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Language, Discourse & Society

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Thematic issue

The Language of a Pandemic: COVID-19 discursive practice and social change

This issue is guest-edited by

Maud Mazaniello-Chézol, McGill University, Canada

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The editorial board will consider proposed articles based on clear methodological and theoretical commitment to studies of language. Articles must substantially engage theory and/or methods for analyzing language, discourse, representation, or situated talk.

Note for contributors:

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Language, Discourse & Society

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**Language & Society
Research Committee 25 of the
International Sociological Association**

Message from the editor

Dear Readers, Contributors and Colleagues,

It is my pleasure to introduce the June 2021 issue to you, and to play a small part in this wonderful scientific network we belong to together. It has been a challenging start for me in the role of the Chief Editor, as the transition to SCOPUS and the conquering of new indexing databases has been a priority, and the volume of submissions is greater than expected, demanding much of the co-editors and our expert peer-reviewers. I see these factors as a great opportunity to grow our peer-review network and to welcome new contributors and reviewers, across all continents and in a multitude of languages. We manage to find common ground in English, French and Spanish, the languages of our journal thanks to the ongoing contribution and support from our RC25 President, Dr Stéphanie Cassildé, Maud Mazaniello-Chézol and Laura Odasso for French, and Prof. Cecilio Lapresta for Spanish. I feel greatly supported by Dr Magdalena Lemanczyk, from the Polish Academy of Sciences and by Gatitu Kiguru and Phyllis W. Mwangi from Kenya. The book reviews section is currently run by Chika Kitano c/o Keiji Fujiyoshi, Japan.

I express my deepest gratitude to Dr Stéphanie Cassildé, who trained the new team and is constantly engaged and present in the journal's operations. The timely publication of this issue could not have been achieved without her immense contribution.

So now a few words about the content and the themes you will find in this issue. The current issue is enriched by an important thematic section related to current affairs and the COVID-19 pandemic. It was organized by Maud Mazaniello-Chézol our guest editor and Cecilio Lapresta, June's thematic editor. Please read the message from our guest editor to become familiar with the details of this thematic issue. The remaining 6 articles build the non-thematic section of the issue and pertain to a diversity of topics, starting with the Ghanaian political context and media discourse analysis, followed by discourse analysis concerning the issue of child labour in the Global South and South Asian Youth in Diaspora. These are followed by young Japanese adults' discourses about the future and the narratives of Polish female romance tourists from Poland to Egypt. Further, we find a move analysis in sports news and finally a psycho-linguistic contribution on self-regulation prediction through reflexivity modes within inner speech.

Furthermore, two interesting book reviews may be found. One dedicated to the linguistic and discursive aspects of female sexuality in public perception. The other gives us a unique opportunity to peek into the upcoming book, authored by one of our network's most prominent scholars, Prof. Celine-Marie Pascale. Her book entitled: "*Living on the Edge*", was reviewed by Ms Joanna Pawlowska from the Maria Grzegorzewska University in Poland.

The Editorial Board and I, wish to express our sincere gratitude to all the hard work that goes on behind the scenes and the efforts of all involved in the editorial process, from researching and drafting papers, through submission process, the in-house and external double-blinded reviews, to editorial checks and the editing procedures.

We are proud to contribute to knowledge production within the sociology of language, socio and psycho-linguistics, linguistic and discursive aspects of education and public policy, political discourse, discourse analysis and more. We hope that you will find interesting concepts, themes and methodology that goes beyond the local and regional, but draws from the individualized experiences and local knowledge of the authors.

Our mission is to support equity of opportunity and to open dialog between scholars of diverse backgrounds and different levels of academic experience. Our mission is also to reflect and to evoke discussions on the role of language in our everyday life, our biases and social practices. We wish to build a strong community of scholars that feel safe, supported and welcomed, in order to reveal and extinguish unjust barriers and dominating discourses. We hope to widen and enrich our sources of knowledge and facilitate prompt and just exchanges of information about research outcomes in all parts of the world. We encourage references and sharing of important contributions produced in local languages. Although translation and summarizing the information in the languages we use for common ground may not give the sources the justice they deserve, and as we all know, it may carry misinterpretation and biases. However, we feel it is still of great importance to attempt this kind of knowledge sharing to open up to the linguistically excluded and to raise awareness of what is done in different cultures, in different regions in different languages that have historically been pushed to the periphery of science, silenced and have been absent from the dominant discourse. We want to hear these voices and give every opportunity to foster better access and inclusion.

