own separate use" ([15]: 83). The term *appropriation* is most widespread now in the field of law and also in such disciplines as jurisprudence and law history, in the field of art and in the field of economy. Schneider in his discussion of the relevancy of this term to anthropology argues that the meaning of this term should be taken from Ricoeur's hermeneutic interpretation, where the process of understanding is based upon appropriation; its other meanings should be stay aside ([2]: 26, 199).

Sansi compare the Brazilian situation with Pacific materials on appropriation presented by Nicholas Thomas [5], who demonstrates the parameters of "the indigenous appropriation of European things" ([5]: 83–124) and the reverse process of "the European appropriation of indigenous things" ([5]: 125–184). And if Thomas argues that local population and arrived Europeans appropriate cultures of each other (although asymmetrically), Sansi does not stop on the issue of mutual appropriation but moves on and argues the two sides of exchange "in many ways became one" ([9]: 4). In order to explain this, Sansi introduces the concept of re-appropriation; he considers that by means of re-appropriation people.

> *overcome and (involuntarily) mock both the official and the critical discourses...*
> *[T]hey create their own story around objects... [T]hey are doing something more*
> *than 'resisting', because they are not aware of opposing an official interpretation;*
> *they are producing something else, something new, inscribed in a time and a space*
> *([9]: 4).*

In the case of Brazilian city of Bahia, the object is discourses and practices of heirs of African descendants; in the case of Argentina, heirs of indigenous (Indian) population of the country. Both authors (Sansi and Schneider) account as subjects of appropriation persons or individual actors, whose capacity to appropriation determines their identity. As Schneider argues, practices of appropriation "are intrinsically linked to contested spaces of identity construction" ([2]: 22).

1.4 Migration from ex-Soviet countries to Greece

Coming back to Greek topic, it should be mentioned that in the 1990–2000s, the form of family migration was most typical for ex-Soviet Greeks.[4] Whole families of repatriates came to Greece or sometimes they stayed in Russia (or other post-Soviet country of their origin), one or two persons who were responsible for selling the rest of family real estate or business properties. Individual migration was a rather rare phenomenon. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, family ties in the USSR (as well as in post-Soviet countries) have always been an object of construction and enforced support by the state (see, for example: ([10]: 138–140). As for ex-soviet Greeks, they have had first-hand experience of the "family principle" according to which their families were subjected to forced displacements and repressions in the 1930–1950s. Moreover, in terms of wealth, the three most common sources of migratory financial capital for those who decide to migrate were private real estate (which considered by Greek families as common and shared among family members according to their customary law), private entrepreneurial property (which has ever considered as family ownership too), and savings.[5] Many of those who left their homes in post-Soviet countries converted all their ownerships into financial capital; others, in contrast, by all means tried to keep their ownerships in Russia and other countries and did not hasten to burn the possible way back. The money from the sales as well as savings was spent in Greece for rent

---

[4]"We [ex-Soviet Greeks] depart to Greece in whole families mostly. Some [families] send to Greece scouts first, one or two, other families go all together," told me my Athenian friend came from Abkhazia.
[5]In the cases mentioned here, formal ownership right confirmed by the state is just a "symbolic right" for family members, who according to customary law may consider this right as common or shared where the family, but not a single family member who is officially the owner of a business, bank account or real estate, is a "real" collective owner (see, for example, Vladimir's case described in: ([3]: 92). Inevitably there are two possible scenarios in the situation of dispersal of ownership: division according to customary law and division according official law (in controversial cases).

or purchase houses and flats.[6] Therefore, family ties were a sort of guarantee during the process of migration and initial appropriation for ex-Soviet Greeks.

Secondly, Greek families having shown a tendency to fragmentation in Soviet times[7] could keep stable ties among their members and among kindred families thanks to their living in non-Greek environments in the places of their forced resettlements. Family ties stayed strong even in those cases when young family members left their families for other cities in order to education and work.

In the framework of post-communist transition, an independent women's migration is being discussed as a "post-wall" phenomenon and characterized by new opportunities for women who are "trying to face new market conditions or to escape the dominant discourse of nationalist projects in their home countries" ([11]: 8).

2. Anna and Irina: life in Russia

2.1 Anna's case

Anna P. is single; she lives in Athens in her own flat and works for an insurance company. She was born in the Soviet Union in 1971 in the city of Yessentuki (Southern Russia). This is how she describes her life in Russia:

> *Well, what, basically, [was] in Russia? I grew up in a normal family, well. Daddy was a captain, Mother—a physician. Yes, a deep sea master, a mariner. Then at a certain stage, I think I was around fifteen, he stopped his travels and started working at a meat processing plant; he was [graduated as] an engineer, therefore, he … [could find a job]. I studied hard at school, and even finished with a gold medal, as far as I remember. I was born in Yessentuki, [the region of] Caucasian Mineral Waters. There I have been studying, finished musical school. Well, in principle, it was such a family … classical Soviet family, intelligentsia (intelligenty). Well, Daddy earned, of course, more money than Mum did; Mum was a physician, so, in principle, in Soviet times it was a prestigious profession, but [physicians] didn't earn much money. So, it was a pleasant atmosphere [in the family].*
>
> *I studied well at school, then entered the Pharmacological Institute in Pyatigorsk; studied in Pyatigorsk.[8] Then, basically, the perestroika started, at the end of my education the perestroika started. … (my translation)*

In this fragment of the interview, as well as in her other stories about her family, Anna remembers the life together with her parents with warmth, using such terms as "classical Soviet family," "kind atmosphere," and "intellectuality"; and against a background of a successful and intellectual family[9], she demonstrates her own success in education. In Anna's family, the question of ethnicity has never been substantial. They had rather weak contacts with maternal relatives (Greeks), and after

---

[6]According to my interviews with Nikolaos F., age 41, Athens, Greece, 2009; Alexandros V., age 56, Athens, Greece, 2009; Philippos S., age 57, Pyrgos, Greece, 2009.

[7]As Voutira ([16]: 387) put it, "the more you divide, the more you survive."

[8]Pyatigorsk lies 16 kilometers from Yessentuki.

[9]The Russian term *intelligentsiia*, although it has certain semantic connotations with Eng. *intellectuals*, is rather specific and has social implications especially since its Marxist definition as a "social stratum" engaging its position somewhere between classes. In late Soviet and post-Soviet common use, it meant not only the social category of people earning intellectually, but also thinking independently and supporting specific life-styles.

the death of Anna's mother from cancer in 1992, those contacts ceased completely. At the same time, the discourse on intellectuality still remains an important element of her identity.

When Anna trained at the institute, she passed the tests and was invited to work in Moscow for one of the foreign pharmaceutical companies. She was awarded a diploma in 1993 and moved to Moscow, where she started to work for this company. She entered postgraduate course (*aspirantura*) at a university to study pharmacy (where, subsequently, she defended her candidate dissertation). Anna worked for the pharmaceutical company almost until her departure to Greece in 1999. Recounting the Moscow period of her life, Anna aspires to stress that she, a provincial girl, was able to build a career in Moscow and to keep her place even during periods of major economic turbulence. Success, independence, and fortune are key categories in the description of her Moscow period.

Anna's decision concerning emigration is not exactly understandable to me. On the one hand, Anna had a good job and earned enough money; on the other hand, she characterizes the situation in the country as unstable, with vague perspectives. Once, I asked her directly: "Why did you leave Russia?" and she answered: "I wanted something new. I wanted to see if I could live in another country."

> It was such a period when I had to make a decision, because in general it was a difficult situation. Moscow is a brutal city. I thought about how and what I had to do … In principle, I had my Greek roots. And at least I had a possibility—I thought so—[to migrate thanks to] my position, [which] was legitimate. (my translation)

Her father supported Anna's decision; moreover, her younger sister also showed her willingness to migrate and together they processed documents for Greece. Anna's financial conditions are also not quite clear to me: Anna arrived in Athens by coach (the cheapest transport for travel to Greece from Russia) having 500 US dollars given to her by her father. Hence, she did not have any savings.

When Anna decided to migrate, Maria, a lawyer and local Greek Society employee who processed Anna's documents, rendered her "a great service." During our conversations, Anna mentioned Maria time and again with warmth and gratitude. It is interesting to note that Anna's aunt (her mother's sister) worked at that time at the Passport and Visa Service as an officer processing documents for departing repatriates; she did not render any assistance to Anna, and when she learned about Anna's decision, she took it with a pinch of salt. In turn, one of Maria's points of advice, which in the future simplified the process of acquisition of Greek citizenship, was to change Anna's birth certificate (contained the record "nationality: Russian") into new one (with the record "nationality: Greek") and to go to Greece as a Greek and a repatriate, but not to use a tourist visa for entry into the country. Although this manner of processing the document was more expensive (about 500 US Dollars), Anna, being unfamiliar with these matters, accepted Maria's opinion and did everything that she advised. Her father subsidized the exchange of birth certificates for both his daughters as well as their new Russian passports because Maria insisted in that it was necessary to go to Greece "not just as a repatriate but as a daughter of a Greek woman, not only as a daughter but as a Greek yourself."

> Apparently… how shall I say it in Russian… destiny does exist, perhaps. …Maria told me, 'You have to take all your documents with you, [including] the birth certificate of your mother and your own…' I even took the birth certificate of my grand-mother! To confirm that all of them were Greeks. She told me: 'When you arrive, translate them straight away.' …I am so grateful to her. … (my translation)

Thus, the processing of documents did not cause any difficulties for Anna. Moreover, thanks to Maria's advice, she simplified the procedure of gaining Greek citizenship.

Ever since the start of mass repatriation, regular coach routes have operated a service connecting some cities in the South of Russia with Thessalonica and Athens. Operating coach routes run via the territories of Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, and Bulgaria. Consequently, to get to Greece by coach, Russian citizens had to procure additional transit visas to Romania and Bulgaria (Ukraine and Moldova provided visa-free admittance to their territories). Moreover, to reach Greece from Russia by these routes requires passing through 10 customs checkpoints, often involving long queues in regard to inspections. The most emotional Anna's memories were connected to this coach trip.

2.2 Analysis of Anna's case

So, Anna to the moment of her departure from Russia was formed as a successful woman. Her identity was built upon intellectuality and ethnic indifference (not only Soviet school internationalism but also the lack of consideration for the Pontic Greek diaspora affairs). Anna took seriously her career growth and therefore moved to Moscow and defended the dissertation there; consequently, personal career and development are also important elements of her identity. To the same (career), discourse on identity may be ascribed "prestigious profession" of her mother, school gold medal, and her musical education. Possessing absolutely inessential financial capital, Anna owned great symbolic capital. Possibly, indefiniteness and instability in post-perestroika Russia did not allow Anna to manifest her identity, to develop her career, and to demonstrate her success and intellectuality. This reason may serve at least in some degree as an explanation of her departure.

2.3 Irina's case

Irina B. (born in 1974) is married; she had nine children and was living in the village of North-Western Peloponnesus at the moment of our acquaintanceship. She was a housewife but worked part-time as a seamstress in Patra. Irina's recollections about her life in the USSR have quite another perspective. She was born in Central Asia and spent most of her childhood there in a military town, where her father served as an officer. Her mother was a housewife. Irina also had an elder sister and younger brother. When she was 7 years old, she started school, like all the children in the USSR, and, according to her story, she was the best student in the class. When she was 13, her father received a new appointment at a military base located in Maikop in the South of Russia (now it is a capital of the Republic of Adygea). The family bought a small house in the village of Predgornyi near Maikop. Starting from that moment, Irina's recollections become disordered and contradictory. It is unclear what happened with her father but his figure just vanishes from Irina's stories of her youth. Her mother very quickly turned into a chronic alcoholic, likewise her sister and then her brother. Irina's academic aspirations get worse and worse ("I slid down to low marks (*skatilas' na dvoiki*)") and she hardly completed the ninth grade. After that, she enrolled at a vocational technical college in Maikop and specialized in sewer treatment processing after 2 years. In the village where Irina lived, there were many Greek migrants from Tsalka (a rural district in Georgia) who had close relationships with Greece, giving Irina the possibility to get information about this country and about intensive migration to Greece.

She married very soon after finishing vocational technical college and gave birth to her first son (she was 17). Her husband, a local resident, committed a crime

(theft) before their son's birth and went to prison for several years. When her son was about 1 year old, she departed to work in Greece by boat and gave custody of her son to her mother. As expected Irina should be started working at a garment factory in Patra, together with other young women from Russia. She signed this contract in the biggest Southern Russian port of Novorossiysk (about 250 kilometers from Maikop), thanks to her "Greek connections." However, when she reached Patra, she discovered that she had to work in the nightclubs of Peloponnesus either as a dancer or as a waitress.

When describing her family's life during the Maikop period, Irina was very reluctant to go into any detail. She said almost nothing about her brother, sister, or (first) husband, and when she did, she described them rather negatively. The only issue (in Russia) troubling her was a quarrel with her sister over the real estate remaining after her mother and brother's deaths. Before leaving Russia, she had not worked anywhere and never learnt Greek.

Nevertheless, Irina keeps her positive attitude toward Russia and gave all her children dual citizenship (i.e., they are citizens of Greece and Russia). In answer to my question "Why did you give them Russian citizenship?", she said, "To go to my motherland." Here, it is necessary to mention the circumstances of our acquaintance and the presence of my family for more than a month in Tanos' household. When Irina lived in Russia, she was a friend of my cousin who helped her with various bureaucratic affairs. I got to know Irina having gotten in touch by phone. Irina was ready to put my family up but asked me to introduce myself as her cousin with whom she had had no contact for a long time. I agreed. Hence, I became a cousin of Irina not only for her family's sake but also for the informants I met, thanks to her. Tanos and his parents knew hardly anything about Irina's relatives in Russia; none of them has ever been there. Therefore, that misrepresentation was not too difficult for her. Thus, they took us for remote relatives and allowed us to occupy a small, recently built house on the premises of their dwelling where four of their sons had lived. Irina explained this by saying asking that her family would not receive outsiders as guests, so she would have had difficulties explaining who we were and why we had to stay with them. But another reason for our deception became obvious to us later. By representing us as her relatives, she could demonstrate that she is not alone and that her cousin and his wife are "decent people" and, by such, raise her status in the family (especially on the side of the minor daughter-in-law—see more about her below).

2.4 Analysis of Irina's case

Thus, Irina by her departure to Greece had not have any symbolic capital, except for the skill to sew. She could not stop sewing curtains to Patrassian hotels even during our presence in her family. "It's the real money," she explained. Additionally, she was familiar with agricultural labor because her previous life in village was connected to everyday agricultural activity on the land plot of her Russian family. A few circumstances of her life in Russia she told me about witnessed that even if Irina's pre-migration identity had particular important elements, they most likely were odds and ends of state discourses like (1) affiliation to Russians she manifested not too much (perhaps, the most serious argument in support of her Russiannes for her Greek family was our appearance in their household as her relatives) and even did not aspire to teach her children the Russian Language and (2) love to motherland, to Russia given that she was born and grew up in Central Asia and then moved to Adygea. Everything touching her Russian family represented by her as already coped negative experience from what she was building her new positive appropriated Greek world (see below about anti-identity). Irina had nothing to get with her

in Greece except for her scarce symbolic capital (which has played a significant role in her personal technique of appropriation of Greekness though). She said time and again that her husband Tanos taught her everything bearing in mind agriculture and stockbreeding but also local rules of life. That means that she was in complete denial about her Russian experience and its relevancy to Greek life.

3. First experiences of life in Greece

3.1 Anna's case

Anna remembers her first days in Greece in great detail. She came to Athens by coach in the night; her fellow passengers advised her to find a cheap hotel in Omonia (one of the central Athenian districts situated around the Omonia Square). Accordingly, having got off the coach, she took a taxi, paid the driver a considerable amount of money, "for which it would be possible to go around Athens several times," as she says, and reached Omonia, which was a 15 minutes' drive from the bus stop, and ventured into an old bar where they were apparently speaking Russian to enquire about staying overnight.

Although Anna says that before arriving in Greece she had already visited some foreign countries and had certain notions about Greece, she notes that she did not know that the Omonia district was one of the roughest parts of the city. Despite having relatives in Greece, Anna has never formed any relationships with them and, because she was on bad terms with the Greek side of her family in Russia, she did not even know their addresses. For all that, Anna had only one lead—the telephone number of a woman living in Athens. She was a cousin of Anna sister's friend, a migrant from Russia of Armenian origin. But Anna decided not to disturb her so late at night and searched for accommodation by herself.

In that bar, where she came out of the taxi, a certain Zhora from Georgia promised her a comfortable overnight stay and took her to the apartment. In Zhora's apartment, she discovered five men asleep. "I was in absolute shock," she resumed. In the morning, one of them, who originally hailed from Zheleznovodsk, a city about 25 km from Yessentuki, suggested Anna use his room until she had made contact with her "relatives." "This place isn't for you," he added. Several times, during the day, Anna tried to phone her only Athenian contact; Zhora and his friend followed her all that time. Anna was wondering: "My God, is this really Greece, is this really the center of a city? Usually city centers are prestigious and flashy, but this area here was a complete hell hole!" At last, her Armenian friend responded and sent her husband by car to pick up Anna and her luggage from Zhora's flat.

Anna's story is represented by her as a series of lucky accidents, and at the same time, she clearly demonstrates her ability to make decisions and her aspiration to change her life for the better. Her single acquaintance in Greece through the Employment Service found her a job as babysitter, and on her third day in Athens, Anna landed a job (accommodation and meals included) with a prosperous Athenian family, where she worked not only as a babysitter but also as a house cleaner. In recounting this period of her life, Anna's intellectual identity appears. For example, she talks about how her hosts were surprised by her ability to use cutlery at mealtimes; how they were amazed at her proficiency at playing the piano; and how the host a year later, when saying goodbye to her, said that he understood that Anna deserved an altogether different sort of work (i.e., work that would stretch her intellectual abilities).

This family, according to Anna's words, rendered significant assistance to Anna. During the 1-year period of working as a babysitter, she mastered the spoken

language, thanks to the intra-family communication. She took the chance to attend Greek courses so that she was able to describe the history of her family (her mother's family) when she filled in documents for gaining citizenship. This family acted as guarantors, when officials were accepting a decision concerning Anna's Greek citizenship, and provided their address for her registration. This family, moreover, found a job for Anna's sister who arrived after Anna (to care for the host's aged mother). Ever since then, Anna still keeps friendly relations with the family and visits them on holidays.

When she had mastered the Greek language and gained citizenship, Anna decided to seek work in her specialty (pharmaceutist), along with submitting her diploma for confirmation to the Center for Recognition of Titles of Foreign Universities. Despite not having that confirmation, she managed to find a job in a small private chemist's in the north of Athens. After a year of her working there, thanks to her efforts and experience, the income of the chemist's increased fivefold. Thanks to familiarity with the local population and clients of the pharmacy, she was able to rent a cheap flat not far from the pharmacy, where she has been living for 7 years. Anna notes time and again that, during her work as a babysitter and at the private pharmacy, she did not think about the size of her salary: "Well, there is some salary and it's good!" All her energy was directed toward the Greek language acquisition, formation of social networks, receiving a full status as a citizen of Greece and confirmation of her diploma. When she had her diploma confirmed, had a good command of language, and received professional experience in Greece, Anna transferred to another pharmacy, and here the question of salary is vital to her. According to Anna's own estimation, that was a point in her biography concluding the period of "initial adaptation" to the life in Greece.

Before departing from Russia, Anna had a boyfriend, Mark, who migrated to Israel at the same time as Anna had left. They kept in touch with each other and when Anna became a Greek citizen, she decided to go to Israel in order to marry Mark and probably settle down there. They intended to plan their wedding on Cyprus. However, after a month in Israel, she understood that migration had changed both her and Mark. They parted, although they continue to be on friendly terms. When talking about Mark, Anna compares the differences between hers' and his migration. Her opinion is that the state of Israel takes care of its repatriates much more than Greece. Thus, after a year in Israel, Mark worked as one of the co-directors of a large organization. In other words, he did not lose his symbolic capital collected in Russia as well as the time for integration into the new society, whereas what is known migration to Greece leads to "declassing" and "deskilling" ([12]: 538).

3.2 Analysis of Anna's case

Appropriation of Greekness has begun in entirely advantageous conditions for Anna by contrast to Irina and many other migrants I am familiar with. She spent 3 days for the search of the source of subsistence and accommodation and only 1 year for the return to her profession. Events of her first year in Greece together with the circumstances mentioned demonstrate that she did not reject the elements of her identity most important to her, even her professional identity did not suffer. At the same time, Anna is not bored with the 'conversion into Greek mores;' she uses the homology, equivalency of social fields (in Russia and Greece) and settles easily down to new places (her intellectuality helped her on her first place of work, her professionalism—on the second one, i.e., those symbolic capitals she had acquired in Russia happened requested in Greece). The use of Greek origin of her mother, that is, Anna's ethnic symbolic capital, provided her with Greek citizenship without

major problems. What can be related to difficulties of appropriation is the language and bureaucratic procedures of confirmation of foreign diplomas and other documents. But even here, it all turned out successfully for Anna. She mastered the New Greek language pretty quickly and received her confirmed diploma also quickly. Many migrants from Russia complained about their poor command of the language, explaining it with that they just had no time to attend language courses due to their work; and if they for all that attended classes they fell asleep from exhaustion.[10] As for the diploma's confirmation, a friend of mine, the migrant from Georgia, has been waiting for such a confirmation for 15 years, and after that, he got a suggestion to pass eight qualifying exams; he rejected this suggestion ([3]: 137–155). Anna was able to find job according to her specialty and, consequently, to use her educational capital for the access to the field of pharmaceutics in Greece thanks to she had got the confirmation of her diploma. The technique of appropriation Anna demonstrates allowed her not to break, not to deny her Russian identity, and use it for the purpose of career growth and financial independence in Greece (even if she puts Israel repatriation program ahead of Greek one). Her Greek identity is not ethnic but civic. Anna is still indifferent ethnically; she condemns Greek nationalism to be a Greek for her means to have full civil rights.

3.3 Irina's case

Irina recounts hardly anything about her first 2 years in Greece. On the base of her unrelated phrases from our conversations and occasional recollections, it is possible to state that when she had just arrived, she forfeited her passport. Her future second husband, Tanos, decided to marry her and searched for a long time for "those bad people" who had kept her passport. He redeemed the passport for 300 Euro, and then spent a lot of time helping to procure a new visa for her because her first visa had expired long before. When she got the new visa thanks to Tanos, Irina went to Russia in order to divorce her first husband. When she arrived at her village, she discovered that her husband was in prison again for a fresh crime, making her divorce proceedings easier. When she was divorced, she took her son away and departed for Greece and her next marriage.

Her future husband, Tanos, had met Irina in one of the Patrassian night clubs, where she worked. He came from a peasant family; his parents own large plots of land that they use as fields, vegetable gardens, melon fields, and live-stock farms; the major part of their land consists of old olive groves. All his family (Tanos' parents and aunt, and Tanos himself as an eldest son) lived together in the village situated on a plain between Patra and Pyrgos. Tanos' brother and sister had already resided separately up to the time of Tanos and Irina's marriage. Everybody in Tanos' family knows that Irina is Russian, and they treat her kindly. This situation is possible because the family shares the common Greek discourse of a benevolent relationship to Russia and Russians. Moreover, this family has a friendly attitude toward Russians because Tanos' grandfather bought the biggest part of his lands, basically olive groves, from a Russian emigrant who had escaped to Greece after the Russian revolution of 1917. According to a family tale, that emigrant, being familiar with the limited means of grandfather's family, had sold the land at a very low price.

Irina and Tanos married in 1996, three and a half years after Irina's first arrival in Greece.

---

[10]According to my field materials of 2009–2011 from Athens, Thessalonica, Alexandroupolis, and Kamena Vourla.

3.4 Analysis of Irina's case

For Irina, her first year in Greece is also connected to a negative experience and stays also in the shadow of her contemporary successes as well as the Russian period of her life. Details begin together with appearance the figure of Tanos in her life. Unharmed joining Tanos' family for Irina was conditioned upon her not big agrarian capital and, the most important, that she aspired to full appropriation of Greek identity (see details below). It was important that her ethnic capital, her Russiannes, did not manifested by her in any form. Her coming back to Russia connected to her divorce and obtaining a new visa was necessary only for that she could get repeatedly married and take the son with her. Irina does not plan her return to Russia and connects her future with Greece only. And her identity begins to be formulated as Greek identity.

4. To be or not to be a Greek woman

4.1 Anna's case

When Anna had been working for about 2 years at a large Athenian pharmacy, she met our common friend, Antonios, who recommended her to his acquaintance, Odysseus, the owner of a finance company. Anna gets a senior position there with a high salary and becomes an economist. Moreover, she enters university and is awarded a diploma in economics while continuing to work for that company. The friendship with Antonios and the beginning of work at the financial company mark a new period in Anna's life. It is possible to say that during this period, her identity, which is based on discourses of *intelligentsia*, *independence*, and *full rights*, forms completely. Antonios acted as her proposer not only to that company but also to the Russian Embassy, to various organizations, both state and nongovernmental, which were engaged in bilateral international relations between Greece and Russia.[11]

Thus, Anna has changed not only her profession but also her technique of appropriation; during the first two periods of her migration history, she aspired not to make contact with natives of Russia and had built up her social networks on the basis of interactions with locals. However, from the moment of her acquaintance with Antonios, her social networks expand significantly with her new contacts in the sphere of Greek-Russian international relations. Using Bourdieu's terminology [13], it is possible to say that she invests, on one hand, her bilingualism, and on the other hand, the symbolic capital developed both in Russian and in Greek educational fields to fields novel to her: cultural,[12] economic,[13] political,[14] and even scientific.[15]

---

[11]The financial company where Anna worked was connected to Russia and not only commercially. Its owner, Odysseus, millionaire and communist, was from a rural Greek family who supported communists in the time of the Civil War in Greece. Odysseus' father spent 15 years behind bars (see more about political repressions after the Civil War in: [17]) while Odysseus was living in the USSR, where he was awarded a doctoral degree in medicine. His financial company Odysseus was registered in Great Britain.

[12]As an organizer, she participated in various "cultural" events conducted in the Russian embassy and consulates.

[13]I mean her activity at the financial company concerning deals between the company and Russian organizations.

[14]I mean her work in commissions maintaining international agreements.

[15]She is a member of the non-governmental Russian-Greek scientific organization.

After 4 years of working for the financial company, Anna became a victim of colleagues' intrigues who were wary of her career development, and the owner of the company had to dismiss her. When Anna became unemployed, she had to leave her rented flat. She decided not to rent in future and bought a flat in one of the Athenian districts. After about half a year, she found a job as a medical insurance agent for a foreign company. She is pleased with her new work inasmuch as this work satisfies her aspiration to independence much more than others. Furthermore, she continues collaborating in various Greek-Russian organizations.