We hope that the consecutive issues will grow in volume and that our development plans come to life. Amongst them, are the acquisition of DOI numbers, innovating the reference style and supporting international scientific events. Please join us in our important collaborative endeavour. We remain at your service.

With warm greetings to all RC25 members and beyond.

Prof. Anna Odrowaz-Coates
Editor in Chief
Language, Discourse and Society
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Message from the Guest Editor

The Language of a Pandemic: COVID-19 discursive practice and social change

This thematic issue of *Language, Discourse & Society* sought to investigate discourses related to the current pandemic of coronavirus disease (COVID). As such, we have three articles that tackle how COVID-19's language is shaping society and how society constitutes the pandemic language, especially how it may transform social norms.

The pandemic of COVID-19 disrupted the social order with sudden changes, affecting the neoliberal system on multiple levels (OECD, 2020). From the disease outbreak news to the declaration of the COVID-19 pandemic from the World Health Organization and the associated decisions such as borders' restrictions or confinement/quarantine, new challenges emerged bringing the dominant economic system's limitations out into the light (Nunes, 2020; Saad-Filho, 2020).

Leading to rapid changes in most areas of society, at the macro, meso, micro or individual levels, social functioning was revisited by the performance of a series of new governmental and institutional measures. In doing so, institutional discourse rapidly changed, investing the social realm with new claims, calling upon individuals' behavioral change. Distinguishing services as "essential" or "non-essential", re-ordering priorities, demonstrating violence to apply these priorities, the language shift inherently questioned the dominant ideology. For example, the weight put on healthcare systems and thereby healthcare workers and users has triggered governmental and social responses challenging social values, norms and ethics (e.g., Ortega & Orsini, 2020). Also, while new rituals emerged to thank healthcare workforce in some part of the world (e.g., showing gratefulness with images at the window, regular applause), some works seemed to be newly recognized. The notion of being or staying at 'home' took several dimensions whether people had a safe place to call 'home' (e.g., Black, Indigenous, and People Of Color, stateless persons, refugees, homeless persons), or people were in situation of vulnerability (e.g., in case of domestic violence, abuse, isolation).

COVID-19 reaffirmed the intersections between health and race, gender, and class-based inequalities. It thus highlighted existing social injustice, shedding light on systemic racism. These inequalities translate in several forms and raise how societal fissures along the lines of race, indigeneity, class, gender, immigration, and citizenship statuses are being revealed by the pandemic to be prevailing social determinants of health.

For this thematic issue, three articles explore the language of and on COVID-19 and intersecting events. The first manuscript entitled "**Military Framing of Health Threats: The COVID-19 Disease as a Case Study**", is in English by **Sami Chatti** based in Tunisia. This case study looks at how military metaphors used during the pandemic are shaping the perception of the crisis and all that has been affected by it, touching on the role of metaphorical framing in society and especially how it relates to morality. Following this article, the second manuscript "**Klétaj ak Pwofitasyon. Réflexion sur les agentivités discursives au temps du Covid en Guadeloupe postcoloniale**" written in French by **Stéphanie Melyon-Reinette** based in Guadeloupe offers an analysis of the influences of a neo-colonial relationship between identities reflected during the pandemic through discourse. In doing so, Melyon-Reinette elaborates on the construction of the perception of disease outbreaks and healthcare system in a (neo)colonial context. Finally

the third manuscript in English by **Arisa Koba** based in Japan, is entitled “**Discursive othering of Asian Americans: A preliminary reflection of a foreshadowing COVID-19’ related hate**”. It covers the history of Asian Americans discriminations to deconstruct the discourses underlying hate against Asian Americans. In different selected discourses, Koba who performed discourse analysis explains how the language in use affected Asian Americans, looking at the notion of othering.

This thematic issue was possible because of the support of the editorial team and especially Editor in Chief: Professor Anna Odrowąż-Coates, Thematic Issue Editor: Dr. Cecilio Lapresta Rey, and RC25 President: Dr. Stéphanie Cassilde. A special thank you to the authors whose work is published in this issue and all the participants, all the people behind the research we are able to share. This is the second year of the pandemic, a crisis exacerbating the foundations of the systems on which societies are based. This issue provides insights on how and why it is affecting our social structures, and how methodologically, the study of Discourse can unravel the complexities and shed light on these phenomena. I am confident these productions will contribute to the intellectual conversation around the language of and on a pandemic, to better understand the discursive practice and thereby move forward social change.