4.2 Analysis of Anna's case

From a social perspective, Anna stresses her intellectuality stemming from her family and education. From an ethnic perspective, she positions herself as a Greek although usually she uses this term in the sense of citizenship. She speaks about "Greek Greeks" mainly in the third person and the Rusoponti[16] or Russians in general as "us." Anna is disposed critically to Greek nationalism; social parameters of a person are always more important to her than ethnic ones are (as in the case of her discussion of school parades in: ([3]: 145–146). She rarely touches upon the question of ethnicity and formulates her identity as I have already noted using such social concepts as intellectuality (Rus. *intelligentnost'*), independence, and full rights (Rus. *polnopravie*). That is, ethnic identity for her is just an instrument; hence, she was allowed full rights in the host country and to realize her identity as an independent and intellectual (Rus. *intelligentnaia*) woman. Anna keeps some distant from dominating Greek society nationalistic discourses and allows to herself a particular criticism of them from the intellectual point of view, demonstrating in such a way her independence. It is very important to her to stand up for her rights as a full member of the Greek society when she is stigmatized negatively as a foreigner, as a non-Greek.[17]

She votes for candidates of small parties that have never been in power in Greece, but they propose programs corresponding to her identity (for instance, the Green Party); she convinced her colleagues (at the financial company) that all the languages (ethnicities) are equal and compelled them to engage a specialist in the Russian language in order to speak in their office in Russian. Certainly, such a measure could only be realized in cities like Athens or Thessalonica, and I doubt whether it would be implemented in a village community, for example, in Irina's village. Anna is indifferent to religion and the church, although she had been baptized

---

[16]The Greek term *rusoponti* means 'Russian Pontians' or 'Pontic Greeks from Russia.' The term *Pontians* is a general mobilizing name for the post-perestroika Greek ethnic mobilization in post-Soviet countries, as well as a usual name for Greek migrants from those countries to Greece. However, some groups of migrants prefer to use other terms in order to manifest their identities (see about the term *Pontic* in: [3, 18–20].

[17]One of the examples: one day, Anna, waiting in a supermarket queue, conversed in Russian with her guest from Russia. When they came up to the cashier, "she began chatting with her colleague and ignored us for a long time." Anna tried to attract her attention, but heard "her caddish remark in the spirit of 'nobody called you to Greece." Anna demanded to see her manager and the woman who was chatting with the cashier introduced herself as a tour manager and recommended that Anna appeal to the police if she felt abused. Anna paid for her purchases, accompanied her friend to a car, then she came back to the cashier, claimed that she was a Greek citizen, and was not going to tolerate such rude, ignorant behavior. She found out the names of both women, participants in the conflict, and informed them that she was going to go to the police and to the court seeking for their dismissals. After that the cashier apologized for her remarks, begged for forgiveness and urged Anna not to go to the police. Eventually, Anna said: "I'll think it over." However, she did not go to the police knowing how difficult it is to find work as of a check-out assistant at a supermarket. During our conversations, I heard numerous stories of this sort from Anna, where she asserts her rights using her status of a citizen.

in Russia when she was a baby. In analyzing Anna's migration story, it is possible to note that the idea of career has an important significance to her, and her biography been built retrospectively represent the history of her career development. Her independence is contingent on her career, and vice-versa., that is, independence and career form the same semantic frame in the discourse on her identity.

4.3 Irina's case

Irina's marriage to Tanos was registered at the local church in 1996. She gave birth to eight more children (she has got six boys and three girls altogether; the eldest son was 18, the youngest daughter 3 at the moment of our meeting). She can talk a lot about God and the Orthodox Church, although she did not go to church in Russia before her departure. All Irina's children were baptized. Their names were chosen according to local rules in honor of elder relatives of her husband, excluding two sons: the eldest who was given his name in Russia, and one of Tanos' sons who was named after the oath taken by Irina to the Blessed Virgin. At the time of our acquaintance, Irina spoke Russian with an accent, remembering some words for a long time. None of her children speaks Russian, not even the eldest son.

Irina tries to behave "as a Greek woman" entirely sharing all the family's practices and discourses. For example, she reacted negatively, together with all the family, to her brother-in-law's decision to marry an Albanian woman. Her aspiration "to be a Greek" is expressed in that she fully supports practices connected to the status of daughter-in-law: she dresses herself as a rural married woman preferring dark colors, she prepares both everyday "simple village food" and holiday dishes, except for bread, which Irina's mother-in-law bakes every week, and so on.

Mainly Irina speaks about the Greeks as "us." Her Rusoponti friends say that Irina speaks Greek better than they do, as a "natural Greek." She has never aspired to independence. Her current lifestyle suits her completely. She holds great respect for her husband; at least, I did not hear any disrespectful words from her concerning Tanos. She also speaks respectfully of her husband's relatives (excluding her brother-in-law's wife of Albanian origin). She visits Russia once every 2 to 3 years, but the main aim of her travels to Russia is the question of real estate. During Irina's years spent in Greece, her mother and brother both died of alcoholism. Their houses are the subject of a longstanding dispute between Irina and her sister. Irina tries to travel to Russia without children but sometimes she has to take her little babies with her.

4.4 Analysis of Irina's case

As I have already mentioned, Irina prefers to remain silent about matters concerning her Russian family, and at first glance, this nondisclosure may be characterized by the situation of nonidentity as one of Schneider's informants put it ([2]: 168). However, I would note that the nondisclosure plus negativity forms a certain discourse on identity, which serves as a referent antithesis in Irina's search for a "happy life." In this sense, the respect and regard that Irina demonstrates toward her parents-in-law are determined not only (and not so much) by a technique of appropriation of Greekness but also by the direct influence of the discourse on Irina's parental family. For example, in viewing her parental family as a negative model, Irina is an initiator of banning any consumption of alcohol (including beer) in her family (to be exact, anywhere on the household premises) which involved my family as well. She justifies the ban by saying that her children do not have to become alcoholics. All the members of the household support this ban. At the same time, Irina is barely concerned about drinking outside the house. It was interesting to note that even on her father-in-law's celebration day, where many guests were present, there were no alcoholic drinks on the tables.

The fact that Irina has an experience of life in Russia and, moreover, in a Russian village, has played a positive role in the process of her integration into the Greek rural family. That is, her identity is formed as anti-identity (we should not talk about non-identity, though) on the discursive level, but she had villager's identity on the level of practices.

During the period of her life in Greece, significant changes have taken in Irina's identity. The negative Russian experience pushed her to intensive appropriation of Greekness. As a result, Irina became a respectful woman not only in her family but also in the village. Greek identity includes religiosity, too. Irina becomes an active person of Orthodox faith; she visits the local church regularly; together with Tanos, they make a pilgrimage to different holy places of Greece annually. Immediately before our arrival, they had returned from such a pilgrimage and brought with them a local icon painted on stone especially for us. Irina told me a lot about her charitable activity connected to the church. Rejecting her Russian experience, Irina destroys her Russian family for the purpose of creation her new Greek family. I have no possibility to document a lot of details of my observations, but I can express them in such a way: Irina is a Greek in a greater degree that her Greek relatives. And this is the result of her intensive appropriation of Greek discourses and practices.

5. Conclusion: comparing variants of appropriation of Greekness

The biographies described previously (even in their very summed up form) express two tendencies that may be characterized as two techniques of appropriation. The object of appropriation in my cases is "Greekness" (i.e., the complex of practices and discourses appropriate to certain local communities as well as the Greek language which is both an object and an instrument simultaneously).

In comparing two stories and two techniques of appropriation, it is evident that Irina's technique is expressed in a "complete" or "maximum possible" appropriation of Greekness, while Anna builds a career. In other words, Anna creates something new for herself, conceiving Greekness both as a context and an instrument but not as a desired result of what she has to possess/become. In this sense, her technique may be defined, following Sansi [9], as re-appropriation. Anna creates her own "world" of her Greekness on the basis of nonethnic identity, on the basis of intellectuality together with personal independence and Greek citizenship as main discourses of her identity. It is also important that Irina migrated "from village to village," while Anna migrated "from city to city." This re-confirms my main argument that different techniques of appropriation are due to different pre-emigration experiences. In other words, Irina gained Greek identity; she became a respectful Greek rural woman, guarding local practices and discourses. Anna, appropriating Greek identity, restored that position she lost in Russia, and then by means of re-appropriation moved beyond. However, her move is understood by her as a career development and as an acquisition of full civil rights with a possibility of critical intellectualism. Her contemporary identity is Greek one, but it is based on her previous Russian identity and could be become Israeli or any other identity.[18] Such an identity can be considered as global because the possibility of it is provided by resemblance of social fields in different states and a chance of transferal of symbolic capital over borders.

---

[18]It does not mean that she rejects dominant discourses and practices or communication and ties with people in Greece. But, she could retain her critical intellectual position. The process of appropriation of Greekness is not a vital task for her because she "already is a Greek woman" and her Greek ethnicity was confirmed by two states—Russia and Greece. Therefore, she had a possibility (or just created it for herself) to adopt an independent position.

Author details

Alexander Manuylov
Pirogov Russian National Research Medical University, Moscow, Russia

*Address all correspondence to: manuylov2000@hotmail.com

IntechOpen

References

[1] Foucault M. The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction, Translated from the French by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon Books; 1978. vi. 169 p

[2] Schneider A. Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; 2006. (Studies of the Americas, ser.). xvi. 230 p

[3] Manuylov A. Russian Greeks/ Greek Russian: Parameters of Identity [Thesis]. Bergen: University of Bergen; 2015. 208 p

[4] Ricoeur P. Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation (ed. and transl. by John B. Thompson). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2016 [1981]. 267 p

[5] Thomas N. Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific. Boston: Harvard University Press; 1991. xv. 259 p

[6] Lattas A. Cultures of Secrecy: Reinventing Race in Bush Kaliai Cargo Cults. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press; 1998. (New Directions in Anthropological Writing). xlix. 365 p

[7] Coleman EB. Aboriginal Art, Identity and Appropriation. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate; 2005. (Anthropology and cultural history in Asia and the Indo-Pacific). xvii. 188 p

[8] Young JO. Cultural appropriation and the arts. Singapore: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010 . (New Directions in Aesthetics), xiv. 168 p

[9] Sansi R. Fetishes and Monuments: Afro-Brazilian Art and Culture in the Twentieth Century. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books; 2007. (Remapping Cultural History, Vol. 6). x. 213 p

[10] Skazko AA. Transformatsiia kontsepta "semya" v kul'ture Rossii (Transformation of the concept of 'family' in Russian culture) [thesis]. Stavropol: Stavropol State University; 2005. 172 p. (in Russian)

[11] Morokvasic M. 'Settled in Mobility': Engendering Post-Wall migration in Europe. Feminist Review. 2004;**77**(1): 7-25. DOI: 10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400154

[12] Voutira E. Ethnic Greeks from the former Soviet Union as "privileged return migrants". Espace, Populations, Sociétés. 2004;**3**:533-544. DOI: 10.4000/ eps.364

[13] Bourdieu P. The forms of capital. In: Richardson JG, editor. Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. New York: Greenwood; 1986. pp. 241-258

[14] Lewis CT, Short CA. Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten. Oxford: At the. Clarendon Press; 1879. xiv. 2019 p

[15] Burrill AM. A New Law Dictionary and Glossary: Containing Full Description of the Principal Terms of the Common and Civil Law, Together with Translations and Explanations of the Various Technical Phrases in Different Languages, Occurring in the Ancient and Modern Reports, and Standard Threaties; Embracing Also the Principal Common and Civil Law Maxims, P. I. Union, N.J.: The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd.; 1998 [1850]. (4). 1099 p

[16] Voutira E. Post-soviet diaspora politics: The case of the soviet Greeks. Journal of Modern Greek Studies. 2006;**24**:379-414

[17] Voglis P. Between negation and self-negation: Political prisoners in Greece, 1945-1950. In: Mazover, M, editor. After the War Was over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943-1960. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000. p. 73-90

[18] Ulunian A. Polemika po problemam iazyka sovetskikh grekov v mezhvoennyi period v SSSR [debates over the soviet Greeks' language issues in the USSR in the interwar period]. Etudes balkaniques. 1991;**2**:11-24

[19] Popov A. Becoming Pontic: "Post-socialist" identities, "transnational" geography, and the "native" land of the Caucasian Greeks. Ab Imperio. 2003;(2):339-360

[20] Voutira E. The 'Right to Return' and the Meaning of 'Home': A Post-Soviet Greek Diaspora Becoming European? Zürich; Münster: Lit; 2011. (Balkan Border Crossings – Contributions to Balkan Ethnography, Bd. 2). xi. 367 p

From Little Fatherlands to Imagined Protonation: The Discourse on Francoprovençal in the *Journal de Genève* and the *Gazette de Lausanne* (1826–1998)

Manuel Meune

Abstract

Francoprovençal is a Romance language originating in the sixth century and described by linguists in the nineteenth century. There are still many young native speakers in Italy (Aosta Valley), unlike France and Switzerland, where speakers can only be found in the traditionally Catholic cantons of Fribourg and Valais. However, the Protestant cantons of Geneva and Vaud also initiated a discussion about the vanishing language. The press archives illustrate the evolution of language representations, ranging from acceptance of the extinction of this *patois* to the insistence on preservation efforts and, more recently, hope for revitalization. The present analysis is based on texts from the *Journal de Genève* and the *Gazette de Lausanne* containing the keywords "patois" and/or "francoprovençal," from 1826 to 1998. The corpora reflect identity construction based on language at a regional, national or transnational scale. In the nineteenth century, the imagined language community applied to little fatherlands (cantons), to French-speaking Switzerland (Romandy) or to a cross-border space around Geneva (along with Savoy). In the twentieth century, the appearance of the word "francoprovençal" led some people to broaden their interest to the entire FP area, with some manifestations of a "protonational" construction encompassing Swiss, French and Italian regions.

Keywords: francoprovençal, Switzerland, identity, Geneva, Vaud, Savoy, Aosta Valley, nation, canton

1. Introduction

Francoprovençal (FP) is a distinct Romance language originating around the sixth century from the Romanization of Gaul in Lyon but also, more generally, in the areas of influence of Roman transit axes along the western Alpine Arc—Great and Little St Bernard Pass, Montcenis [1]. FP was historically spoken in eastern central France (especially the north of the Rhône-Alpes region), in present-day French-speaking Switzerland (except the canton of Jura), and in north-east Italy (Aosta Valley and some valleys of Piedmont) (see **Figure 1**). It has often been neglected by Romanists because it was only identified in 1874 [2, 3], even though it
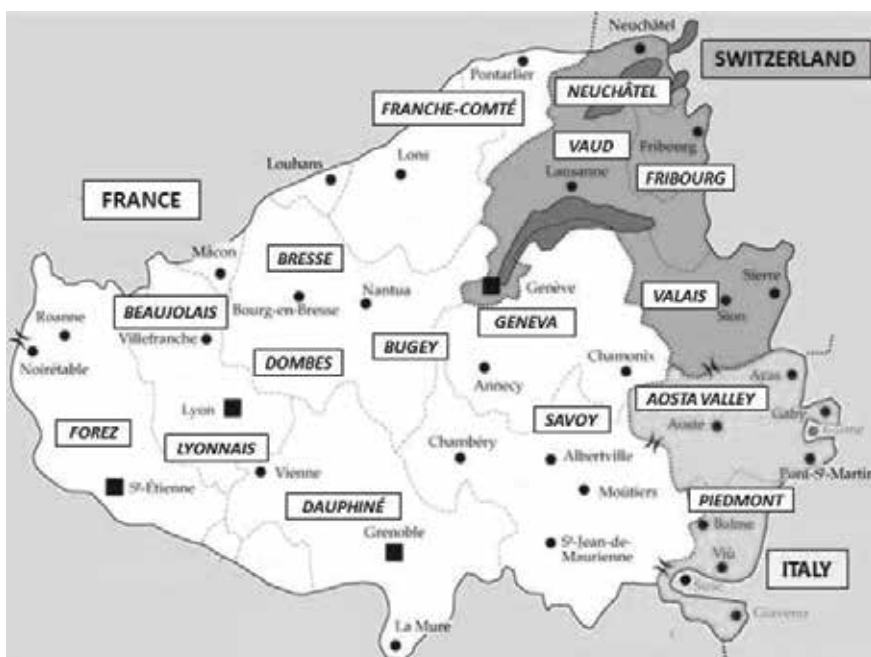
Figure 1.
The Francoprovençal area. Main towns and regions (according to a map from the Centre d'études francoprovençales; Saint-Nicolas, Italy).

had been used for literary purposes as early as the thirteenth century. This endangered language has hardly ever been an administrative language, but it is still used to some extent by a few thousand elderly people and a handful of new speakers in France (Savoie, Bresse, Lyonnais) [4, 5]. It is more prevalent in Italy, where intergenerational transmission still occurs on a relatively large scale. In French-speaking Switzerland, varieties of FP are still spoken in some communities in the Catholic cantons of Fribourg [6] and Valais—where the village of Evolène still has young native speakers [7, 8]. However, the vernacular languages disappeared from the nineteenth century in the Protestant cantons of Neuchâtel, Geneva and Vaud—except in a few communities of the Jorat region [9].

The analysis of the discourse on Francoprovençal, a language spoken in three countries with very different social, political and linguistic traditions, makes it possible to measure, in a comparative way, the impact of the various strategies of (not) promoting language diversity. We will focus here on Switzerland, a country generally celebrated for its management of plurilingualism, but which, in the case of FP, does not seem to live up to its reputation. In particular, we will see how the autonomy of the cantons—a driving force of political and social life in Switzerland—has produced various regional patriotic discourses, thus preventing the emergence of a more unitary discourse on this language, whose transcantonal and transnational character is nevertheless beyond doubt. Through online archives (www.letempsarchives.ch), we will analyze the perceptions of FP by observing how newspaper texts illustrate diverse types of regional or (proto)national identity construction, whether it's Vaud, Geneva, (French-speaking) Swiss identity or a transnational one—encompassing a partial identification with Savoy and/or the Aosta Valley.

In Switzerland as elsewhere, the technical glottonym, "francoprovençal," is little used by speakers [7, 9, 10], who prefer the term "patois" (even if this term is often negatively connoted among nonspeakers). Switzerland, officially quadrilingual (German, French, Italian, Romansh), has not preserved FP any better than France,

which has partly "exported" its unilingual ideology there, as well as the perspective that French is an intrinsically superior language. Even while the cantons banned the ancestral language from schools, intellectuals sometimes simultaneously promoted it along with their "little fatherland" (especially the canton, but also French-speaking Romandy), and academics or cultural associations undertook to collect data and to maintain or (more rarely) revitalize the practice of the language. In the 2000s, translations of comic books aroused the interest of the general public, and FP is timidly gaining visibility in the school system in the form of optional courses.

The spread of the word "francoprovençal" at the end of the nineteenth century, although far from replacing "patois", did have an impact on the construction of imagined communities [11], whether large or small, and on the emergence of a possible "protonational" discourse [12] that might replace local or national affiliations by a cross-border sense of belonging. It is these mechanisms that we wish to describe more precisely by analyzing the discourse on FP in the *Journal de Genève* and the *Gazette de Lausanne*. With its multilingual status and its sovereign cantons, which to some extent are like small independent countries, Switzerland, being an atypical nation, appears as a favorable terrain for the study of the evolution of representations of an atypical language—Francoprovençal.

2. Constitution of the corpora

The *Journal de Genève* was founded in 1826 as a liberal weekly, and the *Gazette de Lausanne*, in the same vein, in 1798 (under the name *Peuple vaudois*). They merged in 1991 and again later with the *Nouveau quotidien* in 1998 to give birth to the current reference daily in French-speaking Switzerland—*Le Temps*.

For the *Journal de Genève*, 138 texts (see **Figure 2**) were obtained by using the keywords "patois" and "francoprovençal"[1]. Even if we focus largely on the latter designation, it seemed important to analyze, at least for one of the newspapers, the representations associated with the term "patois". Indeed, before the widespread usage of the name "francoprovençal," "patois" was in fact the only term which made observing FP reality possible, and it is therefore necessary to study the occurrences of this original designation in order to better understand the evolution initiated by the new term. The first part of the corpus (GE-1) comprises 96 texts having at least one occurrence of the keyword "patois", published between 1826 (first occurrence) and 1908 (last year before the first occurrence of "francoprovençal" in 1909). Most of the texts, unsigned, are short notices about political or social life, more often culture and literature (conferences, reviews, etc.). The second part (GE-2) comprises 42 texts with at least one occurrence of the keyword "francoprovençal" (and its feminine or plural forms), between 1909 and 1998 (first and last occurrences). Thirty-one of these texts also contain a reference to "patois", but the corpus does not include the texts (too numerous to be taken into account here) that do reference "patois," but *not* "francoprovençal." Most of these texts, generally longer than in the GE-1 corpus, are signed, often by academics, which highlights the fact that the specialized term is not yet adopted by the general public [13].

For the *Gazette de Lausanne*, the corpus (VD, for Vaud) contains 37 texts (see **Figure 3**) with at least one occurrence of the keyword "francoprovençal" (and its declined forms) from 1875 to 1988 (first and last occurrences). Again, these texts may contain references to "patois," but texts with only the word "patois" are not

---

[1] Since the 1960s, academics have used "francoprovençal" without a hyphen (to underscore the autonomous character of the language), but outside university circles, the term is still often hyphenated. This is almost always the case in the press corpus studied.
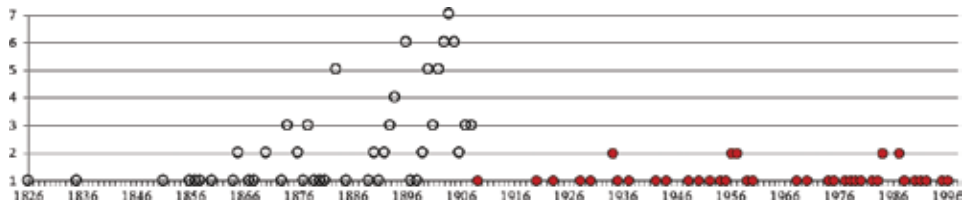
Figure 2.
*Journal de Genève = Number of texts with at least 1 occurrence of "patois" (*o*) [GE-1, 1826–1908] and "francoprovençal" (•) [GE-2, 1908–1998].*
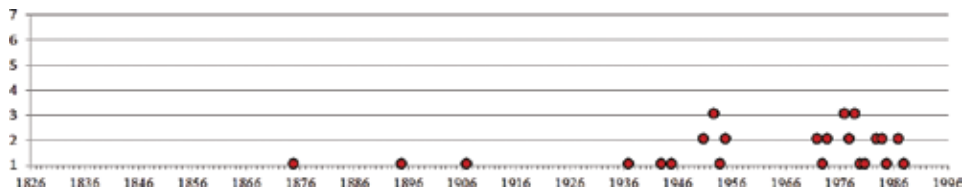

Figure 3.
Gazette de Lausanne = Number of texts with at least 1 occurrence of "francoprovençal" (•) [VD, 1875–1998].

taken into account. When these texts do have signed authors, they are sometimes *Gazette* journalists but more often specialists (writers, linguists or other academics). As for the GE-1 corpus, the texts may be short dispatches or communiqués. However, the more academic quality of the word "francoprovençal" is reflected in the fact that the contributions of the GE-2 corpus are more often background articles relating to literature and culture pages [14].

For both newspapers, we will focus particularly on certain key texts that illustrate the range of linguistic representations present[2]. It should be noted that there are no editorial articles specifically about FP in either corpus—the subject at hand probably never having been perceived as a worthy enough topic.

3. *Patois* in the GE-1 corpus (1826–1909)

3.1 The various geographical origins of the multiple *patois*

The word "patois" has no precise meaning unless accompanied by an adjective. The long period during which the term "francoprovençal" is absent from the *Journal de Genève* allows us to observe to which geographic and/or linguistic realities the term "patois" applies. It certainly regularly designates the FP dialects of Romandy (officially French-speaking Swiss territories), but various occurrences also apply to England, Germany, Denmark, Wallonia, Greece, etc. "Patois" sometimes simply refers to a rural language, but it awakens reflections on the disparity between linguistic and national borders or on the compatibility between dialectal diversity and cultural unity, as well as on the particular way Switzerland as a "nation of will" makes multilingualism go hand in hand with a uninational framework.

The word "patois" occurs much more frequently in regard to France: Limousin, Franche-Comté, Berri, but especially Provence—the region outside the FP area that is the most represented in the corpus. Before the creation of the FP concept in

---

[2] The quotes are in English and all translations are mine—to consult the original in French, see [12] (*Journal de Genève*) and [13] (*Gazette de Lausanne*).

1874, France remained very binary, divided between the languages of *oïl* and *oc*. The strong visibility of Provence and Provençal in the second half of the nineteenth century, linked to the popularity of Frédéric Mistral's *Félibrige* movement promoting the revival of Occitan, may have slowed down the awareness of a threefold division of the Gallo-Romance linguistic area [6]. Still, the activities of the *Félibrige*, closely followed by the *Journal de Genève*, indirectly encouraged engaging in sociolinguistic reflections on Switzerland. The newspaper oscillates between support for the rescue of the Provençal language and denunciation of its past-oriented character. Thus, in an article on Mistral, one author regrets that the "language of the troubadours" is dead since the school system "chases it away from the young heads"; he is, however, pleased that it left "these charming local *patois* which would be called languages if the conquerors from the North had allowed it", and he notes a certain kinship of spirit between Provence and Rhodanian Switzerland, geographically and ideologically turned toward the south of France (December 6, 1883). Another author, far less benevolent, ridicules the desire to raise the status of Provençal and is pleased that the Romands, faced with the erosion of their ancestral language, reject southern linguistic activism (September 5, 1896).