Sincerely,

Maud Mazaniello-Chézol, RD, PhD(c), Guest Editor
University Mc Gill*, Canada

**McGill University is situated on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehà:ka, a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations. I recognize and respect the Kanien'kehà:ka as the traditional custodians of the lands and waters on which I am writing this introductory letter.*

References

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- Saad-Filho, A. (2020). From COVID-19 to the End of Neoliberalism. *Critical Sociology*.

Call for guest-editors for e- journal *Language, Discourse and Society*

Language, Discourse & Society is an international peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

All interested guest-editors are invited to submit a proposal (a call for papers) in order to edit a thematic issue. The editor in chief will consider proposed call for papers based on clear commitment to studies of language. *Language, Discourse & Society* cannot publish proceedings. Guest-editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal. *Language, Discourse & Society* accepts electronic submissions year round. Please send your proposals to: journal@language-and-society.org

The role description of *Language, Discourse & Society* guest-editor is as follow:

Each guest-(co-)editor is responsible:

- for writing the call for articles: within the framework of *LD&S* editorial line and tacking into account that *LD&S* cannot publish proceedings, (co-)editors are free to choose the thematic of their issue proposal.
- for all communications with authors
- for the evaluation process of articles, which includes:
- finding additional reviewers so that each article is peer-reviewed.
- taking a decision regarding the final selection of articles in accordance with the editorial line of *LD&S*
- for keeping the deadline to submit the whole issue to the editor in chief of editing. This includes to take care that minimal requirements are met (front, front size, space, margin, accuracy of references)
- for basic editing regarding the form and the style of each article: the (co-)editor should check whether the references within the article are mentioned in the bibliographical part, whether the references listed in the biographical part are all quoted within the article, and whether the template of *LD&S* is respected (letter font, size, etc.)

The guest-(co-)editor cannot publish an article in *LD&S*, neither as principal author, nor as co-author. His/her name is indicated as follow: “this issue of *Language, Discourse and Society* about {here the final title of the thematic issue} is edited by {here the name of the editor(s)}”.

The position of guest-(co-)editor is unpaid.

Call for Papers

Language of Sustainable Development: Discourses of the end of the Anthropocene in Literature and Cinematography

Thematic issues of "*Language, Discourse, & Society*", a journal published by Research Committee 25 "Language and Society" of the International Sociological Association, ISSN: 2239-4192, indexed in ERIH Plus and in Scopus.

Guest Editors: Stephen Ogheneruro Okpadah (University of Ilorin, Nigeria) & Osakue S. Omoera (Federal University, Otuoke, Nigeria)

Global industries, multinational corporations, outrageous rise of global population, deforestation, the global oil and nuclear industries pose the ongoing challenge for sustainability of earth resources. Exploitation remains the main problem, which may be analyzed from Marxist, materialist and capitalist perspectives. Aerologists, deep ecologists, environmentalists, lawyers in the legal space, life sciences and social sciences ask about the future of humanity. Writers and activists foresee the end of the human era. In 2002, the Nobel Prize-winning atmospheric chemist Paul Crutzen and Eugene Stoermer resurrected the concept of the anthropocene to denote the current interval of time on earth in which many key processes are dominated by human influence [1]. The birth of the anthropocene is the departure from the conditions of the Holocene epoch that nurtured the growth of human civilization. [2] Since 1800, global population has risen from roughly 1 billion to 6.5 billion in 2000 and a projected 9 billion by 2050. The duration of the anthropocene is now arguably the most important question of our age—scientifically, socially and politically. We cannot think of a greater or more urgent challenge. Socio-cultural products (anthropocene-literatures and anthropocene-films) may be viewed as futuristic telescopes to arrive at the concept of the postearth [3] the product of the robbery of the earth by humans as they begin to recreate and reshape the earth. The questions that emanate from this thematic issue are: how different languages define the anthropocene? What language has been used by artists to communicate the Anthropocene? The linguistic and discursive representation of the anthropocene (be it in literature, theatre or in films) are part of the welcomed subthemes together with other themes that touch on the sociological questions of power, imbalance and exploitation and how these are expressed and contested in and through language. Moreover, we hope to answer the question: is the language used for promotion of sustainable development agenda – a language of fear or is it a language of opportunity? How does it interplay with the discourses about the post-earth scenarios.