3.2 The *patois* of Romandy: between patriotic logic and conservatory work

With regard to Switzerland, the reflections on "patois", which most often concern Romandy (52 articles while only 4 about German-speaking Switzerland), illustrate Romand's quest for symbolic equality between German- and French-speaking Swiss. The celebration of local languages serves to show the attachment to a mythified Switzerland. Thus, the publication of the *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande* is presented as the counterpart of the already existing *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* (September 6, 1873, April 28, 1900) and also as constituting a "treasure of our national history" (February 23, 1903). The collection of songs in *patois romand* is seen as an "eminently patriotic work" (December 22, 1907) that must be pursued with as much enthusiasm as the German Swiss do. Patriotism here is both Swiss and Romand, and the corpus displays the faith in a Swiss nation founded on respect for "national languages"—of which *patois romand* is an implicit part. Since plurilingualism is a central element of identity construction in Switzerland (unlike the officially unilingual nations that surround it), the national dynamic is based both on a pluricultural and plurilingual "Swiss idea" and on allegiance to the respective ancestral languages. Pride for the *patois* of French-speaking Switzerland is part of the national narrative, which requires each linguistic community to participate in "Swissness" by adding its own personality to the mix. The *Ranz des vaches* dear to Rousseau, although stemming from Gruyères (Fribourg), is therefore considered as applying to the whole of Romandy—as "our true national song" (February 17, 1892) and as a "unique national poem" (June 21, 1904)—without compromising the Swiss national idea. While clearly no one is thinking of making *patois romand* official as Switzerland's fifth language, it is symbolically becoming a co-national language. The imagined community [11] of Romandy is integrated into the pan-Swiss nation-building process, according to a paradigm that values both the languages of Switzerland and the native language of each region. This attachment to both Romand (French- or *patois*-speaking) and Swiss (multilingual) communities does not exclude a cross-border discourse on the *patois*.

3.3 Savoy and Geneva: one and the same we-feeling

The French region most mentioned with regard to "patois" is Savoy (13 articles), because of the kinship between Savoyard and Genevan dialects. In various texts

evoking dictionaries or monographs, despite the conflicting political past between Geneva and Savoy, the Geneva "we-feeling" is confused with the Savoyard one. Although describing the rout of the Savoyard Catholics against the Genevan Calvinists, the *Cé qué l'ainô*, the "Escalade Song" that became the Geneva anthem, is presented as a common work written in "Savoyard *patois*" (August 17, 1903). The latter is seen as "the *patois* of our fathers" which feeds an "Allobrogian melancholy" and a belonging to "both a lacustrian race and an Alpine race" (August 6, 1891). The Genevans, who abandoned the local language earlier than the Savoyards, are invited to draw inspiration from the conservation work undertaken in Savoy (April 27, 1903). The *Conspiration de Compesières* (1695), a poem which "illustrates the comic verve of the ancient Genevans" (February 6, 1870), is also presented as a text in "Savoyard *patois*", while another author regrets that the younger generation avoids "popular phrases in fear of betraying its nationality" (September 16, 1865)—in this context of cross-border patriotism, it is not known whether the nationality in question is the Genevan or the Savoyard one.

3.4 Discrimination, modernization and disappearance

Sometimes, the reference to "patois" in the *Journal de Genève* only concerns Geneva (historical documents, literary or linguistic questions), without any link to Savoy. However, since Geneva's dialect was already moribund from the nineteenth century onwards, the interest of the newspaper is sometimes directed toward cantons where the dialect has been better maintained: Valais (4 texts), but especially Vaud (12) and Fribourg (10), whose publications (partly) in *patois* are regularly mentioned. In addition to the interest in preserving *patois*, there are a few remarks on the linguistic policy that today would be described as "glottophagic" [15] or "glottophobic" [16], which incited the canton of Fribourg to ban *patois* at school [17]. One article reports the "very lively" discussion on "measures to introduce the use of French into families" on the grounds that the use of *patois* causes the "inferiority of the Fribourg schools"—whereas some teachers refuse that *patois* be despised (July 17, 1885).

Two articles tackle the question of the disappearance of the many local *patois*—often perceived as inevitable because of the internalized stigmatization. Although they are "the soul of the people", one contributor says the *patois* are doomed to "decomposition", a phenomenon accelerated by the "infiltration of the French language" and by the "sarcasms" of the generations for which it is a thing of the past; a unification of the dialects as in the Provençal/Occitan model is also excluded (August 8, 1900). Another author concludes that "our mountain people" are now interested in Manchuria and that they have "a world-oriented soul" (April 22, 1905). In addition, at the turn of the twentieth century, the representations shown in the *Journal de Genève* do not seem to consider the existence of a language corresponding to the present-day perception of FP.

4. Francoprovençal in the GE-2 corpus (1909–1995)

4.1 The Aosta Valley: the new heart of the language region

Let us now turn to the 42 articles which, from 1909, include a reference to "francoprovençal," a term proposed by the Italian linguist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli in 1874 [2]. This new concept, which has taken time to spread, changed representations by extending the reflection to regions that were often not associated with Romand *patois*. The Aosta Valley, little represented in the GE-1 corpus (1 article), is

much more present in the GE-2 corpus (12 texts). The first article (August 12, 1909) describes the threat of the Italian government banning the French language, which had been protected since the annexation of the region to Italy in 1860. The author reminds the readers that the Valdostans, although good Italian patriots, had French as their written language and FP as their oral language. He adds that some of them envy Switzerland, where "the most disparate languages meet" while the "tiny nationalities that they represent" are respected. The people of Romandy are invited to encourage the Valdostans to "defend their native language," to keep alive the transnational "community of origin" that exists beyond the vagaries of history and to remember the "common racial affiliation" that is attested by the FP idiom. However, the Aosta Valley also appears to be a linguistic conservatory, a place where a supposedly pure FP is spoken and where the Swiss can "harvest the archaisms which once sprinkled the conversations of their grandfathers."

In the 1960s and 1970s, with the effervescence of minority groups in Europe, the emergence of a "Valdostan question" within the French-speaking world went hand in hand with a stronger politicization of the "FP question." One article (October 17, 1968) thus mentions the long coexistence of French, the administrative language in the Aosta Valley, with FP, the oral language that was also a language of literature. The Abbot Cerlogne is described as a "Valdostan *félibre*"—this reference to the Occitan/Provençal area obviously aims to bring dignity and prestige to the FP language. Even after decades of Italianization, if the French language is presented as endangered in the valley, the Valdostans are thought unlikely to lose "their very own language"—which might, in turn, reinforce the position of French (February 12, 1977).

Furthermore, the valley contributed to the genesis of the glottonym "arpitan"—some present-day FP defenders hope this term will gradually replace the hybrid word "francoprovençal." An article from 1975 quotes a passage written by a Valdostan in "harpetan" (the "h" stems from an alleged Bascoid etymology, see [18]), which is actually the translation of a work by Mao Zedong, and concludes: "At first, one is surprised. But on reflection, this may not be the strangest offshoot of an old marriage, that of nationalism and internationalism!" (December 30, 1975). Here we observe the emergence of a "protonationalism" [12] which, depending on the period, has taken hold in some parts of the FP area, or indeed in all of it, for example, when protonationalism resurfaced in the 2000s in the form of the dream of a cultural entity (if not a political one) named "Arpitania" and coinciding with the borders of the FP domain (see [18]).

4.2 From mythified Burgundy to reunified Savoy

The protonational logic was already obvious in 1937 with regard to Savoy, in one of the 11 texts where the reference to FP is linked to this region (September 2, 1937). The article goes beyond historical-linguistic considerations and has a more political content. The author, taking some liberties with history and geography, evokes a "second kingdom of Burgundy" (eleventh century) overlapping "exactly the area of distribution of the Francoprovençal dialect." Using the more prestigious term "dialect," he stresses that "our *patois* comprise only one branch of this great dialect spoken by 2 or 3 million inhabitants." The transnational dimension finally allows him to build a new (mythical) Savoyard national unity:

It is the great Savoy, the Burgundy of the year one thousand, which in reality claims us as its children and as the brothers of the Bressans, the Dauphinois and the Lyonnais, united like us within France, no less than the Genevans, Vaudois, Fribourgeois and Valaisans, as well as the Valdostans separated from us by the vicissitudes of politics and history (September 2, 1937).

After the reference to the glottonym ("francoprovençal"), the ethnonym ("Franco-Provençaux") that even today is rarely used consolidates the idea of a historical entity that is a transitional place within the Romance continuum, but with a distinct character: "[Our dialect] places us as a link between Provençal and *langue d'oïl*, we the Franco-Provençaux come from the kingdom of Rodolphe [...], the cradle of our region". This mythification of the past aims to build a common identity in the FP domain, which, after first being transnational, then becomes "proto-national"—by creating the possibility of a national(istic) discourse. It is also based on the narratives surrounding historical figures such as "our great Saint Francis de Sales" or the "chevalier Bayard" (the "knight without fear and beyond reproach"), whose Savoyard dialect was supposedly understood throughout the FP area. Finally, the possible linguistic unification or standardization is evoked through the recurrent reference to Mistral's *Félibrige*, whose method could be used to "reconstitute a true literary language."

4.3 The francoprovençalization of linguistic awareness in Geneva

Geneva is mentioned 11 times in the GE-2 corpus, but one notes that in 1987, when mentioning the international FP festival held in Thonon (Savoy), the *Journal de Genève* no longer alludes to the kinship between Genevan and Savoyard speakers, as was often the case in the GE-1 corpus. Savoy seems to have somehow faded from consciousness, now supplanted by the awareness of a larger FP entity—which itself no longer corresponds to the mythified "great Savoy" of 1937. The tone becomes more informative and less aimed at identity construction: "the Franco-Provençal *patois*, also the language of the transalpine roads, was spoken until recently by the Savoyards, the Bressans, some Dauphinois and Lyonnais, the inhabitants of Piedmont and in a part of Switzerland" (September 16, 1987).

These changes in linguistic awareness can also be noticed in the discourse of Geneva academics—relayed by the press—who stress the links between Geneva and the whole FP area. As early as the 1920s, one clear sign of the evolution of language representations in Geneva was a key article on a thesis devoted to FP dialects among Geneva Catholic communities (September 24, 1928). The author, Albert Sechehaye, welcomes the fact that dialectological studies are no longer "a matter of parochialism" and embrace "vast spaces" rather than encouraging a literature in *patois* that is more of a "pastime." However, the author displays his sense of belonging to both a remote FP entity as well as a more tightly knit Geneva collectivity, by being pleased that Geneva's language is now integrated into a larger language area, giving it "a dignity that had been lost because we so readily allowed it". Also a Genevan patriot, he deplores the fact that Geneva, "so proud of its past," had forgotten "its particular language". The *Journal de Genève* does, however, host some opposing points of view, such as that of a public education official in the canton, who rejects any validation of FP and welcomes its disappearance for the sake of Geneva's belonging to the prestigious French-speaking literary community (July 4, 1934).

4.4 Subsequent interest for a possible revitalization of FP in Romandy

In the GE-2 corpus, cantons other than Geneva are also often mentioned (Fribourg, 10 texts; Valais, 6; Vaud, 6), and they make it possible to tackle the question of a possible revitalization of FP. In the 1970s, the *Journal de Genève* notes that Vaud is a canton where few speakers relearn the "old Latin language" (March 18, 1978)—since there are hardly any native speakers left. And on a performative mode—aimed at creating the very reality that one calls for by using certain terms—one article evokes the "growing interest" for the language, the "rebirth"

of "the authentic son of Latin, but the neglected brother of French", stressing that school authorities already encourage introductory classes to FP dialects, although not on a large scale (March 27, 1979).

A few longer articles discuss the survival of FP from a sociolinguistic perspective, two of which are particularly in-depth. The first (April 2, 1956), written by the linguist Léopold Gautier, describes the long-lasting French-*patois* colingualism, the desire for social ascension linked to the adoption of French, the way *patois* speakers' associations reject the idea that saving FP is a lost cause, but also the survival of remnants of FP after its disappearance—in the form of regional French. The second (September 14, 1991) calls for a revitalization of Romandy's original language while criticizing Swiss language policy. It states that Romands "have forgotten the dialect spoken by [their] ancestors" and that it is unfortunate that it takes a French historian (Occitan specialist René Merle) to "invite [them] to reconsider [their] linguistic past" and to remind them that they "did not speak this 'French' of which they are so proud," but the "Franco-Provençal" language, "contemptuously called 'patois,'" although used as a "literary language"—for example, in the canton of Fribourg. Merle mentions the "regrettable self-censorship" that prevented many from going beyond "collector's nostalgia" and argues that Switzerland, "as an independent state, had resources that other regions [...] did not have to develop the writing of this idiom." The *Journal de Genève* also then challenges the myth of a Switzerland that protects small languages (Romansh being its icon) and concludes: "In its frantic desire to stick to an external model, by denying its language of origin, has Romandy not lost contact with its own identity?"

Let's now turn to the *Gazette de Lausanne*, to observe to which extent Vaud's leading daily newspaper displays representations of a Francoprovençal language that differ from the ones found in its Genevan counterpart.

5. Francoprovençal in the VD corpus (1875–1998)

5.1 From the discreet appearance of FP to the persistent attraction of Provençal

Unlike the *Journal de Genève*, the *Gazette de Lausanne* almost immediately acknowledged the existence of the new term, "francoprovençal." The first trace of this nomenclature appears in an article about a conference on Romance languages in Montpellier (October 4, 1875). The text mentions Ascoli's *Franco-Provenzali Schizzi* (1874) [2], which traditionally marks the birth of FP as an autonomous Romance language—or rather as a "linguistic type" with "its own historical independence", as Ascoli will also state. The ambiguity attached to the very concept of "francoprovençal" (autonomous language vs. "mix") certainly persisted in the following decades (see below), but this article shows that Ascoli himself, who had just revolutionized the traditional bipartition of the Gallo-Romance space, hesitated to "officialize" a third entity; the telegram he sent to the congress attendees only proclaimed: "Viva la Francia d'oc, viva la Francia d'oïl!"; the *Gazette* still focused largely on Provençal.

The second occurrence of this precise glottonym can be found in a letter to the editor (July 22, 1895) from the philologist Jean Bonnard, in which he explains that Vaud's dialects are "part of the Franco-Provençal area, which equates to saying that Vaudois and Provençal have several common characteristics." He thus insists less on French than on Provençal, which, due to the enthusiasm for the *Félibrige*, indirectly confers prestige to Romandy's FP dialects. The aura of France's southern language persists into the twentieth century: Edmond Jaloux, a member of the Académie française who is originally from Marseilles and also lived in Switzerland, establishes a close link between Provençal and the FP language, which almost seems to be encompassed in the Occitan culture (June 9, 1945). After naming various Occitan

dialects, Provençal being the most famous, he adds that "some of Romandy's dialects have *even* [emphasis added] formed a linguistic group that a scholar, Mr. Ascoli, called Francoprovençal." The idea of a division of the Gallo-Romance area into three distinct entities fades behind the desire to push Romandy's FP dialects toward Provençal. This "call of the South" also appears in a tribute paid to the linguist André Desponds (August 16, 1983), where FP is described as what "once was the language of a large part of the regions of *southern France* [emphasis added] and of present Romandy." Although the FP area does not include the regions traditionally associated with southern France ("le Midi"), the link between FP and the South are clearly displayed—as is the case in some literary works [19].

5.2 FP group and approximate borders

The *Gazette de Lausanne* delimits more precisely than the *Journal de Genève* the much-debated question of the boundaries of FP. The term "francoprovençal" appears often in linguistic contexts (rather than literary ones, e.g.). As the glottonym remains little-known to readers, a definition is generally provided. The term "patois" is quite frequent in combinations like "Franco-Provençal *patois*" (September 30, 1978, September 24, 1954). However, in the 1980s, the word "francoprovençal" seems to have taken root despite its previous attachment to the word "patois." And the francophone broadcaster Radio suisse romande, which has played an important role in the promotion of local languages, also uses the nomenclature "francoprovençal" in advertisements for its programs (February 27, 1988).

Some articles present FP as a distinct language with precise delimitations, as well as precise criteria to define where FP starts and ends. Details are sometimes given to explain how FP differs from French or Provençal, for example, as regards the Latin tonic "a" that remained "a" in FP as in Provençal (*portâ*—"porter" [carry]) but became "i" in front of a palatal as in French (*tserdzi*—"charger" [charge]) (July 7, 1979). Furthermore, there is sometimes talk of a "Franco-Provençal group"—a less easily understandable concept—and in some articles, the described language boundaries are even wrong in linguistic terms. In one of them, Neuchâtel does not belong to the FP area any more, and the distinction between *oc* and FP is anything but clear, since "the two groups of Romandy's *patois*" are "one *oïl* group, including the dialects of the Jura and the canton of Neuchâtel, one *oc* group, already related to the Franco-Provençal, with the *patois* of Vaud, Fribourg, Valais and Geneva" (January 13, 1973). In another article (August 29, 1977), we read that the *patois* of "northern Jura" belongs to the "Franco-Provençal group," whereas it is undoubtedly an *oïl* dialect.

There are also approximations concerning FP outside Switzerland. Vaud's *patois* is once described as "belong[ing] to the Franco-Provençal group in the same way as the dialects of Burgundy, [...] Auvergne" (March 16, 1978). If indeed a small part of Burgundy (northern Bresse) does belong to the FP area, this is definitely not true of Auvergne. Often it is no longer clear whether FP is an autonomous language or only one element in the Romance continuum (which it also is), as when one reads that FP "makes the transition" between the *oc* and *oïl* languages (July 7, 1979) or that the FP group of dialects "should be attached to French" (July 23, 1955).

5.3 Between discourse on language and discourse on the (little) fatherland

If the question of FP's territorial boundaries is a central one, it is also because the cross-border nature of FP sometimes competes with identity construction within Romandy. The corpus offers only two examples of the sequence "notre francoprovençal" [our FP] (December 12, 1953, March 30, 1955), while the sequence "notre

patois" or "nos patois" [our *patois*] is much more frequent. There is only the beginning of the construction of a FP "we group" that goes beyond the traditional discourse on *patois* and local identity. The words "we" and "our" are obviously easier to attach to "patois" than to "francoprovençal," largely because the enumeration of the regions constituting the FP area (necessary since the facts are little-known) forces authors to use a didactic tone that does not facilitate identification, whereas "patois," being the emotional glottonym that traditionally feeds identity discourse readily, is well suited to the mythification of origins: "Our *patois*, direct descendants of the lower Latin spoken by our Gallo-Roman ancestors […] [are] often closer to Latin than to French" (August 29, 1981).

In 1907, one author (January 24, 1907) insists on the dignity of "our *patois*", which are neither "dirty Latin" nor "*patois* from Ile-de-France." He explains that they may be part of FP but prefers to group them under the unifying glottonym "*romand,*" which applies only to Switzerland. Though metonymy, he designates the whole by a part (*romand* for FP) and symbolically suggests that the language is more Swiss than French (the term "Romand" can only apply to the Swiss part of the FP area, and its French part is not even mentioned): "Romand is interspersed between oïl dialects and Provençal." Since discourse on language has a strong identity dimension, it is deemed important to make the new discourse on FP coincide with older patriotic discourses, whether they be of regional/cantonal ilk (Vaudois) or of (infra-) national type (Romand/Swiss)—the two approaches not being contradictory. Even in the middle of the twentieth century, "Helvetocentrism" remained present. Thus, in an article on Alpine languages (December 26, 1953), the academic Aldo Dami, in order to show his pride for the diversity of the autochthonous languages of Switzerland, also tends to turn FP into a Swiss language, without focusing on the other parts of the FP area. By evoking the kinship (questionable in linguistic terms) between "our Franco-Provençal" and "our Romansh," he gives FP the benefit of the aura of Romansh, a symbol of Swiss plurilingualism that became a national language in 1938—in order to underscore the uniqueness of Switzerland in regard to its unilingual neighbors, especially nazi Germany and fascist Italy. In so doing, he all but transforms FP into a national language.

Sometimes, one observes less Helvetization than "Vaudization." One article stresses the autonomy of the Vaudois dialect that supposedly "detached itself from the original trunk in gradual transitions" (December 24, 1907). This "glottogenesis" might not be very compatible with dialectology, but it allows the author to individualize Vaud as a little fatherland. And in another example of "Vaudocentrism" (March 2, 1983), this canton even becomes the very heart of the FP area. According to this article, Vaud was the original home of FP, and its *patois* "radiated beyond the cantonal borders, as far as Savoy, Lyonnais, Franche-Comté and Dauphiné". Some experts' comments may have been distorted by editors, but a rewriting of linguistic history for identity purposes is what is at stake here.

5.4 A fragmented awareness of the literary diversity of FP

The lack of awareness in regard to the unity of the FP area also has to do with the fact that there is no "canonical" literature known and recognized throughout the entire FP area. One article evoking the "long centuries [where] our *patois* were only a spoken language" (January 24, 1907) as well as the "poverty" of the FP literary corpus seems to confuse the FP area and Romandy. It evokes the Swiss part of the area, but, either voluntarily or unconsciously, the author does not allude to older texts of undeniable literary quality stemming from non-Swiss parts of the FP area (Bresse, Lyonnais, etc.). The "pride" and identification possibility that could result from the awareness that the FP area has produced "great works" seems hardly

applicable to the discourse used by many Swiss writing about FP dialects, since the construction of a transnational FP literary community is not on the agenda.

The academic Jean-Philippe Chenaux also argues that the FP area is "extremely poor in literary works" (July 7, 1979), because there were no medieval literary centers frequented by troubadours in FP-speaking regions. Indeed, his representation of FP remains Swiss-centered, and despite some references to other regions and the erudition displayed in the article, there is no mention of Marguerite d'Oingt's work, written in Lyonnais dialect as early as the thirteenth century [20, 21]. The author evokes texts in Vaudois dialect from the eighteenth century, as well as grammars and glossaries, in addition to the codification of spelling or the translation of key texts, but he suggests that these efforts cannot create a corpus of literary works. He does not seem interested in remedying the lack of "good literature" by widening the area of reference or by reflecting on common graphic rules for the entire FP area—certainly a complex undertaking [22]. Does this mean that for most authors, FP—in whatever regional forms or boundaries—is seen as being on the verge of collapse as a culturally relevant phenomenon?

5.5 Inevitable disappearance and impossible revitalization?

In a fairly representative article (August 29, 1981) that evokes the bigger FP context, but still focusses on the "little fatherland," one author estimates that "our [Vaudois] *patois*" are "dying in indifference" and that they will survive only in a few toponyms or typical expressions. This will happen because the "rural civilization" to which they belonged has almost completely disappeared (a frequently advanced argument). The possibility of creating neologisms is not mentioned, since in any case, *patois vaudois* "will not see the twenty-first century," due to the lack of critical mass and of support outside a few activist circles. The "flourishing" dialectal theatre may be no more than an entertaining "swan song," unable to reverse the effects of former language policies and of demographic change. Even if, for some writers, the Vaudois people will "lose their soul" when they lose their "ancestral language", the author does himself not dramatize and notes with a certain fatalism that despite a few *patois* classes in schools, "there will be no miracle."

In an article on the *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande* (January 13, 1973), the emphasis is put on the importance of a scientific collection of FP varieties. Thus, the conservatory aspect is put forward, but not the paradigm of transmission. The author, who wants to escape the reproach of being unrealistic, explains: "The *patois*, without being resurrected, deserve to be recorded." The article underscores that paradoxically, the existence of *patoisants* circles is less a sign of vitality than evidence that the dialect is "condemned." The existence of native speakers is not seen as an encouragement to revitalize the FP language, whose rural orientation is seen as anachronistic. In another article mentioning the "swan song" of Vaudois dialects (July 7, 1979), the author mentions the "sweet regrets of seeing disappear this savory language that our ancestors forgot to teach to their children," but the nostalgic tone and the celebration of the "rich indigenous vocabulary" do not turn into a more "radical" discourse. The *Association des patoisants vaudois* and the *Conseil des patoisants romands* might "give new life" to FP, the author adds, but he hardly seems to believe it when he quotes conservative writer Gonzague de Reynold, who once stated "it only takes the will of a few men, perhaps just one" to revive the language.

We find more performative passages, displaying the will to build favorable conditions for a revival of FP through the very use of certain words. Thus, in the article "The Vaudois relearn *patois*" (March 16, 1978), the mention of the "growing interest in this old language" and the *patois* courses attended by young people at the Folk High School (*Volkshochschule*) give the illusion that the next generation of *patois*

speakers is ready for combat. Furthermore, the author of "Renaissance of Vaudois *patois*?" (March 31, 1979) welcomes the transition between the declining number of FP native speakers and the few new speakers encouraged by a program from the Education Department—followed by 40 teachers. Nevertheless, his optimism remains cautious.

5.6 The subordination of the FP to French

Various contributors, while internalizing the idea of the inevitable disappearance of FP, insist on placing the cause of FP behind that of (regional or international) French. One of them believes that the Vaudois language can be cultivated "without nostalgia" and especially to better understand the current state of French in Romandy (March 2, 1983). Another one displays his Francophilia in order to legitimize the defense of *Patois* without being seen as reactionary and then makes the archiving and museification of FP a symbol of Swiss patriotism:

There is a very great interest in all of us speaking French [...]. The moral unity, the ease and the pleasure in personal and general relationships then increase. But it is no less urgent to preserve our *patois*. This act of patriotic piety will not save them from death [...]: at least they will remain like the samples of animal species that become rare [...] and [can be seen] behind the windows of a museum (January 24, 1907).

Another author (October 30, 1955) names the benefits of *patois* as a "bulwark" to preserve or even improve the quality of French. According to him, the best pupils are those who, speaking only *patois* in their family, learned French at school instead of learning "faulty" French on the street. FP, far from hindering the command of good French, can "enrich it with its sap, its concrete richness, its penchant for images"—the opposition between picturesque *patois* and rational French is a classical one. Moreover, he believes that *patois* do not weaken Romands in their struggle against Germanization and rather make it possible to contain the "Germanic push" at the language border, since "our peasant populations" that are faithful to "the accent of their race" stay more attached to "their corner of land." And he concludes: "to serve the French language we love, let us participate in the defence of our mother tongue, Franco-Provençal."

The FP question often reflects the opposition between (Parisian) French and regional French, as well as different forms of purism. To answer a reader who legitimates the use of regional French—but not FP—in Switzerland ("One must speak Vaudois," December 14, 1943), one author recalls the superior status of standard French. While displaying his tenderness for the "old words of the land," he specifies that it resembles something "devoted to ancient objects." He advises FP defenders to combat "Provençal terms" (one finds again the ambiguity of the FP concept) as well as abhorred Germanisms. To discredit the "defender of Vaudoisisms," he imagines a text written by a communal administration in a French language full of abstruse regional words, whereas its role should be to "maintain communication between individuals." He disagrees with those who believe that standard French is "imported into Romandy." While conceding that the "fixity of an idiom" does not exist, he refuses that Switzerland's Francoprovençalized French be seen as an autonomous variety of French under the pretext that the Romands sometimes use "turns of phrase that we would not write," and he invites everybody to take better care of the French language.

In another text on regional French (April 3, 1951), a journalist refuses the creation of an *Office romand de la langue française* as well as the "triumphant" defense of local languages and asks writers to express themselves in order to be "understood effortlessly in Paris and Lausanne, Brussels and Lyon." Without denying

the historical importance of FP, he gives it a subordinate place. The symbolic power pyramid remains intact, and the author is more concerned with repelling Germanisms than cultivating Vaudois expressions:

"Vaudois [as] our language" has its own value, provided that it remains in its right place: a modest place, that alongside *pure French* [italics in the original] [...] Breton, Provençal, Basque have the right to claim, without, however, [...] wanting to occupy the first rank. [...] We have the right to pay tribute to the colour of old and exquisitely savoury words from home. But our duty is to fight against our worst enemies: Germanisms. [...] We will then more effectively serve literary French.

The specter of Germanization is also raised in a text on a French-speaking Switzerland assertedly "threatened in its linguistic integrity" (June 13, 1953). The author refers to the decline of the so-called universality of French language, due to the "nationalist outbursts" of minority groups. He is ironic about UNESCO promoting "indigenous languages as languages of culture"—and in that perspective, FP also appears to him fairly irrelevant. Yet, according to this author, FP has the merit of promoting "good bilingualism", since FP was traditionally learned *before* French, which children then acquired at school in its correct form. As for "bad bilingualism" (especially with French and German), it consists of learning two idioms simultaneously, in "thinking according to two mentalities" and thus impoverishing expression by privileging statements having "equivalents in both languages." Switching and mixing languages can only feed "the penetration of German into our mores," weakening "the will to remain true to ourselves," and even bring about the "disappearance of Romandy." The instrumentalization of FP (which is by no means a competitor for the French language) makes it possible to consolidate an imagined community largely based on French monolingualism. And this can be done all the more easily if the main purpose is to preserve FP as a heritage and not to keep it alive and visible in all sectors of society.

5.7 What role for the Aosta Valley, what parallel between the corpora?

While Savoy is very little present in the VD corpus, the Aosta Valley occupies quite an important place. This Italian region sometimes seems to be regarded as the FP El Dorado, as a counter-model to a Swiss context where FP is rapidly declining. We read that the *patois* speakers of Valais know that their *patois* "is exactly the same" in the Aosta Valley, where one can find an "absolutely pure Francoprovençal" (October 20, 1984). As questionable as these statements are, they show the importance of representations of a "true language"—associated with a place that guarantees the authenticity.

But the Valley also gives the opportunity to describe sociolinguistic realities beyond Romandy. In an article entitled "The Aosta Valley: a cultural genocide" (August 9, 1974), the author presents Romands as "sensitized" to the fate of language minorities (due to their minority status in Switzerland). He invites them to be even more so in the case of the Aosta Valley, since in 1860, its inhabitants "spoke French, or the local Franco-Provençal dialect." He describes the Italianization that was exacerbated by fascism and was still going on after 1945, as well as the fight for a status guaranteeing at least a few hours of French language at school, whereas FP was still—temporarily—widely spoken. FP is thus presented as a substitute language likely to fight the "cultural genocide" (against FP- and French-speaking Valdostans), happening "two hours by car from us." Just as with Romands refusing German in Switzerland, FP is adorned with the virtues of resistance.

And in a letter about the Aosta Valley as a "forgotten homeland of Francophonie" (August 15, 1974), one reader describes a cross-border region "ennobled by the soul of the same Alpine civilization [as in Switzerland]," evoking less Savoy than the links between Romandy and the Aosta Valley, "our two regions of the same

language." And the Romands, who did not have to fight to preserve French and who "neglected [their] *patois*," should at least have at heart the support of their "language brothers."

6. Conclusion

As we have seen in the *Journal de Genève*, the glottonym "patois," applicable to various linguistic situations, has not disappeared from the vocabulary of the French-speaking Swiss with the emergence of "francoprovençal." The newspaper has nonetheless witnessed the evolution of the sociopolitical discourse on the nature and the future of this ancestral language. In the nineteenth century, as the GE-1 corpus ("patois") illustrates, the identity construction based on language applied mainly to the canton (Geneva), to Romandy or to a transnational space limited to Geneva and Savoy. In the twentieth century, judging by the GE-2 corpus ("francoprovençal"), the reference to FP extended the symbolic identity construction to the entire FP area, whose political heart seemed to oscillate between Geneva, Aosta and Savoy—the more distant French regions being little taken into account. We also observe that the editors considered with a certain fatalism the disappearance of *patois romand*, but the idea of a revitalization of FP (on top of its conservation) did make a timid breakthrough in the 1990s. Nevertheless, in view of the small number of articles devoted to the question, the general indifference to the FP cause in Geneva and Romandy remains striking.

In addition, the *Gazette de Lausanne* attests that within a century, the foundations of the construction of a cross-border FP area were laid. This can be seen especially in the genuine interest for the Valdostan neighbors; however, the construction remains unfinished. Like the Genevans, the Vaudois seem widely accustomed to the impending extinction of their ancestral language. Vaudois' construction of an imagined community is based on the identification with Romandy, but mainly with Vaud, and it no longer depends on fidelity to the dialect, but more on an interest in regional French. It should also be noted that the reference to Savoy is very little present in the *Gazette de Lausanne* and does not feed any interest for a transnational FP entity (or for other FP-speaking French regions). Whereas Vaud appears as self-sufficient to develop its own discourse on the traditional language, Geneva, because of its common history with Savoy and its geography (a small canton, almost a Swiss enclave with strong bonds to French neighbors), cannot rely only on itself to do so. This latter context seems more favorable to the construction of a cross-border community.

In order to better measure the evolution of language and identity representations in Romandy, further research could be carried out in the archives of the daily newspaper *Le temps*—which continues the legacy of both the *Journal* and the *Gazette*. With the growing awareness of the rapid destruction of the world's linguistic heritage [23] and with the debate on the European charter for regional or minority languages (which was ratified by Switzerland but with few references to FP), there have probably been further reflections on revitalization. One could probably notice the less-discreet presence of the glottonym "arpitan"—whose ancestor "harpetan" was mentioned in the *Journal de Genève*, but not in the *Gazette de Lausanne*—and references to the imagined (proto)nation "Arpitania." Some new speakers very active on the Internet still advocate this concept in order to make identification with the language easier and to put an end to the misleading associations with Provence [18]—which, as we saw, are present in both corpora; these new speakers are also among the strongest defenders of a unified spelling (called ORB, see [24]) for the whole of the FP area. No one can say if the new glottonym will finally prevail in

the regions associated with the language that most academics still name "francoprovençal." The references to *Félibrige* in both corpora (especially in the *Journal de Genève*) suggest that in order to understand the evolution of representations of local languages in Romandy and beyond, it remains useful to remember that the Gallo-Romance area is still a linguistic continuum with some arbitrary dialectal borders. Thus, the term "francoprovençal," despite its unattractive character, is not completely devoid of virtue when it comes to thinking about the political and sociological conditions that "make" languages exist.

To sum up, it should be stressed that in Switzerland, due to the presence of various local or regional discourses on "patois," there were powerful centripetal forces that hampered the rise of a widespread awareness of the unity of the language throughout the three countries concerned. The centrifugal forces producing FP language representations that went beyond the Swiss frame of reference did exist but were obviously never supported by any strong social demand. There was hardly even a discourse on Romandy as a place where another more- or less-unified national language could have taken shape—based on the model of the emergence of Romansh as an official language in the Canton of Grisons and at the federal level. It might partly be because there are *several* French- or FP-speaking cantons. But one should also underline the extent to which the internalization of the French unilingual model (as opposed to the lasting diglossic coexistence of languages in German-speaking Switzerland) interfered with a "Swiss idea" that was—in theory—more open to language diversity. Nevertheless, it can be argued the careful voices that somehow nourished a spirit of resistance against linguistic homogenization still have relevance in a Swiss society where individual and collective plurilingualism is by no means a thing of the past, in regard to traditional languages, but also because the number of speakers of some immigrant languages now exceeds that of speakers of both Romansh and Francoprovençal.

Author details

Manuel Meune
University of Montreal, Montreal, Canada

*Address all correspondence to: manuel.meune@umontreal.ca

IntechOpen

References

[1] Kristol A. Francoprovençal. In: Ledgeway A, Maiden M, editors. The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2016. pp. 350-362

[2] Ascoli GI. Schizzi franco-provenzali. Archivio glottologico italiano. 1874;**3**:61-120

[3] Tuaillon G. Le francoprovençal. Progrès d'une définition. Centre d'études francoprovençales René Willien: Saint-Nicolas; 1983

[4] Bert M, Costa J, Martin J-B, editors. Étude FORA: Francoprovençal et occitan en Rhône-Alpes. Lyon: Institut Pierre Gardette, Université catholique; 2009

[5] Bichurina N. Le francoprovençal entre la France, la Suisse et l'Italie: Langue diffuse, langue focalisée et enjeux de normalisation. Nouvelles du Centre d'études francoprovençales René Willien. 2015;**71**:7-24

[6] Meune M. Pratiques et représentations des langues chez les locuteurs du francoprovençal fribourgeois. Université de Montréal; 2012. Available from: http://llm.umontreal.ca/repertoire-departement/vue/meune-manuel/

[7] Matthey M. "Quand ça a besoin de place, ça pousse". Discours familial intergénérationnel sur la (non-)transmission du patois d'Evolène. Revue transatlantique d'études suisses. 2012;**2**:77-88. Available from: https://llm.umontreal.ca/recherche/publications/

[8] Matthey M, Meune M, editors. Le francoprovençal en Suisse. Genèse, déclin, revitalisation. Revue transatlantique d'études suisses. 2012. p. 2. Available from: https://llm.umontreal.ca/recherche/publications/

[9] Meune M. Parler patois ou de patois? Locuteurs gruériens et néolocuteurs vaudois: Le discours sur le francoprovençal dans les associations de patoisants. Revue transatlantique d'études suisses. 2012;**2**:57-75. Available from: https://llm.umontreal.ca/recherche/publications/

[10] Kasstan J. Denomination and the problem of Francoprovençal. In: Éloy JM, editor. Le nom des langues IV: Le nom des langues romanes. Leuven: Peeters; 2016. pp. 73-92

[11] Anderson B. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso; 1983

[12] Hobsbawm E. Nations et nationalismes depuis 1780. In: Programme, mythe, réalité. Paris: Gallimard; 1992

[13] Meune M. Du patois à l'"harpetan", entre (petite) patrie et nation imaginée: Le discours sur le francoprovençal dans le *Journal de Genève* (1826-1998). International Journal of the Sociology of Language. 2017;**249**:199-214. DOI: 10.1515/ijsl-2017-0048

[14] Meune M. Langue romane ou romande ? Variété autonome ou bribe de continuum? Un siècle de construction du francoprovençal dans la *Gazette de Lausanne* (1875-1988). Circulation. 2016;(4):23-42. DOI: 10.17118/11143/10175

[15] Merle R. Visions de "l'idiome natal" à travers l'enquête Impériale sur les patois (1807-1812): Langue d'oc, catalan, francoprovençal - France, Italie, Suisse. Perpignan: Trabucaire; 2010

[16] Blanchet P. Discriminations: Combattre la glottophobie. Paris: Textuel; 2016

[17] Gadient I. "Ein lächerlicher Sprachenmischmasch": Dialekte und Sprach-vorstellungen im Kanton Freiburg Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Revue transatlantique d'études suisses. 2012;**2**:33-56. Available from: https://llm. umontreal.ca/recherche/publications/

[18] Meune M. Enjeu local et défi transnational, terroirs patoisants et exterritorialité « arpitane »: Le francoprovençal à l'heure de Wikipédia. In: Lassalle D, Weissman D, editors. Ex(tra)territorial. Assessing Territory in Literature, Culture and Languages. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi; 2014. pp. 261-284

[19] Meune M. Lieu sans langue et langue sans lieu? Du Pays de Vaud au Valais, de Chappaz à Chessex: Le fait francoprovençal dans la littérature de Suisse romande. In: Czerny N, Leroy du Cardonnoy E, editors. Lieu(x) d'écriture et écriture de lieu(x). Topographie du réel à l'imaginaire. Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen; 2015. pp. 147-159

[20] d'Oingt M. Expériences mystiques et récits édifiants. In: Textes rédigés en francoprovençal et en latin par une moniale du XIIIe siècle. Lyon: EMCC; 2012

[21] Tuaillon G. La littérature en francoprovençal avant 1700. Grenoble: Ellug; 2001

[22] Lamuela X. Une orthographe englobante pour le francoprovençal? Avantages et difficultés. Nouvelles du Centre d'études francoprovençales. 2017;**75**:68-98

[23] Duchêne A, Heller M, editors. Discourses of Endangerment. Ideology and Interest in the Defense of Languages. London: Continuum; 2008

[24] Stich D. Dictionnaire francoprovençal/français – français/ francoprovençal. Thonon-les-Bains: Le Carré; 2003

Chapter 5

Between Rebellion and the Spectacle: Analysis of the Songs of the Hip-Hoppers of Bogotá

John Jairo Uribe Sarmiento

Abstract

This chapter analyzes the lyrics of the songs of hip-hoppers from Bogotá. Such analysis privileges the way such songs are staged, as well as the tensions that emerge between their proposal of social mobilization and the show. In effect, the spectacle is constituted at the same time, in a tool of mobilization, as in an obstacle that deactivates the hip-hoppers' discourse. There are three key narrative axes: the presentation of street life; the critique of social order; and the memory of hip-hop itself in Bogotá. Through these narrative strategies, young people build a representation of themselves, their reality, and their work.

Keywords: political spectacle, youth cultures, discourse analysis

1. Introduction[1]

On June 5, 1995, a group of hoppers took the Plaza de Bolívar, located in Bogotá, Colombia. Its purpose is to denounce, through its art, the death of hundreds of young people from the popular neighborhoods fallen at the hands of social extermination, who saw in them "dangerous bodies" that had to be eliminated. Report, resist, confront, mobilize are some of the verbs that have found life in hip-hop since its origin. Indeed, since the 1970s, a musical style has developed in New York in which the DJs mixed music ("scratching" the acetates) with the improvisations of the "Masters of Ceremonies" (MC) in the middle of parties where they invented dances that gave rise to rap and break dance [2]. These music and their dances were spread through films and records that played on youth radio stations in the 1980s. Hip-hop reflects a long and complex tradition of Afro fights in the United States that, marginalized from the sociopolitical spaces of society, found in this art a powerful tool of denunciation, vindication, and participation [3].

Here, the lyrics of the hip-hop songs of Bogotá are analyzed. This analysis emphasizes how these songs are presented to the public, as well as the tensions that arise between their proposal of social mobilization and the show. In effect, the spectacle is constituted at the same time, in a mobilization tool, as in an obstacle that deactivates its discourse. "Remember that hip-hop is the one that

---

[1] This document includes several sections of the thesis presented by the author to qualify for the title of Doctor en Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (Phd, in Political Studies and International Relations). See: Uribe [1].

creates the consciences of the 'parche',[2] of the corner, that defends a group of beliefs; that this is the culture that prepares revolutions with a little science, prepares minds for solutions."[3] Hoppers define themselves as movement, as participants in a mental revolution, that is, an alternative culture. However, unlike other movements, hip-hop is characterized by its fluidity, as well as by the informality of its links, so it applies what McDonald [5] has defined as "experience movements," that is, of mobilizations that are not structured in more or less established organizations, but are activated according to the circumstances and the bonds of solidarity. These new social movements, in Arditi's words, "would turn out to be a sort of 'prophets of the present', not only because they discover the conflicts in the dominant power relations, but also because they are agents that create alternative cultural codes" (quoted in [6], p. 13).

In this sense, conceiving hip-hop as a cultural movement means assuming that its activity is not aimed at the conquest of the State, but defends and promotes another type of society; it means recognizing as a central element that their work surpasses the political-electoral plane and is deployed in strictly social spaces (on the streets, at parties, etc.) in constant tension with their context. It is not, then, a social mobilization that is directed against a clearly placed opponent, nor does it have a relatively established repertoire of actions, nor with a continuous and relatively organized action; it is intended to revolutionize the minds, in other words, to disrupt the "dominant discourses" offering another way of seeing, understanding, and relating to the street, symbolized by them as a place of creativity, not violence or exclusion.

Now, experience of Bogota street made music, graffiti, and break dance, sometimes, is packaged as a product of cultural consumption that serves to promote movies, as well as clothes and energy drinks (for example, Red Bull is a sponsor of international events), among others. In the same way, the concerts, the musical productions, the tours of many groups, the visibility in the media, put young people in contact with the world of entertainment.

At least two characteristics of the relations established between hip-hop and the show must be highlighted: (1) these scenarios "disconnect" the groups from their local problems, given that the new events neither intend to challenge the public nor join the mobilization social, but entertain, sell, and promote artists and (2) what could be called "entrepreneurship" of the groups, because they must accommodate the logic of production of shows, with new characters, such as managers, directors, choreographers, among others.

This tension within hip-hop goes hand in hand with what they have called "the commercial" [7, 8]. For Pérez [7], the dilemma lies in what is considered commercial and refers to the emergence of artists prefabricated by labels in the United States: "These artists gave rise to make the difference between legitimate hip-hop, which leads content, which contributes, proposes, and rap, the commercial side" ([7], p. 124). Some hoppers reject this type of mediation, others intend to use them to communicate their message, others take advantage of them to achieve some economic success, but the desire to be the voice of the street and to offer a "protest with proposal" remains a concern of the movement.

In the present text, hip-hop in Bogotá is defined as a cultural movement that generates plurivalent and multidirectional relationships according to the context in which it is immersed. While many hoppers remain in their position of "protest with proposal" from the street, many others reaffirm it in the scenarios to which they have been able to access through cultural industries (events, digital platforms).

---

[2] Group of friends from a neighborhood.

[3] Presentation of the Estilo Bajo group at the "Festival Hip Hop al Parque" in 2013. See: [4].

Others, on the other hand, have moved toward "more commercial" musical proposals, taking social criticism to the background. This type of position keeps the movement in constant tension, not only with the society they criticize, but internally. This is reflected in the lyrics of his songs. The following analysis addresses these songs as discursive creations that not only reflect the tensions experienced by Bogotá hoppers, but also constitute tools for struggle, communication, marketing, and mobilization in the city.

For this reason, the present document analyzes a set of songs that collect in a general way some of the characteristics of the hip-hop movement described here.

2. Discursivity and interpellation

Van Dijk [9] understands discourses as units of language that can be systematically analyzed through the approach of two dimensions: the textual and the contextual. The first one gives an account of the structures of the discourse in terms of its grammar, syntax, and semiotics (structures of meaning). The second relates these structural descriptions to contextual properties, such as cognitive processes and sociocultural representations or factors ([9], p. 45). For this author, this distinction facilitates the analytical description and the formation of the theory. However, this differentiation is a "metatheoretical" artifact because in reality "we only have cognitive representations of the rules of discourse and of the strategies of their application in the production of discourse and in understanding" ([9], p. 45). In other words, those who use discourses apply rules to make what they say intelligible and these rules depend on the corresponding contexts of production, circulation, and feedback. However, "discourse can have general, abstract or context-free properties, which can be explained by a certain type of discourse grammars, and properties that vary through different contexts (situations, speakers, etc.) in the same culture" ([9], p. 45).

Van Dijk argues about the presence of a pragmatic component that transcends the analysis of the forms and structures of meaning, to emphasize the social act in which the discourses are used. The analysis of this component must specify the types of speech characteristic of a culture, as well as the rules that determine in what conditions these speech acts are appropriate. On the other hand, the author raises the categories of style and rhetoric. The first alludes to the choices made by the speaker, that is, the type of expressions he prefers to use against other possible ones offered by the context. The second refers to the strategies used by those who express themselves to persuade others, that is, they study the sociopsychological aspects of persuasion.

Now, in our work, we privilege the last elements pointed out by Van Dijk: pragmatism, style, and rhetoric, since we intend to understand hoppers' discourses in the context of their articulation between mobilization and spectacle. So, the "staging" category aims to specify how hoppers use their speeches. But for this, it is necessary to analyze how these discourses are composed in rhetorical terms, in other words, what enunciation strategies they use and how they construct their identities (presentation of themselves) and strive to challenge the public (which can be partially assimilated with the notion of Van Dijk's rhetoric).

In later works, Van Dijk develops what he calls as critical discourse analysis (ACD). The fundamental objective of this analysis is to demonstrate social and political problems through discourse analysis. It is based on the idea that those who have power have mechanisms to build and disseminate discourses that seek to shape social reality [10]. The ACD aims to establish how discourse contributes to the reproduction of inequality and social injustice by examining who has

access to legitimate discursive structures. So, his analysis focuses on what he calls power abuse, that is, the strategies of use, legitimacy, and construction of domination. This type of study aims to identify the resources of domination used by the elites, the power they exercise by controlling the actions of others, as well as the definition of who can speak, about what and when.

This chapter does not directly analyze domination. It addresses the ways in which hoppers have constructed a representation of themselves, the kind of relationships they have developed in the process and the corresponding context. So, the emphasis is on the hip-hop side. However, the interest to understand the inequalities between those who build and project the speeches remains.

On the other hand, Santander [11] points out a key characteristic of discourses: their opacity. "We know that the language is not transparent, the signs are not innocent, that the connotation goes with the denotation, that the language shows, but also distorts and hides, that sometimes what is expressed directly reflects what is thought and sometimes it is only a slight indication, subtle, cynical" (p. 208). This opacity can be approached from the contrast between different sources of information and is present in the interaction between the researcher and the subjects. In the present investigation, the discussions about the internal tensions showed some of the less visible, more "opaque" aspects of the process through which the hoppers have been constructed. This opacity is not deepened in the present work, because it goes beyond the expected scope.

Santander [11] points out that interest in discourses constitutes a call for the recognition of differences, so that they display notions such as identity and culture in conditions of inequality. "Obviously, language plays a central role in cultural and identity issues, much more prominent than in social class problems" (p. 209). The speeches are also understood "as a place where prejudices, stereotypes, negative representations, etc. they are re-produced" (p. 209). In this way, the discursive is a key dimension in the analysis of links and social relations. Then, the analysis of the discourses should show the opaque in the context of disputes over identities in the contemporary world.

It is necessary to refer to the way in which discourses interact and contribute to the creation of the social reality of individuals. Hall [12] understands identity as a tension between the culturally planned subject positions and the creations of oneself. It has, on the one hand, the existence of "discourses" that operate in the constitution of individuals, defining the ways in which they relate to themselves; on the other hand, the forms of self-creation that the subjects display emerge, who, based on the rules of constitution of the "I," propose other forms of being. There will be an articulation between the positions of the subject and the subjects themselves, that is, a "correspondence not necessary" that is based on contingency. Now, it can be said that the way discourses operate in the construction of identity refers to the way in which the former addresses the subjects, as Butler puts it in his book "Dar cuenta de sí mismo" (give an account of himself). In this context, a process is required that makes necessary the constitution of "I" (as a subject that is capable of narrating itself), capable of developing the parameters through which that self becomes intelligible to itself and for others. This constitution of the self and the contingencies that are giving form to its narrative is crossed by creative dynamics that are relational.

Butler [13], in relation to the construction of the "Cuerpos que importan" (bodies that matter), offers some key elements to broaden this perspective: gender constitutions[4] are defined as acts of a performative nature. From his perspective,

---

[4] It is worth mentioning that a man or woman with predetermined masculine or feminine characteristics is not born, but that the genders, the attributes that are given to some and to others, are developed according to historical tensions of diverse nature. From this perspective, sex (the biological data), sexual orientation, and gender role cannot be confused.

the body is the materialization of possibilities that are historically conditioned and circumscribed. Hence, gender is displayed as an action, a corporal style, a performative, dramatic, and nonreferential task (in the sense that it is not the expression of a transcendental idea—or biologically predetermined—of being human, but rather it is the effect of a series of cultural productions). This performance, this dramatization of the genre has strong punitive consequences, while the others (the spectators) tend to sanction those performances that do not correspond with what was expected. From this perspective, she insists on the need to address the ways in which the world is produced through acts of subjective experience.

The discourses in action, when addressing the public, contribute to build others. Thus, for example, discourses on young people contribute to their definition of themselves and their assumption of certain perspectives and behavior established by others [14–16]. In this sense, the speeches interpellate the subjects proposing references to define what they are, what they can do, say, and even wish, thus contributing to create a spectrum of possibilities framed and socially labeled [17].

In conclusion, it can be said that the analysis of hip-hop as a cultural movement requires the analysis of several interrelated processes:

- Those that allow the visibility of the actor in question (creation of a youth culture, in terms of [18]). These include the construction of a "we," based on the shared experiences and the daily encounter (self-affirmation);

- His speech, that is, the elaboration of a way of understanding the social world, of confronting the conflictivity from the perspective of the actor and of interpellating his audience (creation of new modes of existence, in terms of [18]);

- Its staging, that is, the way those identities and their discourses are put into circulation, their intentions, their means, their scope, and problems;

- Its reflexivity, understood as the process of internal discussion that contributes to reworking the way they define themselves and their work (self-affirmation);

- These processes allow us to analyze the relationships, the actors, the conditions, the means, the articulations, and the identity tensions.

It must be said that the present work does not address hip-hop consumers or their resignification strategies. However, the traditional distinction between producers and consumers in this case is porous because hip-hop is at the hands of fans, not requiring expensive equipment or instruments (this will be discussed later).

This chapter analyzes the way hoppers use their songs both as a spectacle and as a mobilization tool, that is, highlighting the effort to "represent" the universe of the streets and to "create" consciousness. Emphasis is placed on the staging of the songs from the analysis of their lyrics and videos to identify how they use the spectacle.

It should be mentioned that the analysis of the songs and their discourses articulated a selection process and one of "decomposition" and "recomposition." First, a group of artists that can be considered representative of the city of Bogotá was chosen. For this, two criteria were taken into account: (1) that had been presented in "Hip Hop al Parque" (Hip Hop to the Park)[5] and (2) that had been referred in the interviews developed around the process of construction of the history of Bogota hip-hop[6]. This list totals 38 groups and soloists. Once this set of artists was obtained, two or three of their most played songs were selected on YouTube, to

---

[5] The largest hip-hop festival held in Colombia.

[6] Interviews collected within the framework of the doctoral thesis from which this article emerges [1].

reach a total of 89 songs[7]. These songs were classified according to their central theme in four categories: underground experience (33 songs), social criticism from the ghetto (39), critical memory of hip-hop (11), and love-lack of love (6).

After the songs were selected, they were classified according to the content of their central theme[8], with which four main categories were obtained: underground experience, social criticism from the ghetto, critical memory of hip-hop, and love-lack of love. Then, from a first analysis of these enunciation strategies, the songs were classified and then a more detailed analysis of the ways each category organizes the presentation of itself (the way the hoppers describe and describe their context when singing) and the interpellation of the public, identifying with it both the dynamic that hoppers use to make sense of their work and their world, as well as some of the characteristics that shape their relationships with other actors.