[1] Crutzen, P. J. 2002 Geology of mankind. *Nature* 415, 23. doi:10.1038/415023

[2] John Foster. Marx and the Rift in the Universal Metabolism of Nature. *Monthly Review*

[3] Postearth is the posthuman era

We welcome papers based on systematic literature review or field research data, we will also consider well-argued scientific essays of between 4000-6000 words. Possible topics might include, but are not limited to:

Sociology of Language

Sociology of the Media

Sociology of Literature

Role of language and discourse in the transition From the Anthropocene to Post-earth

Greening the Media

The Language of Ecocriticism in Modern Theatre

Eco-films in Contemporary Society

Communication Development in the Age of Robotics

Film and Drama Production and the Issues of Sustainability

The Language of Performance in the 21st Century

Discourses in the Post-Truth Era

The names of the author(s), a short biography of the contributor(s), telephone number(s), email address(es) and institutional affiliations should be sent along with the papers. Each article should be accompanied by an abstract of 200-250 words. Referencing style should conform to APA 6th edition. Receipt of manuscripts will be acknowledged. All manuscripts must reach the editor(s) on or before 30th of August, 2021. Contributors should submit e-copies of their manuscripts to the editors of this Special Issue at okpadahstephen@gmail.com and osakueso@fuotuoke.edu.ng

Language, Discourse and Society is the official journal of the Research Committee 25 “Language and Society” of the International Sociological Association, Spain.

This indexed journal can be accessed at <https://publons.com/journal/57971/language-discourse-society/> AND <https://www.language-and-society.org/language-discourse-society/>

Submission can be done in English, Spanish and French.

Please follow the author guidelines indicated at the following URL, which includes a template for formatting: <http://www.language-and-society.org/journal/instructions.html>

IMPORTANT DATES

May 2021: call for papers

30th July 2021: due date for submission

September 2021: Feedback from reviewers

October 2021: Submission of revised articles

This thematic issue will be published in December 2021.

SUBMISSION TO BE DONE ONLINE

The contact email of the guest-editors for any query is: okpadahstephen@gmail.com and osakueso@fuotuoke.edu.ng

Original Articles

**The Language of a Pandemic: COVID-19 discursive practice and social
change**

guest-edited by Maud Mazaniello-Chézol

Discursive othering of Asian Americans: A preliminary reflection of a foreshadowing COVID-19' related hate

Arisa Koba¹

Abstract

15

This study aims to examine the underlying causes of the hate against Asian Americans in relation to coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19). Using discourse analysis, the author analyzes interview data collected before the outbreak of the pandemic in the Bay Area of the United States. Anti-Asian sentiment did not start after the beginning of the outbreak. Rather, it has existed in American society, and people in the Asian community have faced prejudice and hate incidents before the outbreak as well. This study examines the discourse in two ways: discourse as practices and discourse as language in use. Through the analysis of interview data, this study aims to 1) shed light on Asian Americans' experiences and reveal the racism Asians are subjected to; 2) examine how the discourse affects the identity and situation of Asians under a certain dominance; 3) analyze how discourse reproduces systemic violence against Asian Americans. The analysis shows that the same discourse which has positioned Asians as the "other" is reproduced both socially and politically and that is a reason for violence against Asian Americans. However, it is further revealed that Asian people construct their identity through these discourses, by either internalizing or opposing them.