3. Underground experience: hip-hop as "conscience" of the street

This type of songs appeals to the ghetto, to violence, to survival, to drugs, to fear, but also to tragic heroes, to "heroes-delinquents," to characters that "end badly": "Criminal care [...] lives are falling [...] The moon in its mirror kills" [19]. In this world of darkness where lives fall, hip-hoppers appear as street narrators: "That's what I come bringing / concrete disorder / See, I control the brain." But, in this violent environment, his singing only achieves a precarious control: "sanity I have lost [...] Live this shit, playing, jumping / That is the barbarism, so that it defends itself: only beasts and liquor arrive at the table" [19].

The singer then presents that world of barbarism, of "concrete people" who defend themselves from beasts and consume liquor. The ambiguity of the street is presented in this way: rumba, adventure, fear, and creativity. From these seemingly contradictory experiences, a certain "mental liberation" is sometimes developed, a certain critique of the violent actors, a certain conquest of oneself that usually acquires the tone of a moral. This is another of the senses that hip-hop acquires as creative survival of the streets: observe and narrate, but at the same time, define what happens and in doing so, self-define.

> My friend the "traqueto" (trafficker) became so obvious
>
> that a child with a disability would discover it directly.
>
> They will take it, why run, nothing to do,
>
> If he tries to escape, they will kill him.
>
> Direct to the "cana" (jail), confiscation of goods [...]

---

[7] This list of groups, soloists, and songs can be controverted by diverse connoisseurs; nevertheless, it is necessary to say that these 89 productions allow to construct a very approximate panorama of which it happens in this level of the speech of hip-hop of Bogota.

[8] For this, an analytical technique similar to that described by Van Dijk [9] was applied: it is a reduction procedure in which secondary information is discarded to establish the argumentative nucleus. According to him, discourses are units of language that have a textual and a contextual dimension, that is, cognitive representations (text) and rules of comprehension and application (context). Unlike Van Dijk, it was not intended to obtain a macrosyntax. What was sought in the songs was denominated as strategy and enunciation: presentation of itself (how is described who sings) and strategy of interpellation (what pretends to "produce" in the audience to which it is directed).

> *After having a lot of money, return empty-handed, begging for bread [...]*
>
> *They say that what comes by water, by water goes away* [20].

This friend "traqueto" (trafficker) had grown up in the neighborhood and got money, but in the end, he goes to jail without the help of the "hard": the song mentions that "the bosses do not appear". After this trajectory of excess returns to the neighborhood with "el parche" (with the group of childhood friends) to continue living their worries, their hardships and all with the old moral of the popular saying: "what comes by water, by water is going." In several of these songs, a similar structure is evident, the boom (success with money, with women, with robberies) and the subsequent fall of the characters (prison, death) that lead to a moral.

In this way, some of the facets of the street are evident: that of the dark world that fosters fears, but also that of the artistic cunning that portrays that world. It is a way (among others) of starting rap as "popular artistic revolution": the esthetics that from the ghetto, with its ambiguity, interpellates the senses and feelings of the public.

As an expression of the ghetto, these types of songs give voice to the underground perspectives: criminals, but also uprooted people, who live situations of violence and poverty. These voices are at the same time, in tension against the socially consecrated order: the consumption of marijuana is claimed, they express the desires and customs of delinquents, they remember the shooting, the robberies, the beatings. Hence, one of the recurring characters of this type of songs, be the thief:

> *He was born with bad manners*
>
> *he likes to dock, he likes to steal*
>
> *coats and grab everything you find: jewelry, cards.*
>
> *Then he walks like a corded gentleman*
>
> *acting well normal* [21].

These thieves are also presented "from within," from their own voices, from their action: "quiet cucho hijueputa" (old man, son of a bitch) / pass me the money from the box / fast or I shot. And as in other issues, his sordid desires appear: "I'm bored, I want to kill someone." And his sorrows: "They "se echaron" (murdered) my partner for "faltar a muchos" (for hurting many) [...] I am like that, and so I will die in my law." These lives are played out in fear: the fear it provokes in others, but also the one that must be controlled in order to launch the robbery: serial drug addict [...] there is no fear in his heart / nothing moves him / is surrounded by death / likes the fear that all the people cause him [22].

So, the association between fear, the street, violence, and drugs constitutes key issues of this type of song. In some cases, it develops as a story in which the characters achieve success and then end with jail, failure, death, and of course, with a moral, with a teaching. In other cases, it is only a story that speaks from the ghetto, its pleasures, and sufferings:

> *I'm not from this world, you damn bum*
>
> *I go deep into the abyss, my steps go aimlessly.*
>
> *Without being of this world, I fire it and I understand*

I am a sane maniac more in disagreement.

I'm not from this confusing, diffuse world

tell me who put me in this fucking world [...]

People are filled with hate and hate my soul is fed [23].

This "real hip-hop" understands its reality as that which emerges from the streets, from uprooting, from crime, from prisons and presents it unadorned, crudely. However, hip-hop can be a process of transformation that opens the spectrum of the celebration of the culture of violence through the "morals":

The blows of life were the ones that changed me

My life was transformed by musical notes:

he learned in the neighborhood what he did not learn in school

survive in a world full of beasts [the street] that shaped me as [...]

Rapporteur of many areas [24]

The hoppers as urban chroniclers, as rapporteurs, confront the audience and confront each other through their stories. Here, there are several interpretations that, although seemingly opposed, are paradoxically complementary: the narration of violence, the enjoyment of excess, even self-destruction, on the one hand, goes hand in hand with the subversion of certain conventional representations about what happens on the street (like drugs). These two narratives can be understood as the vindication of another way of seeing, of another type of temporality and spatiality (like night), which in any case are reconciled through morals and the desire to live in other conditions.

These narratives and subversions, this ability to relativize the universe of the street offering their own voices, "opposing" the idea that this is the origin of "evil," in short, this ability to destabilize the current representations about the actors of the street, with its ambiguity and cruelty, is the central element of this type of narrative, of this discursivity. Here, hip-hop is a resource for many who are faced with the daily life of the streets: rhyme to stay alive. But, another type of song uses this art as a shield: rhyming to fight.

Proud of who I am

the experience is my teacher

my room has been the streets in this gigantic city

where mathematics is learned with coins.

To survive, is the most extensive issue [...]

Respect the bandits

It is not easy to be outlawed

also prostitutes for being friends of the cold

respect to the competition for being my biggest critics

the same to those who are slaves of their own vices [24].

4. Social criticism from the guetto: hip-hop as resistance

Hip-hop is linked to the tradition of struggle for the cultural, social, economic, and political recognition of African-Americans [3, 25]. In other countries, the racial character of the struggles of the hoppers does not emerge. However, these young people transform and reappropriate the claims against the social order by building their own struggle against marginality [26]. In this sense, as suggested by Potter [25], Hoppers crossed the lines of race, gender, and social class, particularly in the 1990s, becoming a transnational culture capable of mobilizing various groups deprived of their rights.

"The hip hop culture confronts the establishment, characterized by institutions, traditional values, the mass media and cultural industries; thanks to their expressions, youthful worlds appear that are different from the ways of being previously constituted and determined" ([27], p. 134). Hip-hop is then defined as a resistance and a counterculture that recomposes the community social order destroyed by violence, so that its action "has implicit in itself the minimum to open the way to the construction of social relations: they motivate to use the time in activities other than war" ([8], p. 56). For this reason, hoppers are able to confront the values of modern society, undermining their ethical foundations.

"Warriors of the rhymes," point their darts to politicians, to the media, to the State. It is not enough to survive, it is committed to transforming the street, and for this, they use the complaint: "The sickness of this sick society / everything has a price, a price for friendship. / The night to sin / sin to confess and understand that the church is a profitable business" [28]. This attitude not only questions institutions, it also addresses everyone: "A lie abounds in this world without conscience / where the most conceited only live from appearances. / The indifference has been taken to my country / the war and the violence do not let us smile" [29].

The lyrics are eloquent when questioning what the hoppers themselves call "society": their violence, their forms of exclusion and domination, their values. In this case, it is about assuming oneself as "being conscious," not only because of the reflection on reality, but because of the effort to describe the suffering they have experienced. Here, "real" hip-hop acquires another meaning: it is not only about expressing violence, but about giving an account of those aspects that are less evident of that reality, precisely, of undressing it.

In this line of expression, it is necessary to refer to the song "Acciones sin respuesta" (Actions without response) by Diana Avella and Lucía Vargas: "To whom is the denied answers attributed? / Who is asked why nothing happens?" Then, the artists raise a complaint: "imposed are the laws and the population blinded / choosing oppressors, sinning for their ignorance." The description of the situation is presented in the third person; however, when they take position, the narrative changes: "My conscience asks why the media hide the ambition of a fascist government / the death in silence of many trade unionists." In this way, the meaning of different institutions is questioned: "Trying to look for reality / both the bourgeois and the worker turn on the television in the same channel." Then, the chorus: "Actions without answer / this is the guerrilla / in the third world is two gang. / All the workers with left fist up, left fist up" [30].

After all this criticism, the singers interpellate the audience talking sarcastically: "And you calm, sunk in the pain of so many injustices. / From the past to the future there is only the nightmare. / In the soul of the slave the wound is greater / because without knowing the history, it is only necessary to repeat it: / mental liberation, it is the only way out" [30]. Then, Diana Avella and Lucia Vargas ask the leaders of the country to understand the situation: "And if only they understood the despair of the people." At this point, a collective project is proposed: "resisting, fighting, the spirits flying / warning the souls of what is happening." Thus, they conclude, mentioning their names: "Diana Avella and Lucía Vargas."

In this song, the interpreters, when describing the manipulation of the powers, appear as victims of the "oppressors." In this way, they describe aspects of the armed conflict generated by the forced displacement in the country: "war as the price of bread," that is, the war product of the ambition of the powerful. It appeals then to an audience that can be mobilized by the questions, the descriptions, and the position taking of the song: "mental liberation is the only way out," "resistance," "the left fist up." It is, of course, to provoke, to disturb, but not because of the harshness of the narrative, but because of the need to assume a critical stance, to free oneself from comfortable positions.

Now, while the themes of the underground experiences are developed around the voices of the ghetto, here, it is intended to question, interrogate the audience as an accomplice of the established order. Involving-bothering, denouncing are keys to the hip-hopper strategy.

> *"Bad policies, economic crises,*
>
> *the situation is critical and complicates*
>
> *Many preach, but they do not apply.*
>
> *And is that from above [...]*
>
> *everything looks very good and it is not like that.*
>
> *But really those who enjoy the good benefits are a few*
>
> *at the ribs of the sacrifices of the many"* [31].

The hoppers criticize the authorities, the police, the politicians. They are characters of corruption and death, because "I only see drugs, weapons, deaths and evils / Corruption, robberies and passional deaths" [32]. But, it is not enough to describe or denounce. As mentioned, the singers question the audience: "What is your position? / How to continue in a world without anything touching us? / How to create awareness if there are no open minds?" [32].

To the description of unjust situations are added questions addressed to the audience, with the intention of involving them in social and cultural mobilization: "wanting to change the world when we do not change ourselves / when the heart is a trunk where cynicism is kept and selfishness towards our neighbor" [33]; in other words, it is no longer about surviving but about transforming the world around them. In this framework, some issues confront specific institutions and practices, such as military service, fashion, anorexia, etc.: "Military service, with me you will not finish / service that binds me and forces me to murder. / He sends me to a crazy world where you have to shoot" [34].

With luminous images "La Fikty," by Caoba Nikel, satirizes the world of show business[9]: "Girl of zero in conduct / was not born to be educated / on weekends she is seen drunk by the 'Zona T'[10]. / He has <everything peeled>[11] because he says he was born with his business incorporated." His business is linked to entertainment and feeds on the tabloid press. "And how does he do it? / I do not know What is the business? / Know you: it does not matter if they call you a fool / climber or a culipronta (promiscuous) / do not get angry if you shout guaricha (prostitute)". In this way, the show business appears as a glamorous business that hides the sordidness of a prostitution that is advertised through scandals.

Other songs address anorexia to criticize entertainment. "Rosa"[12], also by Caoba Níkel, describes the drama of a girl who wants to enter the world of modeling; however, the demands of the agencies lead to eating disorders. The first images of Rosa present her as a student of a popular neighborhood. The singer enters the bedroom where she dreams of being a model to tell the story: "Rosa was a beautiful / vain girl, face and body of Goddess / glamorous. / Everything to be a model / her dream, her passion, her longing." The images present the fantasies of Rosa that she expresses through mimicry, changes of clothes, her way of walking, in short, her life turned into a fashion show.

> *But they demanded to be very thin on the catwalks, even if it looks ugly.*
>
> *They must be "gomelas" (conceited, glamorous) like the European ones.*
>
> *For agencies Rosa never worked*
>
> *they just said 'if you're not skinny, no' [...]*
>
> *Desperate to try to change his luck*
>
> *Rosa began to flirt with death*
>
> *with girdles, purges, laxatives, energizers*
>
> *slimming pills, pineapple, tuna, milk of magnesia.* [36].

In the end, it is narrated how anorexia is worshiped: "he did not commit suicide, Rosa simply withered." As you can read, this type of topics addresses the world of entertainment using the songs to question it; in other words, the show is used to question the show itself. It is worth mentioning that Caoba Nikel has been a television actor playing several secondary and commercial roles, so it can be inferred that these themes speak "from within" the universe of fame.

In any case, the sordidness, harshness, and cruelty of the streets, as well as the dark world of show business, emerge in hip-hop to unsettle and question the audience. "Today he will go to the streets looking for a way out of poverty / or maybe another lifestyle. / Money is his destiny / his body is the way [...] / Money is the most important thing, the rest is worth nothing" [37]. Now, from all these, the

---

[9] The fragments of the song are taken from the video of the song that was published on YouTube in 2011. It is produced by FunkStudios [35].

[10] Area of expensive nightclubs in Bogotá.

[11] Wearing little clothes, almost naked.

[12] The fragments of the song are taken from the video posted on YouTube in 2010. This was directed by Serio Rojas. See: [36].

audience can ask the following questions: To what extent and in what way have we become accomplices of those who "govern us"? Do we follow the play of the powerful? We grant them, in some way, the power that subjugates us?

Social criticism from the ghetto assumes this key characteristic: given that violence destroys meaning, that is, since it upsets the meaning of life, hoppers face the task of inventing other senses, other reasons to live, other reasons to believe. "The innocents fall straight to the pavement / their bodies are cold because of a shooting [...] / Vices in every corner [...] Thanks to my mother because it is because of her that I have lived / thanks to the hip-hop that made that life" [38]. The voice of the ghetto appeals to the ambiguity of the street (to pleasure and fear) to interrogate the world in which they live and at the same time, addresses the task of building other scenarios. Hence, they strive to achieve a "critical proposal," a popular artistic revolution.

It could be said that it is a "viral" strategy: the hopper activists in the topics presented in this chapter intend to infect, pollute the minds that are imbued in the universe of fame, consumption, and success. It can be said that it is not a frontal war that attacks the bastions of contemporary domination, but that it constitutes a kind of "low profile invasion," of an infection, of sabotage. But, these viruses, these saboteurs, when playing in the terrain of the streets and platforms, are confronted with the logic of entertainment. Here is a reflection of Deleuze regarding philosophy:

> Not being a Power, philosophy cannot fight battles against the powers, but maintains, nevertheless, a war without battle, a guerrilla war against them [...] And, as the powers do not conform with being outside, but rather they are introduced to each one of us, thanks to philosophy we are all constantly in conversations or negotiations and in guerrilla warfare with ourselves ([39], p. 5).

The metaphor of the virus, of hip-hop as an infection, refers to the guerrilla warfare that each one keeps with himself: mental warfare, mental liberation, superior state of mind. Here, we must underline that this construction of itself, in dialog, negotiation, and confrontation with the powers, can be at the same time a mechanism of reproduction of these, that is, an opportunity to reorganize the possible and manage the desire, to reproduce the subjectivities in terms of consumption and fear. The entertainment, even better, the show, is a scene of struggle: take the streets, the squares, the platforms to make hip-hop consciousness, to question the State, the military, the macho men, the sponsors, the television, to modeling, in any case, to disturb the public, to invite them to see and act differently in everyday life. But, it is also a place to achieve recognition as an artist, the point of arrival of a long process that the hoppers have walked from the streets: through their songs, they have discovered that they have something to say and that they can make themselves heard.

5. Critical memory of hip-hop

But, this task of mental liberation has implied the need to critically review what happens inside hip-hop itself. This revision implies, on the one hand, the construction of a collective memory, but on the other, the approach of tensions between groups and styles. It must be said that the process of articulating common efforts in hip-hop is not at its best: rivalries and struggles obviously fragment the efforts. But, the description "inverse" could also be applied, because despite the tensions and divisions, "combos" and "parches" (groups) meet and

collaborate in the events that are organized throughout the city, while developing some collective processes that have led, for example, to the "Hip Hop Declaration for Peace" (promoted by the Fundación Familia Ayara). It must be said that one of its organizational and mobilization tools is precisely the challenge, the confrontation: the rivalries between "parches" are solved through the "batallas de gallos" (artistic confrontations), to the point that physical violence can be transformed into symbolic aggression.

The conflict is not alien to hip-hop; it is part of its raw material: the street. As has been shown through their songs, the hoppers claim themselves as survivors of the ghetto, expressing their ambiguities from a raw voice, but also formulating a critique of the media, politicians, celebrities, etc. This attitude is also directed toward your own story:

> *Making an account of my life*
>
> *I think I worked with enough dedication.*
>
> *I've been here since the beginning of rap*
>
> *since the nineties when there was nothing to listen*
>
> *with crazy clothes, according to neighbors [...]*
>
> *persecuted by the "tombos" (police) for my culture* [40].

Persecuted by the police in a neighborhood that had no public services, in which children grew up with gangs. The young people made hip-hop to sing what they wanted to say: "Mrs. Rima was the one who gave us the visa. / Surprise warns, rhyme storms are approaching." Affirming existence in the context of violence and exclusion is one of the recurring elements of hip-hop: "Day by day we saw it / the street told us / in this world where we live, selfishness abounds." But as warriors who survive infecting their art "Our virus is transmitted [...] / Hip hop is a state of global consciousness" [41]. This is how the essential components of hip-hop are drawn: consciousness, cunning, neighborhood, ghetto, exclusion, warriors, world consciousness virus.

The song "Falsedades" by Tres Coronas speaks to young people who intend to imitate the lives of the "bandits." In this song, the artists address the audience, talk to him, ask him, challenge him, and even threaten him: "Tell me what you try to hide [with] your pod (attitude of evil) / behind your screen, your form and your band / your false tricks, your belly? / If you are not the boss / tell me who you are going / tell me, tell me what you achieve?" Then, the interpreters warn the youth: "When a burst of bullets you hear / tell me if you soften. / Be careful with what you say." The singers now appear as guides of the youngest ones appealing to their experience: "Welcome here is my territory / tropeles (fights) cartridges (knives) puyas and chuzos (knives). / Those who endure are not many. / I am your cucho (teacher), I teach you what is and how much I fight." Once again, the singers threaten those who dare to pass for "bad guys": "You better go home, your chupo is waiting for you. / Culicagado (child with diapers). Know what I read in your eyes. / I barely raise my voice and you get snot." From here, we describe the practices of those who have been labeled as "Culicagados," as children who presume: "You hear rap in your car locked. / You smoke, you take a drink and you think you're bad. / Take out the gun we'll see who has balls." It is about questioning hoppers who do not sing what they live but imitate "real" groups to get attention. The chorus synthesizes the question:

"They are bad guys. / They walk in band and always aggressive […] But when they are alone, they walk shit / The real walk quiet" [42].

Through these songs, the meaning of hip-hop is reconstructed. The real hip-hopper does not make a fuss, nor does he present himself as the "hard guy" (the best one). It requires another attitude: "You are nobody even in your own projects. / You think you're in fashion. / You say you sell drugs / when you have not even touched a gun. "Menso" (idiot)." Well in the end, "better stay quiet. / In this water there are piranhas and you are the fish," because in any case the announced thing can happen: "I warned you "mijo" (son). / That was not the destination / it was the path you chose. Now you are sorry / scared for giving them aggressive / you are threatened by talking things that have not happened" [42].

In this case, the public is defined in a direct way. It is about the hoppers themselves. They are not only questioned for their ingenuity disguised as arrogance, but for their inability to behave according to their own fancies.

It can be said that this narrative strategy appeals to the logic of "challenges" (of artistic confrontations): each one of the participants defines himself as the master of the situation and through his improvisation aims to win (humiliating) the contender. In this way, a criticism is presented against the "false" hoppers and real hip-hop is claimed. In this review of what has been and is hip-hop is staged a series of conflicts between groups, which also points to various conceptions of the cultural movement: "Before you criticized / you told me to shut up / and now I see you out from my neighborhood" [43]. The singer addresses rival groups that have abandoned hip-hop consciousness to tell stories of the underworld, in an effort to achieve fame:

> Neither you, nor your "combito" (group) I want to see you here
>
> mischievous rappers conceited for having weapons.
>
> They think they're wonderful with twenty drugged girls.
>
> What happens? You are wrong!
>
> I'm not interested in how many have killed
>
> If you want to talk about that, my ears are closed [43].

The fame and the street are problematically related: the second feeds the artists with themes to attract the public, but why is it sought? That is, what is the point of talking about crimes, fear or violence? For the authors of the songs that have just been quoted, it is not only about selling records, or feeding the imaginary that the entertainment industry exploits, there is more: "What makes me happy is to be able to sing / what makes me faithful It's the love of rap. / I do not have to pretend when I'm on the street / I have to follow the path of what I am." Claim the street, vindicate themselves: "I have fought with many people for what I do / I have defended my actions / but if I have to die, it will not be in vain" [44]. This genre is built on an option of freedom to express what you think, what you live, hence real hip-hop involves a commitment to the realities of the streets, a commitment that takes three dimensions: the expression of harshness, the mental revolution, and the reflection on the own work hoppers.

For these hopppers, the question is "to be the street that conquers itself," which defines itself through violence made art. "Since I entered the culture / I do not stop representing the mature rhyme / looking for the top […] / What's the fag / singing of

streets if your whole life depends on your father and mother?" This is a hip-hop that worries about infecting its listeners to promote mental warfare: "There are children who die of hunger / and you think you are the son of satan. / They will be the experiences / also the experiences / the science that studies the streets in a correct way" [44]. It is about the denunciations of the street, of its criticisms, experiences, and follies.

6. To finish: enunciation strategies

Hip-hop appeals to several recurring elements in its esthetics, that is, it builds a style that aims to mobilize meaning: to represent the street, to infect, to develop mental warfare, to seek cultural liberation. This style then seeks to mobilize ways of feeling to propose ways of living (in the sense proposed by [45]): to disturb through the moral, include themselves as part of the story, incarnation of the excluded, and enunciation of the complaint.

As central elements of its enunciation strategy, the following can be highlighted:

- Underground experience: it is about the violent experiences of the street. Fundamentally refer to scenes of various kinds that are narrated as their own experiences, in which emerges a "we" that mentions their own perspectives of the world, hence their tone of unveiling (as it allows to see what "veiled," the hidden) and of claim. References are included to childhood, to the ways of living in the ghetto, as well as to the crimes from the perspective of the perpetrators, but also, of the victims. The presentation of yes is developed around the enunciation game that alternates the expression in the first person (me, us) and the narration of events that occur to others (in the third person). In this way, those who do not usually appear in the media acquire a voice that interrogates those who listen to them. These topics include narrations that can be considered "celebrations of violence" (turning heroes into criminals) as well as criticisms of it (narrating the pain suffered by the victims of exclusion and pain).

- Social criticism from the guetto: in these issues, the State, the government, the rich, the violent, the show business are questioned. In them, the singers are claimed as constructors of their own history. In this case, the presentation of itself appeals to terms such as consciousness and reality: the rapper is staged as the one that shows what others prefer to hide, alluding to what "affects us all" (exploitation, bad government, violence). Here, the "we" refers less to a group and more to "the society" in general, that is, from these narratives the ways of being a man and being a woman are questioned, touching on topics such as abuse, spectacle, anorexia, among others. In this type of songs, rather than exposing experiences of the ghetto, it raises a criticism from within, with which the street acquires another meaning: it is not only the place of the excluded who struggle to survive, but it is a scenario of capable creation to go to the city and to ask him questions about the way in which the city lives.

- Critical memory of hip-hop: these are themes that review the history of the movement and question different ways of being hip-hoppers. In these songs, the rappers are questioned, their aspirations, as well as the "lies" they offer in their rhymes. Artists present themselves as "real" artists with street experience who warn (question) the most inexperienced artists questioning their interest to become part of the "show business." Even when these themes approach the conception of hip-hop as a resistance, they reveal the tensions of the movement, the discussions that develop within it.

But, as has been discussed, hip-hop expresses the ambiguous logic of the street. On the one hand, the underground experiences express the voices of the excluded, of the victims and of the perpetrators, questioning the violence from its protagonists, or resignifying said violence. All this is with the purpose of achieving "survival through style." On the other hand, the construction of itself based on the criticism of exclusion and violence, criticizing the State, capitalism, television, celebrities, etc. Finally, narrating and questioning themselves in songs that challenge other hip-hop groups. This complex set of aspects combine to enrich the traditional perspectives that have approached the movement, either focusing on hip-hop as a "resistance" or highlighting its "glorification" of violence. Bogota hip-hop then expresses ambiguities of the urban environment, tensions that their cultures have turned into a discourse, into an expressive-viral tool that has been staged in different scenarios.

However, some of the artists move toward the production of romantic songs that are not distinguished from the proposals coming from other types of music: "I always dreamed that between you and me everything would be fine / I was wrong. / Now I look at you and I do not see the woman I fell in love with / she left" [46]. The love and the lack of love, the desire, the conquest and the lack of love, are the topics to be treated. "Love me as I love you / that is the way / and I will become your slave" [47]. Like many themes of this type, the drama of love is based on the unity of lovers that allows us to affirm "you are my life." In this type of song, the singers say little about the social conditions in which the story unfolds. It is a song that presents the dilemma of love of any person.

For some activists (for example, Juan Habitual), these types of expressions are valid because they are part of the searches carried out by each artist, their reflections, their moments, their world. For others, they are songs that "perratean" (destroy) the movement, that is, that make it commercial and impoverish its transgressive character. It is difficult to distinguish the motivations that originate these expressions: experiences of the composers, or, strategies to "triumph" in the cultural industries and sound on the stations, or, even a mixture between both "reasons"?

As it has been argued in this writing, hip-hop is a cultural movement that seeks to reclaim the culture of the streets, to propose ways of thinking, feeling, and living different from the one that "society" imposes. To revolutionize minds, to disturb consciences, to rise up against the political, social, and economic institutions of which you feel excluded. However, the spaces to which they have had access through the show generate tensions within the movement: while some hip-hoppers take advantage of these scenarios to continue carrying their "protest with proposal," many others have opted to change the speeches of the "ghetto" for proposals with greater commercial reception.

But, this process is open and moves around internal discussions, their mobilization strategies, and the conditions offered by the medium. As a result of this, opening may occur that the marketing of hoppers' products strengthens their "protest with proposal," or, on the contrary, it may happen that commercial mediations are added to the cultural products that associate hip-hop with easy sex and the violence. It is also possible for the groups to come together, create their "jams" and join forces to face collective causes, or on the contrary, everyone "defends himself alone": "there are several who have managed to cross the border and have become important, but as people, not as a movement, do you understand me?" (Toño, personal communication, August 2, 2011).

This fluidity of hoppers' cultural mobilization does not allow them to be described or analyzed as a structured social movement. It is not only about groups that act against a social "enemy" and that have also been able to solve problems of

resource mobilization (internal or external, in the sense of [48]). Hoppers' actions occur in a specific context and express the contradictions of their society. In this case, the young people-street found a musical genre that allowed them to contact other young people, popular organizations, public entities, as well as musical entrepreneurs or radio producers, theater, even television. While these young people mobilized against the extermination and acceded to the scenarios, some of them ventured into the entertainment business, making "rebellion" a commodity. This multiplicity of phenomena allows us to speak of hip-hop as a cultural movement in terms of the so-called "experience movements" that McDonald [5] has theorized: articulated in a network, mobile, built from bonds of solidarity that are activated to face specific tasks and not for the development of a relatively established program. Hip-hop then develops mobilization strategies from the contradictions of the society of contemporary spectacle, taking advantage of the possibilities it offers and facing the limits that it imposes.

Author details

John Jairo Uribe Sarmiento
Universidad de Ibagué, Ibagué, Colombia

*Address all correspondence to: john.uribe@unibague.edu.co

IntechOpen

References

[1] Uribe J. Movimiento, calle y espectáculo. El hip hop de Bogotá. Trabajo presentado para optar al título de Doctor en Estudios Políticos y relaciones Internacionales. Universidad Nacional de Colombia; 2017

[2] Toner A. Hip-Hop. Madrid: Celeste ediciones; 1998

[3] Rose T. Black Noise. Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America. Londres: University Press of New England; 1994

[4] AZ. Estilo Bajo En Hip Hop al Parque 2013. [Archivo de video]. 2013. Recuperado de: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0Ey2fOYnk

[5] McDonald K. Oneself as another: From social movement to experience movement. Current Sociology. 2004;**52**(4):575-594

[6] Bacallao L, Sanz M. Creatividad, conflictividad y cambio. (Re)pensar escenarios de crisis. Andamios: Revista de Investigacion Social. 2017;(35):285-307

[7] Pérez J. Más allá del ruido, el Hip hop en Bogotá. Historia, Memoria y Jóvenes en Bogotá: De las Culturas Juveniles Urbanas de Fines de Siglo XX a Manifestaciones Identitarias Juveniles en el Siglo XXI. Bogotá: Secretaría Distrital de Cultura Recreación y Deporte/ Asociación Metamorfosis Social; 2011. pp. 119-144

[8] Rodríguez, V. La Bogotá Breaker. En Beltrán, A., Castillo, L. & Rodríguez, V. Memorias de Danza. Tomo I. (pp. 51-98). Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá/Instituto Distrital de Cultura y Turismo; 2005

[9] Van Dijk T. La noticia como discurso: Comprensión, estructura y producción de la información. Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós; 1990

[10] Van Dijk T. DISCURSO Y PODER Contribuciones a los Estudios Críticos del Discurso. Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós; 2009

[11] Santander P. Por qué y cómo hacer Análisis de Discurso. En: Cinta de Moebio. Revista de Epistemología de Ciencias Sociales. 2011;(41):207-222

[12] Hall S. Introducción: quién necesita «identidad»? En Hall S & Gay P (Comps). Cuestiones de identidad y cultura. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu; 2003

[13] Butler J. Cuerpos que importan. Sobre los límites materiales y discursivos del "sexo". Buenos Aires: Paidós; 2002

[14] Acosta F. Introducción. En Acosta F et al., Juventudes, participación y políticas participación y políticas asociados, organizados asociados, organizados y en movimiento. Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá; 2015

[15] Fischer F. Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices. New York: Oxford University Press; 2003

[16] Uribe J. La Invención de lo Juvenil. Bogotá: Programa Desarrollo Institucional y comunitario/Programa de Cooperación Internacional Unión Europea-República de Colombia; 2001

[17] Butler J. Dar cuenta de sí mismo. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu; 2009

[18] Marín M, Muñoz G. Secretos de Mutantes. Música y creación en las culturas juveniles. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores/Universidad Central; 2002

[19] BlastCrewBTA. ARAWAK–La Noche [1999]. [Archivo de video]. 2017. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wrV_8RzhVwk

[20] BlastCrewBTA. Carbono–Volver al viejo barrio [1998]. [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AqPe5hbNdLU

[21] Titoacho. Tres coronas–rateros. [Archivo de video]. 2006. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3qyATh3EUU4

[22] ExpresionUrban. Drogadicto en serie video original. [Archivo de video]. 2013. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y0NJ87VgtiI

[23] Realeunion. No soy de este mundo (loko kuerdo). [Archivo de video]. 2011. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oa-4ios2TUA

[24] Todo Copas. Todo Copas Experiencias "Video Oficial". [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLtU7RREuN0

[25] Potter R. Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism. New York: State University of New York Press; 1995

[26] Tickner A. Aquí en el Ghetto: Hip-hop in Colombia, Cuba, and Mexico. Latin American Politics and Society. 2008;**50**(3):121-146

[27] Garcés A, Tamayo P, Medina J. Territorialidad e identidad hip hop raperos en Medellín. Anagramas Rumbos y Sentidos de la Comunicación. 2006;**5**(10):125-138

[28] Mao Ramírez. Zehtyan–Sin Parar [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ql1c8Putqe0

[29] Profeta MC SOMBRIOS NOCTURNOS. RAP COLOMBIANO (BOGOTÁ)–CALLEJONES SIN SALIDA–PROFETA. [Archivo de video]. 2009. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bZ4LBlKRWIs

[30] Puga Graffiti. Diana Avella Acciones sin respuesta. [Archivo de video]. 2011. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nNhfIMYCzkw

[31] Desorden Social Rap Canal Oficial. Desorden social—10 años de lucha. Original vendetta pro. [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0J762y4oQCE

[32] Vidarap1. Midras Queen Feat Shino-Noches. [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=seWhZhsPYfs

[33] Son de la tribu Record. Dueños del destino, El Mago, Solo, Soria, Sicop MC. [Archivo de video]. 2015. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXks0WNngF4

[34] BlastCrewBTA. Gotas de Rap–Militares [1997]. [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ShDrOyNIWSI

[35] Nikelcaoba. Caoba Nikel–La Fikty. [Archivo de video]. 2011. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nc7Od_r348c

[36] Sergio Rojas. "Rosa" Caoba Nikel. [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5y8T9wJy_5g

[37] ColombianCrackFamily. Crack Family–Doncellas de la Calle (video oficial). [Archivo de video]. 2011. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W4VWiFNqkm8

[38] Jefferon Ramirez. Se acaba la rutina—Profeta, MC Enano & Lema. [Archivo de video]. 2016. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0W2G0W2HCr4

[39] Deleuze G. Conversaciones. Valencia: Pre-Textos; 2006

[40] Bison Hiphop. BISON (HABLANDO). [Archivo de video]. 2011. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wlUstPShIzI

[41] Gang Step. Cescru Enlace Cara Dura Hermanos. [Archivo de video]. 2009. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uvQm5AKhwes

[42] Tomas Gaño. Tres Coronas-Falsedades. [Archivo de video]. 2007. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D3AFpbRNTmI

[43] Sr. Cartel. SR CARTEL—CUÁNTOS SON ORIGINAL VENDETTA PRO 2010. [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GZclfPJ6CyI

[44] John Boy. Midras Queen John BoyBeats & Carlitos Way. [Archivo de video]. 2008. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=axlPTrMI0OM

[45] Castro-Gómez, S. & Restrepo, E. Introducción: Colombianidad, población y diferencia. En Castro- Gómez S & Restrepo E (Eds.), Genealogías de la Colombianidad. Formaciones discursivas y tecnologías de gobierno en los siglos XIX y XX. Bogotá: Universidad Javeriana; 2008

[46] Millstwo. Alejandro Cole–es difícil ft. Dayana Rios. [Archivo de video]. 2011. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R8Jw-SaM8w8

[47] Yjamp. JAMP. Es para ti ft. Patricia Medina. [Archivo de video]. 2010. Recuperado de: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PMeKwdKaOxA

[48] Nunes C. O conceito de movimento social em debate. Dos anos 60 até à atualidade. Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas. 2014;(75):131-147

Section 3

Discourse in Professional Contexts

The Plasticity of Discourse Analysis for Social Science Research

Maria Eugenia Merino Dickinson

Abstract

This chapter argues that discourse analysis in its most varied approaches and methods is a reliable tool to research in a wide range of topics within the social sciences due to its flexibility, efficiency and productiveness in its outcomes. This is why I draw on the centrality of discourse in the constitutive relations between language in action and the construction and negotiation of identities. I illustrate this claim by presenting outcomes of two decades of research activity on racism and discrimination against Mapuche people in Chileans' everyday discourse and their psychosocial effects on Mapuche individuals approached through critical discourse analysis, the discursive construction of ethnic identity in Mapuche adolescents in Chile dealt through discursive psychology and conversational analysis and finally Mapuche ethnic identity and culturally recreated places in Santiago studied through socio-interactional narrative approach.

Keywords: discourse analysis, racism, discrimination, ethnic identity, displaced contexts

1. Introduction

The Mapuche is the largest indigenous group living in Chile. The impact of the Spanish conquest on the Mapuche people during more than two centuries of confrontations had many consequences that caused deep transformations in the political, economic and cultural organization of Mapuche society. Firstly, the *Pikunche* population, a Mapuche settlement north of the BíoBío River, had to face the armed intrusion of the Spanish army, with repercussions of slavery, subjugation to the 'encomienda' system [in which an area of land and its native inhabitants were given to a conquistador] and the transmission of diseases that did not exist among the indigenous population. Consequently, the survivors were forced to mobilize themselves according to their own spatial organization [*butalmap*u] which created a wave of migrations as the search for refuge took them into remote areas in the current territories of Chile and Argentina. The loss of Mapuche territory limited these peoples to the geographic space between the Bio-Bio and Toltén rivers. In turn, the Spanish forces, by way of incursions and the control of certain areas, installed forts and cities in the region called Araucania and in others located south of the river Toltén, territory of the *Williche* Mapuche population. At the end of the colonial period, the *Pikunche* Mapuches were taken in by the Spanish domination and,

together with the Creoles, formed an independence movement whose politics and discourse sparked the formation of the Chilean state, a process that lasted through much of the nineteenth century. The leaders of the independence movement, in their search to construct a nation-state, designed policies to assimilate the Mapuche people, passing laws that enforced the establishment of settlements in specific and delimited areas known as *reducciones indígenas* [indigenous reservations]. The State set up colonial institutions in these spaces, granting the 'Títulos de Merced' by naming the indigenous authorities *caciques* [chiefs] so they could be legally recognized by the new Chilean institution. This process was reinforced by other laws and mechanisms of control and domination that were part of an indigenous policy with the aim of turning the Mapuches' Chilean citizens with rights and obligations. At the same time, other laws came into force and progressively prevailed over the *reducciones* extending a sense of Chilean nationality to an area that until 1880 was not part of the national territory.

The above processes meant, for the Mapuche people, geographic dispersion, the imposition of forms of land ownership that were alien to their way of life and an educational system that ignored the Mapuche culture. Since this period, the Mapuche people have been subject to the power of the Chilean state and have passed from the condition of a free people to that of a dominated group. The new form of human settlement that arose with the creation of the indigenous *reducciones* was supported by an ideology of superiority that permeated many levels of culture and national policies. To justify the imposition of the *Títulos de Merced*, the State set up the discourse of the 'uncivilized and uneducated Indian' whose indigenous worldview and way of living threatened the emerging Chilean western ideology.

The Mapuche resistance against these practices of subjugation was taken as an example by pro-independence leaders and later gave shape to the Chilean discourse of the 'denial of the Mapuche' which was reinforced by stereotypes and prejudices that the Chileans constructed about the Mapuches. One example of such discourse is the stereotype of the 'violent Mapuche' [1]. This stereotype turned the Mapuche into a scapegoat and was used to justify policies of exclusion and discrimination. Likewise, the discourse of the history of Chile describes the indigenous people as 'part of the past,' so as to pursue national integrity but on the basis of the negation of the indigenous.

At present the Araucania region in the south of the country exhibits features and characteristics that distinguish it from the other regions due to its physical composition and because of the ethno-cultural structure of its population. Apart from German, Swiss, Italian, English, and other colonists who settled in the region, the Araucania hosts the Chilean and the Mapuche cultures that have coexisted for centuries and have maintained interethnic and intercultural relations marked by continuous conflict.

At present, the Mapuches are mostly located in the southern regions, predominantly in the Araucania and Bio-Bio regions. According to Census [2], their population is 1700 equivalent to 5.4% of the total population in Chile (17,373,831). Out of them 957,224 reside in the Araucania and, due to migration, 614,000 live in Santiago, the capital city. Since the beginnings of the Republic coexistence of the Mapuche people and Chilean population in the southern regions have been troublesome, land dispossession, racism, discrimination, marginalization and ancestral territory recovery demands have led to severe interethnic conflictual relations between the indigenous and the Chilean residents, particularly in the above-mentioned regions. The end result was Mapuches' socioeconomic vulnerability, poverty and massive migration to the capital city Santiago (612 km north from their communities) in search of employment due to scarcity of land to work in the south and better educational opportunities for their children. Interethnic continuous and

violent confrontations have positioned the Araucania region in the lowest rate of socioeconomic development when compared with the rest of Chile regions [3].

As native from the Araucania region, our main goal as researcher has been to contribute with knowledge and supportive data to reveal discriminatory practices against the Mapuche people and their harmful effects and to unfold Chileans' consciousness on cultural diversity so as to diminish the socioeconomic gap between both groups and help promote social cohesion. Bearing in mind that discourse [Latin '*discurrer*e'] is acts and actions circulating from one person to another and their effects and uptakes from the part of the receiver, I took on discourse analysis as the tool to fulfill my goal, considering the prominence of discourse as a contemporary tool for channeling intolerance and also because it enables the researcher to reveal the rules that underlie symbolic interaction in human communication and its effects and uptakes from the part of the receiver. I strongly believe that discourse analysis, in its most varied approaches and methods, is a reliable tool to research in a wide range of topics within the social sciences due to its flexibility, efficiency and productiveness in the outcomes.

In this chapter, I illustrate through the outcomes of four national research grants how critical discourse analysis, discursive psychology, conversational analysis and socio-interactional narrative approach can unveil racism, discrimination, their psychosocial effects, dilemmatic ethnic identity construction and the difficulties of cultural recreation practices in displaced contexts and threatening urban environments for Mapuche people, the largest aboriginal group in Chile. From a discourse perspective, the phenomena of prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination are channeled and carried out today mainly through discourse. We understand ´discourse´ as a complex of three interrelated and interdependent elements: text and its constituent elements, discursive practices that speakers perform through texts and social practice where both discursive practice and text are ideologically modeled [Fairclough 1995]. In this way, discourse becomes a form of social action, which presupposes the existence of ideological-discursive structures or communities of speakers.

At present, Chile exhibits a controvert behavior in terms of ethnic relations with its aborigines. The social and public discourses of Chilean inhabitants acknowledge acceptance of ethnic and cultural diversity and tolerance toward indigenous groups, a fact that has been salient in national surveys within the last 10 years [4]. However, in terms of actual interaction and mutual collaboration, several studies have shown the mainstream attitude to be distant, suspicious and prejudiced, particularly against Mapuches, the largest indigenous population of the country.

2. Ethnic prejudice in Chileans' everyday discourse in the city of Temuco, Chile

In Chile where conflictual events during the country's development, both in the public and the private spheres, have been the motive for confronting events with greater or lesser consequences that, generally, have an impact on the relations between Chilean society and the Mapuche ethnic group [5]. These situations unleash misunderstandings, disagreements and conflicts that are usually unfavorable for the Mapuche. [6] suggests the existence of historically ordered stereotypes like 'brave and fierce warriors' from the conquest until approximately 1840, 'bloodthirsty bandits' between 1840 and 1893, 'Indian who submits himself to the White man's paternalism from 1920 until 1960 and 'nice savages' who only lack education from 1960 onwards. The prejudices and stereotypes about the Mapuche people that have been construed since colonial times and that remain

today are transmitted mainly through various modes like media discourse, the formal education system and everyday discourse.

2.1 Conceptual background

In 2001 there were no systematic studies, on a linguistic basis, that addressed prejudiced discourse against the Mapuche in Chileans' everyday discourse and its effects in the conflictual interethnic relations between these two cultural groups. Chilean society is the prototype of one with marked social classes and asymmetric interethnic relations between Chileans and members of other ethnic groups, like the Mapuche people. My purpose then was to identify the symptoms of such asymmetry, through the everyday discourse of members of Chilean society. This was to be done by unveiling ethnic prejudice underlying oral discourse of non-Mapuche adults in Temuco. Considering that prejudice is a cognitive phenomenon rooted in a sociocultural and historical context, the problem was approached from a multidisciplinary perspective: linguistics, anthropology and sociology. In line with classic authors [7, 8], this study understood stereotypes as a set of beliefs that members of a group (endogroup) share about attributes (for example, loose, happy, silly, selfish) that characterize the members of an outgroup. Stereotypes is the most cognitive component of group rejection, whereas prejudice is a negative intergroup attitude, that is, as a tendency to evaluate in a predominantly unfavorable way the members of an outgroup [9, 10]. Prejudice is the most affective component of group rejection. Stereotypes and prejudice generally lead to social problems when they result in distinctly hostile and humiliating behavior toward outgroups. Following Allport [9], we define discrimination as behavior displayed by members of in-groups that grants unfair and unequal treatment to members of outgroups by reason of their mere belonging to such outgroup. Discrimination is based, then, on a distinction of natural or social categories that bear no relation to the merits, capabilities or specific actions of the specific members of those categories. Therefore, our study aimed to reveal the prejudiced discourse among Temuco residents and their social representations about the indigenous group and develop a comprehensive model that explains prejudice and racism against the Mapuche people.

2.2 Analysis and empirical procedure

Methodologically this study 'called for' critical discourse analysis [11, 12] due to its concern for power as a principal condition of social life and ideology and as a crucial aspect of the establishment and preservation of unequal power relations. According to this theory, language with its linguistic forms attains power from the actual use people make of them, and its analytical perspective allows to critically analyze how discursive practices and actions allow for social inequalities. As a method and having context as the essential background for discourse interactions, we took on Van Dijk's five levels of discursive production to critically analyze our interviewees' discourse. These were Syntax to study the use of certain structures that favor discrimination, Style to reveal discriminatory lexicon, Local semantics to reveal strategies like implicatures and positive self-presentation and negative of the outgroup, Pragmatics to search for speech act types and argumentative rhetoric and finally global semantics to reveal the most recurrent topics.

The corpus was collected through in-depth conversational interviews to 372 non-Mapuche men and women representative of low, medium and high socioeconomic classes and of three age groups: young adults, adults and elders. The sample corresponded to 0.18% of Temuco urban population at the time of the study, 185,936 inhabitants [13]. For selecting interviewees, a representative sample of Temuco

secondary school population was selected and stratified by type of school: State, subsidized [private with State subsidy] and private. Conversational interviews were guided by a general question 'which do you think is the Araucania region's most salient culture?' to deepen the descriptions and perceptions of the Mapuche culture and their relations with Chilean residents. Mapuche interviews were conducted and audio-recorded by a Mapuche member of the research team to smooth conversational interaction between interviewer and interviewee members of the same culture, whereas the Chilean participants were interviewed by a non-Mapuche member; all of them administered at participants' homes. Ethnographic observation was used to register paralinguistic and non-verbal behavior during the interview (kinesics and emotions, among others). Recordings were then transcribed into text through Jefferson's symbology [14] to allow a more accurate analysis.

Analysis started through comprehensive reading of the interviews to highlight the main topics that helped identify and organize different categories of racist expressions which were registered in a table of four columns. The first contained the prejudiced discourse extract, the second itemized its particular syntactic structure, clue words and their meaning (overt/implied), the third registered dominating speech acts and their performative effects and the fourth summarized the most recurring topic or racist category. This somewhat rudimentary tool allowed for analyzing each text and its corresponding syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and style structures that made up each topic. Currently, this lengthy task can be replaced by Atlas Ti, NVIVO or SSPS softwares, not accessible at the beginnings of the 2000s when the study was conducted. Analysis revealed six categories of prejudice and stereotypes. The first 'Racism' owes its name to the racialist ideology predominant in the European courts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and is brought by the Spanish conquerors to America. It categorized the human race in a hierarchy that placed the 'White' in the highest top, 'Yellow' in the middle, 'Black' in the lowest scale of human race and finally the 'indigenous' being grouped below the scale for being equated with the animal world. The 'Racism' discursive category then held descriptions of the Mapuche people as 'backwards,' 'having cognitive deficiencies' and 'being inferior.' This shows that Chilean society considers the Mapuche to be a naturally inferior human being, a kind of sub-humanity, to which the values, criteria and norms of occidental civilization do not apply. The second category was 'Difference' and enclosed stereotypes like 'ugly,' 'black,' 'dirty,' 'smelly' and 'having pagan rites.' The third 'Paternalism' dealt with the need for the Chilean society to control and protect people perceived as vulnerable and weak. The fourth category 'Violence' classified the Mapuches as being intrinsically 'violent,' 'drunkard' and 'stubborn.' The fifth we called 'The paradox of recognition and denying' that displayed a contradictory discourse: the ancestral Mapuches were 'brave and great warriors' but today 'this race has degenerated.' The sixth category was 'Extemporary claims for ancestral lands recovery' denying their right to claim for land restitution [15].

The main findings showed that over 72% of Chilean Temuco participants exhibited a prejudiced and stereotyped discourse with respect to the Mapuche, a finding that was ratified later by the National Survey on Tolerance and Nondiscrimination in Chile [16]. Moreover, this discourse was more explicitly displayed in participants from the lower social stratum and became more implicit as the social stratum rises.

3. Perceived discrimination among Mapuches and its psychosocial effects on Mapuche individuals from Santiago and Temuco

Currently, there is abundant literature on Mapuche ethnic identity in rural and urban contexts in Chile [17–24]. However, from a discursive perspective studies

on Mapuche ethnic identity, they are still scarce. Among them we can mention preliminary findings of [25] that Mapuche ethnic identity has been denigrated by widespread use of stereotyped expressions like 'the suicidal belt' disseminated by the written press between the 1940s and the 1960s. In accordance with the different sociopolitical conditions that the country has gone through, discursive racism has been expressed in various ways, from openly discriminating forms to more subtle and implicit ones. An example of the former is the expression 'suicide belt,' picked up by the press in the southern regions of Chile that originated in the 1920s, following the consolidation of the first cities and settlements of the country, but that was still in use from the 1940s to the 1960s. The expression sprang from the anxiety of non-Mapuche regional attorneys, representatives of political groups and state institutions, farmers and tradesmen that considered the Mapuche communities that circled the cities to be an obstacle for regional development. For this group, the Mapuches occupied land without reaping any benefits, either for themselves or for the development of the region, that is, they were seen as a serious obstacle that obstructed the beneficial use of the lands at the border of the city.

With respect to perceived discrimination by the Mapuche people, [26] studied personal experiences of a reduced sample of adult Mapuches in Temuco, who revealed clear acknowledgement of verbal and behavioral prejudice. These findings inspired a new research on the perception of discrimination among adult Mapuches in the cities of Temuco and Santiago and scrutinize in the psychosocial effects of discrimination in their lives. This qualitative descriptive study aimed at three objectives.

First, reveal the perception of ethnic discrimination in Mapuche discourse in the cities of Temuco and Santiago; second, describe Mapuches' social memory about the way they are perceived by Chilean people; and finally, describe the psychosocial effects that perceived discrimination causes in Mapuches' lives. The study was approached from three disciplinary perspectives: psychology, sociology and discourse analysis.

3.1 Conceptual background

From a psychosocial perspective, there are three phenomena that explain the rejection between groups: stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination. Although our study was focused on discrimination, we took these three phenomena into account since they tend to jointly operate, regarding that stereotypes and prejudice provide a conceptual context that facilitates broader understanding of how discrimination operates. By perceived discrimination, we understand the subjective experience of feeling discriminated against. This phenomenon is cognitive but operates in a sociocultural and historical context and is made visible through discourse. For this, language users develop four strategic actions to link the concrete data with the social theory coined by individuals, which are selective perception and interpretation of the most outstanding discursive and behavioral features of the outgroup, interpretation of such actions, the construction of models and the use of social imaginaries. Such process is carried out through the discursive processing of textual data managed by cognitive strategies, whose final outcome are 'social schemes', that is, abstract, generalized models that make up individuals' perceptions and beliefs and that are stored in the 'social memory' [11]. This functions as a regulatory idea of behavior governing speakers' shared knowledge of social relations, situations and contexts, linguistic codes and norms of the use of discourse. In alignment with a psychosocial perspective, we adapted the taxonomy of perceived discrimination among Australian aboriginals which recognized three modes: verbal, behavioral and macro social.

3.2 Analysis and empirical procedure

From a discursive perspective, we worked with critical discourse analysis [CDA], this time with the four-level method developed by [27]. The first level identifies the themes or modes of PD emerging from the narrated events which are then categorized into inclusive topics. The second level focuses on speakers' argumentation revealing judgments and evidence to support the speaker's PD. The third step worked with the sequenced structure for argumentation. This aspect of the analysis follows the classical rhetoric sequences of argumentation adapted from [28], to name, *exordio* or speaker's general to capture interlocutors' interest and sympathy, *narratio* which sets the scene of the event, *argumentati*o speaker setting his/her own points of view and backing information to support his argument and *peroratio* where main ideas are summarized to reach a conclusion.