Keywords

Discourse analysis, COVID-19, racism, hate crime, Asian Americans

First submission: January 2021; Revised: April 2021, Accepted: June 2021

¹ Arisa Koba, Nagoya Bunri University, Japan, rage_and_grace@jcom.zaq.ne.jp

Introduction

Since the beginning of the COVID-19 outbreak, the former United States President, Donald Trump, has used terms such as “Chinese virus,” “China virus,” and “Kung Flu” during his presidency (Mangan, 2020). A picture of the script of his speech with the word “corona” being crossed out and replaced with “Chinese” to form the term “Chinese virus” was posted by the photographer Jabin Botsford (Papenfuss 2020). This picture went viral and has been retweeted more than 40,000 times. Critics have stated that these racial slurs legitimize anti-Asian sentiments and can potentially increase the risk of hate crimes. A hate crime is defined as a “criminal offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender’s bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or gender identity” by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)². In fact, the website, Stop AAPI Hate, where people in California can self-report hate incidents against Asian Americans, registered more than 800 anti-Asian American hate incidents related to COVID-19 in only three months between March and June 2020. Jeung (2020) has identified a relationship between the increasing number of anti-Asian hate crimes and the racial slurs used by Trump and his close allies (Jeung, 2020; Kang, 2020 and Jeung, 2020; Cabanatuan, 2020). However, we have to carefully review that data. According to Gover et al., who accumulated the data from the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the data size differs tremendously between the two organizations. The UCR reports that from 2014 to 2018, an average of 176 hate crimes were caused by the anti-Asian bias (this number also includes hate crimes against Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians), whereas during the same period, the NCVS reports 6,158 victims of hate crime against Asians, Pacific Islanders, or Native Hawaiians. Gover et al. argued that this discrepancy is caused by the vast underreporting of hate crime to the police and the hidden nature of hate crime against Asian Americans.

Since the UCR only includes offenses known to and reported by police departments, unlike the NCVS who includes hate crime cases both reported and not reported to the police, they exclude the underreported incidents. The analysis of NCVS’s data by Gover et al. indicates that “anti-Asian hate crime has remained an alarming problem across time” (Gover et al., 2020). This suggestion is key to analyzing the current social situation in the U.S. We need to consider what is behind Trump’s use of the terms, such as “Chinese virus” and the increasing number of hate incidents. In the subsequent section, I will explain the underlying historic victimization of Asian people and the discourse that constructs Asians as racial “others.” First, I will examine the history of Asian Americans and the discourse surrounding them (Sections 1 and 2). I will then introduce the interview data relating to Asian Americans and Asian immigrants that I collected in the Bay Area, the U.S. before the pandemic. Even before the outbreak, my interviewees experienced exclusion and hate incidents in multiple approaches. By analyzing the data, I believe we can obtain a clearer perspective of what has been happening to the Asian community in the U.S. and the links to the incidents we are witnessing today.

² FBI: <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/civil-rights/hate-crimes>

Discrimination and violence against Asian Americans

1. A review of selected cases throughout history

As I mentioned above, Asian Americans are facing harsh discrimination in relation to COVID-19. However, this is not the first time Asian people have been victims of violence motivated by hate. The first Asian immigrants to the U.S. in a significant number were Chinese people in the mid-1800s. As an alternative labor force after the Reconstruction era, a large number of Chinese workers engaged in railway construction and lost their lives due to poor working conditions and the dangerous materials they had to deal with. They were believed to be politically powerless visitors who would not be a “long-term burden” and rather be “The apolitical noncitizen coolie” (C. J. Kim, 1999). In the 1870s, an anti-Chinese movement took place that was motivated by frustration with employment instability. Instead of protecting Chinese laborers, the U.S. government responded with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In the early 1900s, an anti-Japanese movement took hold, again motivated by frustration due to unemployment and a growing suspicion of Asian immigrants as their population was increasing. This time, the U.S. government responded with “The Gentleman’s Agreement” of 1908, meaning that immigrants from Japan were largely restricted. In 1924, the U.S. government enacted the Immigration Act of 1924 with the purpose of preventing immigrants from Asia. These examples demonstrate how Asian immigrants have been targeted as scapegoats as regards political agitation. When the Naturalization Law was amended in 1870 to extend the right to “aliens of African nativity or persons of African descent,” Chinese immigrants were still excluded as “aliens ineligible to citizenship” (C. J. Kim, 1999). As I will argue in Section 2, the discursive alienization of Asians still remains as part of the culture. Also, anti-Asian movements throughout history are considered to have led to the internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II. During this period, Japanese Americans were interned/relocated after the signing of Executive Order 9066.

Japanese Americans who lived on the West Coast and some parts of Hawaii were forced to relocate, despite the fact that the majority of them were American citizens. People had to sell their houses and properties at extremely low prices; indeed, some people lost everything. Over 120,000 Japanese Americans were sent to internment camps. Others were detained and some were deported to Japan (Takezawa, 1994, Iino, 2000). Takezawa (1994) explained how interpreting historic experience from the point of view of members of ethnic groups, not only as individuals but also as a group, plays an important role in constructing ethnicity. According to her, the reinterpretation of the internment and the reconstruction of the ethnic identity of Japanese Americans happened through the postwar redress movement. From the 1980s to the 1990s, Asian people in the U.S. were again targeted due to anti-Asian sentiment arising from trade conflicts between the U.S. and Japan, and from demographic changes, including an increase in the Asian population. This sentiment led to a worst-case scenario as Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was murdered by two white men who had just lost their jobs and believed it to be because of the trade conflict. The culprits allegedly called the victim “Jap” during the violence.

What these precedents show is that political leaders have repeatedly scapegoated Asian people, as well as other ethnic minorities, whenever social or economic tensions have become heightened. Okimoto (2020) criticized President Trump for being “prone to pointing the finger of blame at others —especially racial and ethnic minorities and foreign nationals— and denying his own responsibility” (Okimoto, 2020; Zhou et al., 2020). It is clear that we are now

witnessing the same process of scapegoating but in the dynamics of a different era. Okimoto continues, “When will Americans understand and acknowledge that Asian Americans are fellow citizens, bearing no ties to events in Wuhan, China?” This means that Asian Americans are still not regarded as “fellow citizens” but more as “others.” Support for the exclusion of and hate toward Asians comes from the discursive positioning of Asian people as being non-native. Thus, to tackle the ongoing anti-Asian sentiments related to COVID-19, an analysis of the discourse shared in American society is needed.

2. Discourses underlying hate against Asian Americans

From wartime exclusion acts to the present day anti-Asian rhetoric linked to COVID-19, the discrimination of Asians has been buttressed by “othering.” This is a process where a dominant group defines which members do or do not belong to society (Gover et al., 2020). Thus, we need to take into consideration the historical discourse that positions Asians as “perpetual foreigners” when analyzing the anti-Asian rhetoric of today. As mentioned in the previous section, people of Asian descent were prevented from obtaining citizenship for a long time. Even after anti-Asian naturalization laws were formally nullified in 1952, allowing naturalization for all Asians, people of Asian descent are still suffering discursive alienization in their daily lives.

People of Asian descent are seen as an outgroup, who are not and will never be rightful citizens due to the aforementioned “perpetual foreigners” discourse. In examining discussions of the black/white paradigm of the U.S., J. Y. Kim (1999) describes how it marginalizes Asian Americans and denies their nativity. This paradigm has been criticized as it only focuses on the relationship between black people and white people; it ignores both the solidarity and conflict among various racial groups. It also ignores how policies have affected various racial groups differently, and so forth. While agreeing with this point, J. Y. Kim advanced a supplementary argument that Asians are actually not exempt from this black/white paradigm and whether Asians are treated as black or “honorary white” is deployed opportunistically. In her words, “To be nonwhite is to be the other, and that other is constructed as black, regardless of where a particular individual or group comes from or what it looks like” (J. Y. Kim, 1999: 2396). She also highlighted that the absence of racialized groups such as Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans is harmful to these groups, just as it is harmful to the richness of race discourse in general. Alim et al. (2010), on the other hand, describes how the “racial and ethnic other” is performed in freestyle rap battles. By mocking Chinese tonality, erasing the ethnic diversity of Asians, referring to them as monolithic group, or overtly treating them as foreigners, Asian emcees are constructed as racial others in rap battles. Not only Asians, but also Latinos, also face racial othering in a similar vein. As a result, even after the legal ostracization of Asians was abolished, they are still treated as racial others or foreigners in cultural context, and it applies to other racial groups such as Latinos, too.

3. Purpose and research questions

To tackle the anti-Asian hate related issues, this study will focus on how language functions to reproduce and to report the issue. Hate is often expressed, experienced, and explained through language. Asian people are being subjected to hate through verbal abuse such as calling them as “corona” or “virus,” yelling “Go back to your country,” or “We don’t want you here,” as well as an overgeneralization and distortion of the Asian culture (e.g., assuming that any person who looks Asian is Chinese, and assuming that any Asian-looking person shares the same

culinary background, such as eating bats), and so on.³ The othering of Asians is not only done by language, but it is also reported in a certain language. Through these data, I can analyze the process in which racial and ethnic experiences are interpreted and reported, but supposedly in a more relaxed way when incidents are reported to the police. This will reveal the way discourse as “language in use” (Cameron, 2001) functions in a relationship with an interactive purpose (i.e., reporting the incident).