The data considered two samples of Mapuche residents from the cities of Temuco and Santiago, made up of 100 male and female adults who perform various activities and exhibit different educational levels. The collection instrument was in-depth conversational interviews with a leading question 'have you ever felt discriminated for being Mapuche?' to stimulate narratives that recount past experiences of discrimination. Like the previous research described above [see point 2], interviews were collected at participants' homes by the Mapuche member of the team, and ethnographic observation was used to register paralinguistic and non-verbal behavior. Recordings were then transcribed into text through Jefferson's symbology [14] to allow more accurate analysis.

The first step to prepare for analysis was exhaustive reading of transcripts for preliminary coding; these were then entered into NVIVO (version 2) to assist in the organization and analysis of the data. This involved recording types of emotional responses Mapuche display when experiencing discrimination and reports of negative emotions. Also analysis aimed to identify coping styles to manage emotional reactions to discrimination and ascertain if Mapuches attribute any long-term effects to their experiences of discrimination. The above software provided revealed PD structures, discriminatory categories and their respective networks. Four DP modes were revealed: verbal, behavioral, institutional and macro social. 'Verbal' includes name-calling ('Indio' [Indian]) and stereotyping ('primitive') and prejudiced remarks. 'Behavioral' included looking, ignoring, avoiding and segregating. The 'Institutional' comprised denial of opportunities and discrimination in public offices and private institutions with perpetrators acting 'on behalf' of the institution they work for. Finally the 'Macro social' included cultural dominance of the socioeconomic and educational systems and an ethnocentric perspective of Chilean history.

As a result of discriminatory experiences, participants revealed emotional responses and social impacts. The most recurrent emotional feeling was 'psychologically hurt' (e.g. humiliated, degraded); a second one encompassed emotions along the anger continuum (e.g. irritated, indignant). A third category we called 'undifferentiated negative feelings' included instances in which participants reported that they felt 'bad' or 'really bad' accompanied by undetermined physical pains. Coping responses were also revealed in the form of strategies like defensive or self-protective, self-controlled and confronting the perpetrator. Among long-term psychological effects on wellbeing arose positive impacts like reaffirmation of the Mapuche identity and negative ones like denial of identity or accepting one's inferiority. Regarding social effects being strengthened as victims usually resulting in having their family connection reinforced was one of the most recurrent.

On the other hand, critical analysis of PD discourse revealed three dominating speech acts. Assertives to identify, describe and characterize the discriminatory

event; expressives to incriminate perpetrators and express emotions and feelings generated by the discriminatory event and directives to confront, to invoke one's rights or demonstrate worth valuing and to educate the perpetrator. Local semantics' most frequent strategies were description, narration, emphasis, direct speech reproduction and reference to ancestral times. The argumentative structure was made up of *narratio* sequences that introduce the event and *argumentatio* which develops the discriminatory event. PD discourse is basically narrative-descriptive and argumentative, with predominance of past tense, and it is also emphatic and intertextual since it incorporates third voices in direct discourse reproduction that update the teachings and the cultural legacy of the ancestors. The main PD themes revealed were discrimination at school (primary and secondary), at public services, at work place and in commercial contexts.

Our study also revealed immediate and long-term psychological effects of discrimination. Among the most recurrent were ethnic reaffirmation and self-esteem increase; the beginning of this process was placed by interviewees mainly during adolescence [29, 30]. Findings revealed that discriminatory experiences generate immediate and long-term psychosocial effects; of the latter the most outstanding is ethnic identification arousal, a process which participants settled during adolescence. Findings also indicated that Mapuches' PD discourse highlights the presence of an underlying racist ideology in the way Chileans think, talk and act toward the Mapuche people [31].

4. The discursive construction of ethnic identity among urban Mapuche adolescents in Chile

This study was motivated by FONDECYT [32] findings from Mapuches' PD and its psychosocial effects (refer to point 3 above) [33]. Outcomes revealed that PD is displayed in four types and is associated to social representations of the meta-perception that Mapuche people hold about the way they are perceived by Chilean citizens. Of particular interest among long-term psychosocial effects was 'ethnic identification arousal' identified by participants as a process settled during adolescence. The new study then aimed at three objectives. First, describe the discursive construction of ethnic identity in the oral discourse of Mapuche adolescents of Temuco and Santiago. This meant scrutinizing the contextualized descriptions they display of discriminatory experiences (people, categories, situation and objects) in their discursive construction of ethnic identity. Second, describe rhetorical-interpretative repertories and metaphors and their connection to self-positioning in the discursive construction of identity. Finally, we aimed to reveal the historical-cultural discourses and the spatial factors that converge in the construction of ethnic identity in Mapuche adolescents from both cities.

4.1 Conceptual background

The discursive turn in critical and cultural theory revealed the difficulty of the individual to self-determine the construction of his identity. Social constructivism and poststructuralist approaches in the 1970s contributed to deepen a reflection on identity construction in that identity is not a homogeneous unit but is constructed from varied repertories socially available to people, in particular by means of conversational categories that are discursively produced. Considering that ethnic identity is a cognitive-discursive phenomenon located in a sociocultural and historic context, our research was faced from discursive psychology [DP] by [34] and based on conversational analysis [35]. CA started by Sacks in the 1980s

aimed to reveal the way in which conversation is structured and organized in social interaction, and at the same time, this latter structures and organizes conversation. CA from a micro perspective understands identity as categories or descriptions located in contexts by means of which the individual moves to the production and achievement of interaction. This may be analytically approached through various techniques like turn-taking model and conversational sequences and adjacency pairs [36] and discourse markers [37]. Hence, the aim of Discursive Psychology is to study how the psychological concepts of common sense are used in and guided and managed in speech and text to shape social life. Therefore language is considered as performative of underlying thoughts, motivation, memories or attitudes. The fundamental principles underlying discursive psychology are its orientation to action, situation and construction [38], where language is conceived as a resource guided to action. The focus is on how descriptions of people and their mental states are linked and implicated by descriptions of actions, events and objects of the external world. Actions are performed in contexts and are useful to coordinate other actions which are deployed in different contexts which regulate them. Thus, actions are situated; this makes discourse sequentially organized and institutionally and rhetorically situated. In our research we concentrated on adolescents' contextualized descriptions of discriminatory experiences (people categories, situation and objects) in the construction of their ethnic identification, the discursive strategies of self-presentation and the relation among subject positions, ethnic identification or de-identification maneuvers and the rhetorical-interpretative repertories and their metaphors.

4.2 Analysis and empirical procedure

The sample was made up by 60 in-depth interviews with male and female Mapuche adolescents, 30 from Temuco and 30 from Santiago. The criterion for identifying participants was having at least one Mapuche surname, and the young were recruited from high schools that exhibited important indigenous student population. The collection instrument was in-depth conversational interviews with a leading question 'What is it like for you to be a young Mapuche in Chilean society today?' to stimulate narratives that recount ethnic identification, ethnic identity dilemma, positioning, discrimination, actions, feelings and emotions. Like previous research [refer to point 3 above], interviews were collected at participants' homes by the Mapuche member of the team. Both interviewer and interviewee were seen as cooperatively engaged in 'producing the interview', this is, an interactional site where ethnic minority identity and ethnic self-definition are being negotiated and displayed. Ethnographic observation registered paralinguistic and non-verbal behavior and was then transcribed into text through Jefferson's symbology [14].

For analysis we drew on analysis emic-based understandings of Mapuche identity by incorporating participants' in vivo terminology from the Mapudungun language. In particular DP analysis was approached through three levels. The 'thematic' searched for the topic or focus (what is being related); the 'narrative-argumentative' level (how is the theme discursively displayed) included self-construction in relation to others and to sociocultural experiences, positioning, membership, speech acts, pronoun roles, implicit propositions and categorizations, among others. The third was the 'semantic-pragmatic level' (what strategies convey the narrated argument of the themes) that searched for referenced speech, direct speech reproduction, active/passive voice, personalization/depersonalization, description, emphasis, exemplification and repetition, among others. Finally the 'intertextual level' analyzed how the micro levels (thematic, narrative-argumentative and semantic-pragmatic) interact with the

macro-level discourses (historical-cultural, social and interethnic discourses between dominant and dominated groups, reference to belief systems and values, contextualization of sociocultural norms).

Findings revealed that adolescents' identity construction is of a dilemmatic nature [39]; this means their discourse moves between 'being' and 'feeling' Mapuche, displaying a depersonalized discursive positioning or else an active commitment to participation in the indigenous culture. The young also textualized a social imperative to be pursued: sustain an identity that integrates ethnic belonging in a context of interethnic and intercultural relations with the dominant society. This was embedded within a historical-cultural discourse: the history of the Mapuche people and their relationship with the Chilean State and society, incomprehension and absence of genuine intercultural dialog, and the fact that discrimination in Santiago is disguised as 'social,' while in Temuco it is explicitly ethnic. Spatial factors were also relevant. Findings showed that Santiago adolescents' identity discourse was more explicitly displayed by assigning a local function to identity. This was due to the fact that they reside far away from their ancestral indigenous communities in the south of the country; therefore the possibility of visiting relatives was scarce, particularly due to traveling costs. However, these young self-imposed the moral imperative of learning about the culture through their elders' narratives and participate in cultural recreations in the city neighborhoods. This was particularly visible in their discourse about the 'Territorio Mapuche' (Mapuche ancestral territory) to which they attached various names and diffused like 'the south', the 'countryside', 'the Araucanía' and 'Temuco.' On the contrary, spatial references were not an issue for Temuco young since they had been born there, either in the indigenous communities in the Araucania region or in Temuco city itself.

5. Narrating place identity. Sociocultural places recreated by migrated Mapuche families in Santiago, Chile

Mapuches' main reasons to migrate to Santiago City have been the search for employment due to the scarcity of land to work in the south and to find better educational opportunities for children [40, 41]. Migration to Santiago is not seen as a particularly negative phenomenon but as a way of 'modernizing' oneself, to learn a new way of living and to seek better possibilities in life [42]. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that migrant families maintain regular contact with their relatives in the southern communities as a way of maintaining their culture, reinforcing ethnic identity and performing cultural practices at a distance by recreating places where cultural practices and rites can be recaptured [43].

When the land as an essential concept of the Mapuche culture (*mapu* = land/*che* = man) is not anymore the main reference for the Mapuche families that reside in Santiago, it becomes essential to modify and adapt urban spaces in order to reproduce cultural and ancient practices and allow culture and ethnic identity preservation. Such adaptations allow the development of place identity and attachment in various degrees to the new urban site. This is achieved through cognitions and symbolic transactions between the indigenous communities left behind in the south and the Santiago new home place where adaptations of cultural practices, landscapes and material objects are carried out. This new identity process is supported by collective and individual memory of the family group and cultural recreation within the private space of the family, with other Mapuche neighbors in larges spaces, and/or at more institutionalized areas like the commune Town Hall and other public areas. The objective of the study was twofold. On the one hand,

describe the role of Mapuche family members in the recreation of everyday cultural practices within the home and local community in Santiago and how these contribute to processes of place identity within new post-migration urban surroundings. On the other hand, reveal how such practices are enacted in elders, parents and young's discursive narratives highlighting the importance of discourse in the construction and negotiation of identities and in the formation of person-environment relationships.

5.1 Conceptual background

This qualitative and descriptive research was approached from a social constructionist framework, which conceives identities as emergent and context dependent and is built and negotiated within specific interactional occasions and communication processes that are both context shaping and context shaped [44, 45]. In particular, we drew on socio-interactional narrative approach [46, 47] which views narrative as talk in interaction with the recognition of the role of social processes at different scales that impact the genesis, functions, negotiation and negotiability of narratives. This approach stresses the emergent, co-constructed nature of stories and is based on the fact that narrative structures are not fixed but are resources deployed by narrators in response to rhetorical and communicative needs. In a similar line, we drew on discursive environmental psychology with particular reference to the concept of 'place identity' by Dixon and Durrheim [48, 49] who highlight the role of discourse in the construction of place identity and define it as dynamic 'arenas' socially constituted and socially constructed through discourse that allow people give new spaces a sense of belonging and legitimize their social relations and practices through rhetorical-discursive resources [50]. According to these authors, landscapes and people's sociocultural meanings can reshape and enact upon those existing landscapes.

5.2 Analysis and empirical procedure

The sample was made up by 12 Mapuche family life stories from four communes of the city of Santiago. The prototypical Mapuche 'extended' family includes parents, adolescents, grandparents, old aunts and uncles and recently migrated friends. Life stories were provided by individual narrative interviews and by family focus group conversational interviews. The total sample was 60 life stories and 36 individual interviews. Selection criteria required that participants feel identified as Mapuche, at least one of their elder members had been an immigrant in Santiago, and as representative of diverse educational levels (secondary, university and/or technical) and of varied work activities (professional, technical, employees and self-employed). Sampling was purposed and indicated through access to Mapuche organizations existing in the respective communes, through 'snowball' method, and from pre-established contacts with adolescents that participated in FONDECYT 3 (see above). Individual narratives and family focus group conversational interviews were collected in Spanish and conducted by the Mapuche member of the research team. They were guided by the leading question 'how have you managed to preserve your culture in Santiago?' Interviews and focus groups were audio recorded and then transcribed to text aided by Jefferson's symbology [51].

For analysis we drew on participants' accounts for actions and narratives that transfer meanings from their indigenous communities in the south to Santiago spaces so as to symbolically readapt and redefine their new urban surroundings. After exhaustive reading of transcripts, preliminary coding of themes was entered into NVIVO (version 2) to assist in the organization and analysis of the data. In

particular we focused on three main themes. Inspired by discursive environmental psychology, we analyzed the socioculturally reproduced spaces, the actions carried out by the Mapuche families in order to symbolically negotiate the transferred meanings; here we differentiated between feelings of identification, levels of attachment and sense of belonging to urban places in the narration of life stories. Second, we concentrated on participants' identification and description of artifacts, elements, cultural practices and geographic conceptions of the Mapuche worldview which constitute the essential basis for the recreation of sociocultural spaces and how these are incorporated in the material and geographic organization of the new spaces. And finally we examined how individuals adapt the physical conditions of the new place to their cultural needs, the cognitions they arise to recall biographical places and how the person carries out interpersonal transactions between his original places in the south of Chile and the spaces recreated in the new urban context by means of the 'change mediating function' [52].

From a discursive perspective, the analysis based on the socio-interactional narrative approach [46] revealed that practices of identity construction and strengthening are channeled, externalized and negotiated by and among participants' narratives together with the rhetorical constructions and meaning choices along the course of their interactional discourses. Four types of oral narratives emerged: narratives of migration to the city of Santiago, historical stories about the origins of the Mapuche people, narratives on the struggle of the Mapuche neighbors to gain rights and spaces within the communes they reside in Santiago and finally references about relatives in the south and rites and recreation of cultural practices based on those learned and practiced in the south. Furthermore, a thought-provoking discursive category axis was revealed through which the speaker refers to everything left behind in the south [cultural time-space-activities] and which enabled to transfer to present times in urban spaces in the capital of the country. We named it the 'chronotope of the South,' a finding that we devoted to approach now.

The main findings revealed the multifaceted ways by which Mapuche families recreate cultural practices in the home in Santiago and how these enable the articulation of place identity in culturally modified post-migration urban spaces. Three spatial axes for the recreation of cultural practices were revealed: the private space (home)where the continuity of the Mapuche family *lof* ' [extended family community including relatives] is settled, semi-public spaces in the neighborhood where owners of larger private land have built *rukas* [Mapuche ancestral round house] with the participation of their Mapuche neighbors and finally the public space where Mapuche people make use of municipal meeting rooms, football fields and also parks and hills to recreate cultural practices.

Participants who had migrated to Santiago bring along meanings, images, memories, wisdom, customs and practices that constitute the basic inputs to recreate cultural practices and encourage younger generations to value and strengthen their cultural identity, thereby generating feelings of attachment to the new place of residence. Many of the rituals enacted in urban surroundings such as nature appreciation, medicinal plant cultivation, traditional food transmission and family conversation (*ngütram*) have been cognitively and symbolically transferred from the communities of origin. These recreated practices are enacted by the processes of place-referent continuity [53] and also 'food-congruent' continuity, a new type of continuity revealed by the analysis.

The practices in the privacy of the home and in the community, to some extent, resist forming client or consumer relationships within the strongly neoliberal-led markets and culture of Santiago. Equally importantly, they help maintain social configurations and ways of inhabiting public and private spaces that emphasize community solidarity, indigenous knowledges and reciprocity, rather than

(non-ethnic) state-citizen relations or individualized entrepreneurship. Our study also revealed how the agency of Mapuche women migrating to the capital can reshape and enact upon the existing landscapes and western designed governmental subsidized houses in Santiago to recreate culturally meaningful places.

6. Conclusions

In the end of the twentieth century surged the reconfiguration of the individual as a sociocultural and sociohistorical entity, as a product of discourse in construction. This discursive turn in critical and cultural theory showed the difficulty of the individual to self-determine the construction of discursive interactions and identity disregarding other participants' contributions, the settings and the micro and macro contexts of such exchanges. Social constructivism and poststructuralist approaches have influenced in a significant way the key role of discourse, for example in the reflection of Benveniste's 'subject and spoken subject,' Derrida's inscription of the subject in language as 'a function of the language,' Althusser's 'subject as effect of ideological interpretation' and Foucault's creation of specific social subjects derived from socio-discursive practices.

Furthermore, postmodern approaches of discourse analysis, in its most varied approaches and methods, as displayed in this chapter, have proved to be a reliable tool to research in a wide range of topics within the social sciences. In particular our studies on racism, prejudice, discrimination and ethnic identity construction in displaced and/or threatening contexts have been productive and contributing to actual sociocultural problems in Chile due to DA's flexibility, efficiency and productiveness in its outcomes. In fact, critical discourse analysis, discursive psychology, conversational analysis and socio-interactional narrative approach have allowed the disclosure of discrimination against the Mapuche people in Chileans' everyday discourse and its psychosocial effects on Mapuche people's lives, the dilemmatic discursive construction of ethnic identity in urban Mapuche adolescents and how Mapuches have managed to maintain ethnic identity and recreate their cultural practices in Santiago's hostile neighborhoods.

As seen, discourse analysis can contribute extensively to build better and more inclusive societies. In fact, everyday discourse of the non-Mapuche inhabitants of the city of Temuco with respect to the Mapuches is characterized by an important presence of prejudices and stereotypes, which are more explicitly and directly expressed in the low-social-status interviewees and more implicit in the speakers of the middle and upper strata. This implies that discriminatory practices become less evident as the social scale rises. Furthermore, stereotypes and prejudices in the discourse of contemporary interethnic and intercultural relationships between Mapuche and non-Mapuche in Temuco demonstrate the continuity of a racist ideology underlying the Chilean social structure.

Moreover, Mapuches' discourse on perceived discrimination identifies a racist ideology still present in contemporary Chilean discourse, where the verbal mode is more frequent above behavioral practices. This is mainly due to the increasing concern for human and indigenous rights at international level that has impacted Chilean society in the past 20 years. As a result, and because it is politically incorrect, overt discriminatory acts have been replaced by more covert practices mainly in the form of discourse. Discrimination perception triggers a variety of negative emotional reactions as well as long-term harmful effects; however, stronger identification with the Mapuche culture is aroused and developed as a protective factor. These findings have contributed to assessing the relationship between mental health and experiences of discrimination among Mapuche people and therefore the

development and implementation of anti-discrimination programs in Chile. In fact, within a society that discriminates indigenous people, Mapuche adolescents consider that it is their own personal responsibility to maintain their culture by reinforcing their cultural identity and their individual personal maturity. In fact, the majority of Mapuche youngsters acknowledge that they are grateful and feel proud of their Mapuche identity, despite the difficulties they have to live through in Chilean society. This latter fact appeals to the improvement of Chilean educational curricula in order to strengthen cultural inclusion by the incorporation of indigenous ancestral knowledge and wisdom as relevant contribution to children and adult teaching programs.

Finally, storytelling in interactional discourse among Mapuche people and with Chilean citizens plays a key role in allowing the former negotiate their identity as authentic Mapuche even if they have been displaced to the city. In fact, narrative practices about indigenous daily life in their ancestral territories in the south of the country are recreated in adapted spaces in the capital city, Santiago, so as to reproduce and preserve the culture in the new migrated places. These findings may contribute to raise awareness of national and local governments to carry out culturally pertinent public policies in urban and social planning and education, among others, in order to promote social cohesion.

Author details

Maria Eugenia Merino Dickinson
Faculty of Education, Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile

*Address all correspondence to: mmerino@uct.cl

IntechOpen

References

[1] Bengoa J. Erosión y transformación de las identidades en Chile. Indiana. 2002;**1**:37-57

[2] Census. Censo de Población y de Vivienda. Santiago de Chile: Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Chile; 2017

[3] Casen. Observatorio Social del Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, Chile; 2017

[4] Participa C. Encuesta: La discriminación a los Mapuches. Santiago: Gobierno de Chile; 1999

[5] FONDECYT 1. National Funding for Science and Technology Development, Chile, Grant N°1010839. Ethnic prejudice in the discourse of the Chilean inhabitants of the city of Temuco. A contribution to intercultural relations between Mapuche and non-Mapuche. Researchers: Maria Eugenia Merino, Daniel Quilaqueo, Mauricio Pilleux and Rosamel Millaman; 2001-2003

[6] Stuchlik M. Rasgos de la sociedad mapuche contemporánea. Chile: Ediciones Nueva Universidad; 1974

[7] Ashmore RD, Del Boca FK. Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping. In: Hamilton DL, editor. Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behavior. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum; 1981

[8] Brigham JC. Ethnic stereotypes. Psychological Bulletin. 1971;**76**(1):15-38

[9] Allport G. The Nature of Prejudice. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company; 1954. pp. 68-72

[10] Harding J, Kutner B, Proshansky H, Chein I. Prejudice and ethnic relations. In: Lindzey G, editor. Handbook of Social Psychology (2). Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley; 1954. pp. 1021-1061

[11] Van Dijk T. Racismo y análisis crítico de los medios. Londres: John Wiley & Sons Ltd; 1997

[12] Van Dijk T. Discourse and Knowledge: A Sociocognitive Approach. Cambridge University Press; 2014

[13] Census. Censo de Población y de Vivienda, Santiago de Chile. Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Chile; 1992

[14] Sacks H, Schegloff E, Jefferson G. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. Language. 1974;**50**(4):696-735

[15] Merino ME, Quilaqueo D, Pilleux M, San Martín B. Discursive racism in Chile. The Mapuche case. In: Racism and Discourse in Latin America. USA: Rowman & Littlefield; 2009. pp. 95-130

[16] National Survey on Tolerance and Non Discrimination in Chile. Fundación Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Departamento de Sociología. Universidad de Chile; 2004

[17] FONDECYT 2. National Funding for Science and Technology Development, Chile, Grant N° 1051047. Perceived Discrimination in the discourse of Mapuches from Temuco and Santiago. Psychosocial effects of discrimination. Researchers: Maria Eugenia Merino, Daniel Quilaqueo, Jose Luis Saiz; 2005-2007

[18] Bacigalupo M. Rethinking identity and feminism: Contributions of Mapuche women and Machi from southern Chile. Hypatia. 2003;**18**(2)

[19] Calfío M. Identidades étnicas nacionales y actitudes intergrupales: Un estudio correlacional en jóvenes estudiantes [Tesis para optar al grado de Licenciatura en Psicología]. Temuco: Universidad de la Frontera; 1996

[20] Cuminao C. El gijatun en Santiago: una forma de reconstrucción de la identidad Mapuche [thesis]. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano; 1998

[21] Gissi N. Los mapuche en el Santiago del siglo XXI: desde la ciudadanía política a la demanda por el reconocimiento. Santiago: Revista Werkén N° 3; 2002. pp. 5-19

[22] Smith V. Aportes a la comprensión de la identidad étnica en niños, niñas y adolescentes de grupos étnicos minoritarios. Análisis de Contenido del Discurso. Revista de Ciencias Sociales. 2002;**II**(96):71-82

[23] Waren S. How Will We Recognize Each Other as Mapuche? Gender and Ethnic Identity Performances in Argentina; 2009

[24] Waren S. Indigenous in the city: The politics of urban Mapuche identity in Chile. Ethnic and Racial Studies. 2016;**40**(4):1-19

[25] Merino M, Quilaqueo D. Estereotipos y prejuicio étnico hacia los mapuches en textos complementarios a la asignatura de Historia. Campo Abierto. 2003;**23**:119-135

[26] Merino M, Quilaqueo D. Ethnic prejudice against the Mapuche in Chilean society as a reflection of the racist ideology of the Spanish conquistadors. American Indian Culture and Research Journal. 2004;**27**(4):105-116

[27] Merino ME. Propuesta metodológica de análisis crítico del discurso de la discriminación percibida. Signos. Estudios de Lingüística. 2006;**39**(62):453-469

[28] Wodak R. The historical approach to discourse. In: Wodak R, Meyer M, editors. Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis. Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa; 2003. pp. 101-141

[29] Merino ME, Quilaqueo D. El discurso de la discriminación percibida en Mapuches de Chile. Discurso y Sociedad. 2007;**1**(4):604-622

[30] Merino ME, Saiz J, Quilaqueo D. Tipología del discurso de la discriminación percibida en Mapuches de Chile. Signos. 2008;**41**(67):279-297

[31] Mellor D, Merino ME, Saiz J, Quialqueo D. Emotional reactions, coping and long-term consequences of perceived discrimination among the Mapuche people of Chile. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology. 2009;**19**:473-491. DOI: 10.1002/casp.996

[32] Aravena A. La identidad indígena en los medios urbanos: Procesos de recomposición de la identidad étnica mapuche en la ciudad de Santiago. In: Boccara, Galindo, editors. Lógica Mestiza en América. Temuco, Chile: Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, Universidad de la Frontera; 1999

[33] FONDECYT 3. National Funding for Science and Technology Development, Chile, Grant N° 1090523. The discursive construction of ethnic identity among urban Mapuche adolescents in Chile Researchers: Maria Eugenia Merino, Teresa Oteiza, Ximena Tocornal; 2009-2012

[34] Edwards D, Potter J. Discursive Psychology. London: Sage; 1992

[35] Sacks H. In: Atkinson JM, Heritage J, editors. Notes on Methodology. Cambridge University Press; 1984

[36] Schegloff E, Jefferson G, Sacks H. Language. 1977;**53**(2):361-382

[37] Schiffrin D. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 5. Cambridge University Press; 1988

[38] Potter J, Derek E. Discursive Social Psychology. In: Robinson WP, Giles H, editors. Handbook of Language and Social Psychology. London: Wiley; 2001. pp. 103-118

[39] Merino ME, Tileaga C. The construction of ethnic minority identity: A discursive psychological approach to ethnic self-definition in action. Discourse & Society. 2010;**22**(1):1-16. DOI: 10.1177/0957926510382834

[40] Becerra S, Merino M, Webb A, Larrañaga D. Recreated practices by Mapuche women that strengthen place identity in new urban spaces of residence in Santiago, Chile. Ethnic and Racial Studies. 2018;**41**(7):1255-1273

[41] FONDECYT 4. National Funding for Science and Technology Development, Chile, Grant N° 1140500. Narrating place identity. Sociocultural spaces recreated by Mapuche families in the city of Santiago. Researchers: Maria Eugenia Merino, Sandra Becerra; 2017

[42] De La Maza F, Marimán J. Artículo 7. Los mapuches del sur de Chile y sus relaciones interculturales. In: PNUD, editor. Pueblos originarios y sociedad nacional en Chile: la interculturalidad en las prácticas sociales. Santiago, Chile: PNUD; 2013

[43] Merino ME, De Fina A, Becerra S. Narrative discourse in the construction of Mapuche ethnic identity in context of displacement. Discourse and Society. 2017;**28**(1):60-80

[44] Bucholtz M, Hall K. Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. Discourse Studies. 2005;7(4-5):585-614

[45] De Fina A, Schiffrin D, Bamberg M, editors. Discourse and Identity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2006

[46] De Fina A, Georgakopoulou A. Analysing narratives as practices. Qualitative Research. 2008;**8**(3):379-387

[47] De Fina A, Georgakopoulou A. Analyzing Narrative. Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2012

[48] Dixon J, Durrheim K. Displacing place-identity: A discursive approach to locating self and other. British Journal of Social Psychology. 2000;**39**(1):27-44

[49] Dixon J, Durrheim K. Dislocating identity: Desegregation and the transformation of place. Journal of Environmental Psychology. 2004;**24**(4):455-473

[50] Dixon J, Durrheim K, Di Masso A. Places, identities and geopolitical change: Exploring the strengths and limits of identity process theory. In: Jaspal R, Breakwell GM, editors. Identity Process Theory Identity, Social Action and Social Change. New York: Cambridge University Press; 2014. pp. 270-294

[51] Jefferson G. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In: Lerner G, editor. Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation. Amsterdam: John Benjamins; 2004

[52] Proshansky H, Fabian AK, Kaminof R. Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self. Journal of Environmental Psychology. 1983;**3**:57-83

[53] Twigger-Ross C, Uzzell D. Place and identity processes. Journal of Environmental Psychology. 1996;**16**:205-220

The Discourses of Health Professionals on the Tuberculosis Patient in Mozambique: Reproduction and Resistance

Fernando Mitano, João Miguel Fernandes,
Filomena Elaine Assolini and Pedro Fredemir Palha

Abstract

Tuberculosis is one of the diseases that kills most in developing countries, especially in Mozambique, where there is a shortage of hospitals and health professionals and where the knowledge about the disease is centralized in the health professional and the patient is only the subject with the disease without the right to question or decide about you. Under these conditions of production, in the treatment process, speeches are produced, which signify and symbolize and classify the patient. The study aimed to understand how the discourse of tuberculosis is constituted in the current medical discourse. This is a qualitative study and uses the theoretical framework of French-speaking discourse analysis. The narratives of the subjects enrolled in the study bring statements that lead us to consider that the exercise of power over the patient is effective through the specific, institutionalized, and legitimized knowledge within the hospital.

Keywords: tuberculosis, health system, discourse analysis, Mozambique

1. Introduction

Tuberculosis is a contagious disease and constitutes a global public health problem. Currently, 22 countries are heavily affected by the disease, accounting for about 80% of all cases, according to data from the World Health Organization [1] . To combat the disease, measures and strategies concerning TB treatment and ways of dealing with the patient have been conceived and disseminated by the World Health Organization (WHO), which advises countries to adhere to it.

The observation and problematization of the discourse regarding these measures and strategies, as well as the relationship between the professional health subject (doctor, nurse, "clinician") and the subject of TB, led us to construct the assumption that such measures and strategies work as "discourses on" the illness and the sick, contributing to the establishment of the "truth discourses" [2] about the illness and the sick. From this assumption, we seek to understand how the tuberculosis patient is discursive in the current medical discourse.

Our theoretical and methodological foundation is based on the contributions coming from the philosophers Michel Foucault of Discourse Analysis of French matrix, a theoretical field that works not only with the structure but also with the language event.

2. Theoretical foundation

In the Collège de France, in his lecture on the History of Thought Systems, Foucault developed, through his archeological and genealogical methods, critical reflections on how the relations between knowledge and power are historically intertwined. The French philosopher focused historically, above all, on the transition from the classical to modern times. The emphasis on this period, which marks the passage from the Enlightenment to the nineteenth century, represented the period of the rise of Science which, under the positivist and empiricist methodological presuppositions, imposed itself institutionally as a producer of truths. Knowledge must now be provable in order to be recognized, and it must possess an object that can be observed, tested, and analyzed [3–5].

At the end of the nineteenth century, we can mark the birth of modern medicine by the increase in value of medical knowledge, known as "biopolitical strategy" [4]. According to theorists, with the advent of capitalism, medicine gains a new status, as the body is seen as a force of production. Knowledge is, therefore, a domain where the subject is necessarily situated and dependent, and in this sense, for example, the knowledge of clinical medicine defines for the subject of medical discourse all the functions of observation, interrogation, deciphering, recording, and decision [3].

In the book Birth of the Clinic, Foucault [4] conducted an archeological study of Western medical knowledge, seeking to understand the anatomical-clinical rationality that permeated the consolidation of medical knowledge in modernity, where the main investigative object is the disease or sick person [4].

The philosopher describes the modifications and evolution of classical medicine until the formation of modern medicine. In the medicine of the species, the diseases were classified in species and considered entities without any connection with the body. A disease would happen if and when one of its qualities had affinities with the human body. With the emergence of disease classification medicine, medical practice was carried out according to the visible characteristics of the disease, based on a perception.

Foucault's [4] studies allow us to see how medical knowledge supports a more refined control of the individual in the new political rationality that is configured, from the nineteenth century, with the main objective being the subjection of the human being. Instituted as knowledge, medicine, through its discourse, gives a configuration to its practice, constituting the so-called "subject-of-illness" [6], which, in turn, assures the hegemony of medical knowledge. From modernity, then, there is a proliferation of fields of truth about what is the human body, which is focused on the most diverse emerging knowledge: medicine, biology, anthropology, social sciences, economics, demography, psychiatry, law, psychology, hygiene, politics, and others. In this context, the body undergoes two transforming displacements of its disposition in the field of discourses. On the one hand, it was from modernity that the body obtained depth status to be discursively searched, defined, explored, so that the tridimensionality of bodies becomes validated as a context that can be epistemically subject to research [7].

It should be noted that in the light of Nietzsche studies, Foucault [4] states that truth cannot be understood as unique, fixed, and stable, but as truths that are

constantly constructed and postulated moments, in given places. So if there are choices, the truth can no longer be one. Every speech is seen functioning as regimes of truth. Truth is, in a circular way, linked to systems of power, which produce and support it, and is also related to the effects of power that it induces and reproduces. We emphasize that the relations that are established between the subjects and the discourses are always inevitably relations of power that circulate and are disseminated within their meshes and plots.

As highlighted, we are also based on the contributions of the Discourse Analysis of pecheuxtiana matrix. Thus, we understand discourse as the effect of meanings between sociohistorically determined interlocutors [8–10]. We also point out, based on Pêcheux [10], that we understand that the subject is spoken by both the ideology and the unconscious. We remember that the discourse is crossed by other discourses, by external voices that constitute it.

Another important concept is that of conditions of production, which comprise the subjects, the situation, and the memory. In the restricted context, it involves the circumstances of the enunciation and the immediate context, and, therefore, in a broad sense, includes the sociohistorical and ideological context [11].

The notion of ideological formation, in turn, serves to characterize an element susceptible of intervening as a force of confrontation with other forces in the ideological conjuncture characteristic of a social formation at a given moment. Each ideological formation constitutes a complex set of attitudes and representations that are neither individual nor universal but relate more or less directly to class positions in conflict with one another [8, 9].

3. Methodological aspects: some notes about the constitution of the *corpus*

Our corpus consists of cutouts of semistructured interviews conducted in 2014, with 15 health professionals who, at that time, occupied the position of "coordinator" and "clinical" subjects, directly responsible for patient observation in the drug consumption process for the cure of tuberculosis (TB). These professionals were part of the National Tuberculosis Control Program (PNCT) in Mozambique, Africa.

It should be mentioned that the interviews were granted after completing all the bureaucratic steps required by the National Bioethics Commission of Mozambique. The interviews enabled us to construct a vast archive, understood here as field of pertinent and appropriate documents on a given issue [8].

It is pertinent to point out that the notion of discursive clipping was formulated by Orlandi [12] to distinguish the gesture of the linguist, which segments the phrase, from the gesture of the discourse analyst who, by cutting a discursive sequence, also cuts an inseparable portion of language and situation. We can then understand what the author proposes: cut as a discursive unit [8].

Another important point to emphasize is that the methodological emphasis is constituted in the relation between *interdiscourse* and *intradiscourse*. The *intradiscourse* refers to the linearity of saying; it is the thread of speech, according to Pêcheux [10]. The *interdiscourse*, in turn, refers to the complex network of discursive formations in which all say is inserted. We recall *interdiscourse* as a region of encounters and confrontations of meanings [13]. Observation and analysis of *interdiscourse* allow us to understand the functioning of discourse, the senses (re)formulated by the subjects and their relation to ideology.

It should also be noted that in the period corresponding to the second half of 2014, we analyzed the raw material, that is, all the interviews we performed and the production conditions in which they were produced. From this material, we

selected numerous discursive sequences of reference, SDR [14], which constituted the cutbacks. Some (five) of them were chosen for further analysis, which will be presented.

We cannot fail to mention that we use the indecision paradigm, as proposed by Ginzburg [15], to search for the linguistic-discursive clues that have been examined by us, allowing us to delineate the discursive regularities of the subject's discourse, the discursive formations in, and their respective ideological formations.

Finally, we emphasize that in our analyses, we try to cross the opacity of the text, seeking to make explicit how the symbolic object produces senses, considering that the meaning can always be other.

Continuing, let us focus and venture through the paths of discourse.

4. Discursive analyses seeking to look beyond evidence of meaning

4.1 Clipping #1

"The patient with suspected TB is observed in a normal consultation, he is asked for the Koch Bacillus (BK) exam, when the BK is positive the patient is accompanied to the PNCT sector. After starting treatment in the intensive phase, this patient is followed daily or depending on where he/she is accompanied directly to the place of the health unit until the end of the treatment" (Subject Coordinator and Clinical).

4.2 Clipping #2

"We have our volunteers who help us in the community. They are looking for coughing patients and delivering sprinklers. Bring it here and submit it for analysis in the laboratory" (Clinical Subject).

4.3 Clipping #3

"(...) they diagnose the patient, umm ... he asked for the bacilloscopy in the screening, the patient is what he is, and the clinician directs the PNCT sector" (Subject Coordinator).

Initially, we observed that the subjects affected by the bacillus are not identified by name, surname, cognomen, surname, or initials. They are referred to as "the patient," which allows us to think about the enrollment of health professionals in discursive formations in which stigmatizations about the disease are prevalent, for example, TB would be associated with poor behaviors such as prostitution, alcohol consumption and other drugs, lack of hygiene, and poverty [16, 17].

The medical speech strongly marks the three clippings above. We recall, based on Foucault [4], that this discourse has the power to "fabricate" the disease and its treatment and also to silence the voice of the subject who lives the experience of TB. Under these conditions of production, it can be thought of as authoritarian discourse.

The discursive sequences: the patient is observed, he/she is asked, and he/she is accompanied to the laboratory. We submit the analysis to the laboratory and ask for the bacilloscopy. It indicates that the health professionals occupy the position of subjects with specific knowledge, which would assure them places hierarchically superior, in relation to the subjects affected by TB. Based on institutionally recognized and socially valued positions (coordinator, clinician), specific knowledge produces meaningful effects of "speeches of truth" [2, 3], being imagined and treated by patients who suffer from TB as speeches irrefutable, almost definitive, as we show in our doctoral thesis [17].

We wish to emphasize the aspect of medical tutelage, which, if on the one hand, gives supposed assistance, in the form of care, examinations, prescriptions, examination requisitions, on the other hand, demands obedience, understood as "natural," in a society where there is a division between those who rule and those who obey, as is the case with Mozambican women. Medical discourse enjoys both the prerogative of including or excluding those who would be under its tutelage and of charging and reinforcing obedience on the part of the subject who, under these conditions of production, becomes susceptible of being "subject-of-illness." The actions of observing, asking, accompanying, submitting, and analyzing, under these conditions of production, allow us to think that health professionals are inscribed in discursive formations that place the patient in the position of subject that must obey and submit to what is proposed or offered. The quote below corroborates our argument. The movement toward a relationship of domination on the part of the therapist on the patient is more common in the clinical practice of traditional bias, directly linked to the pedagogical medical discourse, which the therapist intends to have as knowledge and the patient submits to the clinical treatment, or this nightmare establishes well-defined relations of domination with well-defined and unchanging hierarchical roles in principles [18].

What we have discussed above refers to Foucault [3], especially his analyses and discussions about power knowledge. The philosopher shows us that power is not exercised without knowing, just as it is not possible that knowledge does not engender power; one produces the other. The philosopher also postulates that power functions and is exercised in a network, that is, it is never specifically located in this or that place, here or there. Power, as thought by the author, is relational in character, being exercised and not possessed [3].

Continuing, we would like to focus on the discursive sequence of clipping number 1, which refers to the recommendation of clinical tests to the subjects supposedly infected: you are asked for the Koch Bacillus (BK). The examination, here thought as a power device, allows qualifying, evidencing, controlling, and dictating what should or can be done by the sick subject. As Foucault [5] teaches us, the examination is at the center of the processes that constitute the individual as an effect and object of power.

In order to increase the present analysis, we highlight the criticisms of the French philosopher, author of Microphysics of Power [3] and "Vigiar e Punir" [5], the disease and patient are thought and treated as objects that deserve only the subjection of medication and the patient is not seen as someone capable of making decision or interfering in the treatment process [4]. In the space of the clinic, where bodies and glances intersect, the knowledge of suffering—allotted in the subjectivity of symptoms—is inserted in a reductive and objectifying discourse. Under the sovereign power of the empirical eye of medical science, one has the space of open experience, only to the evidence of visible contents. What creates the possibility of a clinical experience is precisely the application of a look at the disease that gives it objectivity. There is always in the sick body a concrete a priori, which can be unveiled, in Foucault's words: clinical experience—from the concrete individual to the language of rationality—was taken as a simple, looking under the body [19].

Patient and disease control is not the exclusive exercise of health professionals, but it also covers the family institution, as we will show in the next section.

4.4 Clipping #4

"We involve family members; the family members control the patient. First, if the clinical picture of the patient is not serious, we make a pact with the family and inform them about the care they take with the patient and help them to provide it and this motivates the patient to take the medication until the end" (Subject Coordinator).

We observe that the pedagogical and disciplinary action extends to those who occupy the positions of subject "members of the family," who would be responsible for the patient. In this case, the family may constitute an "extension" of hospital power to the patient. According to Gonzales [20], for effective TB control, the participation and flexibility of the medical and family teams is necessary, in the follow-up of the patients, and supervision can be done at home or even in the workplace. Mobilized and authorized by hospital teams, relatives can also exercise control over the patient, who almost always enters into discursive formations marked by submission and belief in medical discourse.

The discursive sequence emphasized brings linguistic-discursive indications that allow us to say that, in this case, the subject-patient position is subject to the dictates of hospital and family institutions: we make a pact with the family. The signifier "pact" instigates us to think of a reproductive scheme, that is, the family reproduces medical discourses and actions, from a discursive memory. The family, conceived as an institution, inscribes itself in discursive formations that make it believe that its function is to help to make docile, useful, disciplined, to cure TB patients.

In these conditions of production, we can say that both sick subjects and family members occupy the place of "good subject," performing their roles in the form of "freely consented" [10]. We point out that in this modality, that of "good subject," the interdiscourse determines the discursive formation with which the subject identifies himself/herself and this subject blindly suffers this determination [10].

4.5 Clipping #5

"(...) TB is still a neglected disease unfortunately people only realize that the disease is already taking care of it when it is already at an advanced stage. And I think we still need to spread the word about TB a lot. We need to encourage people that the little cough he has, the first thing he should think about is exactly TB, and that this treatment that is given to the patient really works and he heals, but for that he should follow up and one of the strategies is the Short-Term Observed Direction Treatment Strategy that has given optimum results, people take the medicine as it should be" (Subject Coordinator).

When we look at this clipping, we are going to stick to the discursive sequence "people only realize that the disease is already taking care of it when it is already at an advanced stage." In our view, the realization of the disease when it is in an advanced state can be interpreted as a gesture of resistance from the subject-patient to accept that he is suffering from tuberculosis. As pointed out, the signifier tuberculosis refers to networks of meanings according to which being affected by the disease means "being poor," "prostitute," "convict," among other senses. Resisting disease and the condition of the patient seems to be a resource that is worth the subject not to submit to institutional discourses.

It is pertinent to point out that Foucault's notion that power is found in social relations, in the form of relations of force, presupposes resistance to every form and exercise of power. If there is a relation of power, there is a possibility of resistance, Foucault teaches us. The perception of oneself as subject-of-illness causes changes in the daily life, in a particular way, and in the life and history of the subject, in a wide way. While he perceives himself as "normal man," he feels inserted in society, being able to work, study, produce, and act. Feeling in good health is feeling more than normal, that is, not only adapted to the environment and the requirements, but also normative, capable of following new norms of life [21].

On the other hand, "feeling bad" breaks with the normativity, requiring diagnosis, clinical, laboratory, and other tests that can translate its meaning (s).

Admitting "feeling bad" brings pain and psychic suffering to the subject: "Why did this happen to me so soon?" leading him, in some cases, to deny the disease [20]. The subject-doctor position is the verdict, and its supposed knowledge lies in the promise of healing and/or postponing death.

Our arguments can be based on the contributions of Pêcheux [10] regarding the "bad subject." We can say that the subject, in a certain way, is *counteridentified* with the predetermined dictates by the health services where prescriptive functions are exercised: one of the first thing to think about is exactly in tuberculosis and he should follow up.

The discourse of the "bad subject" is that in which the subject of enunciation turns against the universal subject, through the taking of a position which, in this case, consists of a separation that reflects distancing, doubt, questioning, contestation, or revolt in relation to what the universal subject gives to think. In this case, then, the bad subject is counteridentified by the discursive formation imposed on him by "interdiscourse" as an external determination of his subjective interiority, which produces philosophical and political forms of discourse-against (i.e., "counter-discourse") [10].

Whether it occupies the position of the subject that fully identifies itself with the discursive formation in which one becomes aware, or occupy the position of the one who is counteridentified, the subject continues to be discoursed as "the patient," the "tuberculous," "the one who must obey and follow" what is recommended to him (imposed) by the medical discourse, whose specific knowledge, prestige, and condition of irrefutability assure him legitimacy and power.

According to our hypothesis, this discursivization contributes to the construction of a discursive memory whose senses can negatively affect the identity of the subject. It should be remembered that the senses become enunciable and readable by the action of discursive memory [14].

Knowing that the term identity carries multiple meanings, we emphasize that here we use it in the sense of identification, because we understand that identities can function as points of identification and attachment.

According to Hall [22], we can cite three types of identities: the Enlightenment, the Sociological, and the Postmodern. In the first, identity is centered, unified, and endowed with reason. It consists of an inner core that is born with the subject and in it develops, although it remains essentially the same (identical) throughout its existence. In the second, the subjects and the cultural world in which they live are treated as unified and predictable. However, gradually, the subject, thought as having a unique and stable identity, is perceived as fragmented, composed not of a single but of several identities, sometimes contradictory and incoherent. Finally, in the third, the subject does not have a fixed or permanent identity, being conceived as a mobile celebration, formed and transformed continuously. It is an identity marked by heterogeneity and dispersion.

From these considerations, we understand that identities are always fragmented and fractured; they are never singular but multiply constructed along discourses, practices, and positions that can cross and be antagonistic. They are subject to a radical historicization, constantly being in the process of change and transformation [22].

We would like to emphasize that, given the fluidity of the identities emphasized by Hall [21] and the notion of discourse adopted here, that is, that all say is constitutively crossed by the discourse of the other, we will use the term identity in the sense of identification.

To understand oneself as subject-patient of tuberculosis, makes the subject mainly occupy the place of being sick the one of the needs help from others, allows him to produce predominantly stereotyped senses, seeing himself as incapacitate to act upon himself about the disease [10, 22].

5. Final considerations: a few brief considerations

Medical discourse, in particular the discourse of health professionals of those working with patients with TB, has different forms of control over the patient. One of the ways in which the exercise of power is effective is through specific, institutionalized, and legitimized knowledge. This knowledge circulating in the discourses on disease and the patient contribute to the formation of an interdiscourse in which the sick subject is spoken, interpreted, and watched but never listened to. These discourses focus only on what is visible, apparent, and "rational" in disease.

We observed a reproductive pattern, that is, health professionals reproduce in their speeches words and forms not only of control of medical discourse but also of organs such as the WHO. Families, on the other hand, are called to collaborate with the treatment, reproducing words and devices of vigilance about the patient.

Being discursive as "sick," "tuberculous," "carrier of disease" can contribute to the constitution of a discursive memory where stereotyped and negative senses predominate about the disease. When updated, in the words of the subjects, they can revere these senses, negatively influencing the constitution of their identity, once the senses produced become circulating and accepted, not only by the patients and professionals but also by the family and community as such.

Reflecting on the discourses on tuberculosis, the sick and the constitution of their identity can contribute to the resignification of meanings and positions to be assumed by the subjects who could move from the subject-from-disease to the subject-from-healthy.

Author details

Fernando Mitano[1]*, João Miguel Fernandes[1], Filomena Elaine Assolini[2]
and Pedro Fredemir Palha[3]

1 Faculty of Health Science, Lúrio University, Nampula, Mozambique

2 Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Arts, University of São Paulo, Ribeirão Preto, Brazil

3 School of Nursing, University of São Paulo, Ribeirão Preto, Brazil

*Address all correspondence to: piqinamita@gmail.com

IntechOpen

References

[1] World Health Organization. Tuberculosis Report. Genebra: World Health Organization; 2017. 147 p. Available from: http://www.who. int/tb/publications/global_report/ gtbr2017_main_text.pdf

[2] Foucault M. A ordem do discurso. São Paulo: Edições Loyola; 2000. 74 p

[3] Foucault M. Microfísica do poder. 28th ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra; 2014. 431 p

[4] Foucault M. O nascimento da clínica. Tradução de Roberto Machado. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária; 2011

[5] Foucault M. Vigiar e punir: nascimento da prisão. Tradução de Raquel Ramalhete. 42a ed. RJ: Vozes; 2014. 302 p

[6] Herzog R. A percepção de si como sujeito da doença. PHISYIS. Revista de Saúde coletiva. 1991;**1**(2):144-156

[7] Silveira F. Michel Foucault e a construção discursiva do corpo do sujeito moderno e sua relação com a Psicologia. Psicologia em estudo. 2008;**13**:733-742

[8] Pêcheux M. Análise automática do discurso. Tradução de Eni P. Orlandi. In: Gadet F, Hak T, editors. Por uma análise automática do discurso: uma introdução à obra de Michel Pêcheux. 2nd ed. Campinas: Unicamp; 1990. pp. 61-161

[9] Pêcheu M. Ler o arquivo hoje. In: Gestos de leitura: da história no discurso. 2nd ed. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP; 1997. pp. 56-62

[10] Pêcheux M. Semântica e discurso: uma crítica à afirmação do óbvio. 4ª ed. Campinas: Unicamp; 1995. 287 p

[11] Orlandi EP. Análise do discurso: Princípios e procedimentos. 8ª ed. Campinas: Pontos; 2009. 100 p

[12] Orlandi EP. As formas do silêncio: no movimento dos sentidos. Campinas, Unicamp; 2007. 177 p

[13] Gregolin MR, Baronas R. Análise de Discurso: as materialidades do sentido. 3rd ed. São Carlos: Editora Clara Luz; 2007. 180 p

[14] Courtine JJ. Analyse du discours politique. In: Language. Vol. 62. Paris: Larouse; 1981. 127 p

[15] Ginzburg C. Mitos, emblemas, sinais: morfologia e histórico. São Paulo: Companhia das letras; 2012. 281 p

[16] Mitano F, Sicsú AN, Sousa LO, Silva LMC, Palha PF. Discourses of healthcare professionals about health surveillance actions for tuberculosis control. Revista da Escola de Enfermagem da U.S.P. 2017;**51**:e03213. DOI: 10.1590/ S1980-220X2016018203213

[17] Mitano F, Sicsú AN, Lima MCRAD, Peruhype RC, Protti ST, Palha PF. Discourses on short-course therapy for tuberculosis control. Revista Brasileira de Enfermagem. 2017;**70**(1):120-125. DOI: 10.1590/0034-7167-2016-0463

[18] Barroni DPM, Cunha CS. Reflexão sobre a resistência na clínica a partir de Michel Foucault. Psicologia Ciência e Profissão. 2008;(4):682-695

[19] Foucault M. A verdade e as formas jurídicas. 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Nau; 2001. 130 p

[20] Gonzales RIC, Monroe AA, Assis EG, Palha PF, Villa TCS, Netto AR. Desempenho de Serviços de saúde no domicílio para controle da tuberculose. Revista da Escola de Enfermagem da U.S.P. 2008;**42**(4):628-634

[21] Canguinhes G. O normal e o patológico. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária; 1988. 120 p

[22] Hall S. A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade. 11th ed. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A; 2000. 102 p

Edited by Lavinia Suciu

This book is an open access publication edited by IntechOpen. Its main goal is to summarize current research in the discourse analysis area. It provides a scientific platform for researchers to publish the latest studies and developments in both theoretical and practical aspects of discourse analysis and to make it more visible. The book is an excellent way for disseminating inspiring visions, innovative research methods, and research findings in this interdisciplinary field.It is a fact that in our postmodern times, the discourse has gained new connections and dimensions through fundamental changes and structural progress. Therefore, the research of the discourse generates new knowledge, creates a favorable atmosphere for change, and provides people with information and data that help them to benefit directly in their everyday life.

IntechOpen