As well as focusing on the function of language, I will also focus on how it buttresses the systemic dominance over minorities. van Dijk (1993) insisted that we can approach questions about social inequality by focusing on the role of discourse to reproduce or challenge dominance. Dominance is defined by van Dijk as the “exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality.” From this point of view, discourse is what reproduces dominance; at the same time, it is what challenges dominance. Combining these notions of discourse above, this study aims to 1) shed light on Asian Americans’ experiences and reveal the racism Asians are subjected to; 2) examine how the discourse affects the identity and situation of Asians under a certain dominance; 3) analyze how discourse reproduces systemic violence against Asian Americans. All of the above will be considered in a historical context and eventually be discussed in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic.

4. Methodology

In this study, I will analyze interview data in the light of discourse analysis to examine the problems I highlighted in Section 1. The simplest definition of discourse is “language above the sentence” (Cameron, 2001). According to Cameron, discourse analysis is the study to describe events in language through its relationship with the communicative purpose in texts or interactions. Cameron argues that for discourse analysts, it is more accurate to define discourse as “language in use.” As I mentioned in the previous section, it is “language in use” through which the othering of Asians is carried out and experienced. For Foucault, who described discourse as “practices” and as what forms the spoken/stated object, discourse is an arena in which power is tied to knowledge (Foucault, 1976). Foucault also highlighted how discourse co-occurs with different strategies in various dimensions of society and can present diverse appearances. As the purpose of this study is to analyze how systemic violence (e.g., hate crime) is maintained by the shared discourse in society, for example, the othering of Asians, discourse in terms of both “language in use” and “practices” should be taken into consideration.

Further, discourse as “practices” and the way of forming the spoken object is particularly important when considering racism. Wodak and Reisigl (2015) argued that discourses serve to construct collective subjects such as races, nations, and ethnicities. That is, discourse actually forms the group, such as “Asian” or “Japanese” and influences their lives: practically shared discourses form a collective concept of a particular race or ethnicity. It works both ways as members inside the group can construct solidarity by forming united self-image, while the collective image can also overgeneralize and oversimplify the group, thus leading to racial and ethnic stereotypes. From the standpoint that narratives create reality (Robert and Shenhav, 2014), repeated discourse becomes “reality,” no matter whether the shared image of a specific group is accurate or not.

³ Stop AAPI hate report: <http://www.asianpacificpolicyandplanningcouncil.org/stop-aapi-hate-reports/>

Collectivity is another key to analyzing discourse. In the research interviews, attitude toward race and ethnicity is observable as part of the interviewees’ “lived ideology” (Wodak and Reisigl, 2015). Considering that a single person’s utterance contains multiple people’s voices (Maybin, 2001), we not only see the racializing or ethnicizing process and ideology of the interviewees, but also those shared by society. The data that will be handled is only a small fraction of the experiences of Asian American’s. However, they represent experience shared by large number of Asian Americans, and the results represent the current situation in American society, at least partly. Literature on identity studies has indicated that identity has individual and collective aspects (Bourhis, 1979, Tajfel, 1981, Giles and Coupland, 1991, van Dijk, 1998, De Fina, 2006). According to Holmes (2006), we engage in a continuous interpersonal and intergroup process of identity construction. The discourse about Asian Americans that we will see in focus on the content of the data, that is, the lived experience of Asian Americans and the socially shared discourses and practices according to Foucault. Such cues will also focus on the manner of speaking; for example, the more interactional and linguistic dimension of the interview and how Asian Americans shape their experiences into a discourse according to Cameron. The codes that were used in the transcription will be attached in the Appendices.

the data is likely to be shared in the Bay Area, the investigation site, both on an interpersonal and intergroup level. I will codify nonverbal cues during the interview, such as laughter, pauses, overlaps, etc., for a more detailed transcription than an arranged text without such cues to Data and analysis

The author has collected interview data from 10 persons in Japan and 26 persons in the Bay Area, U.S. (some interviewees took part in the interview twice, as a follow-up interview or as a one-to-one and pairs). The first period of interview was from December 2016 to March 2017, and the second period was from January to March 2019. The main informants in the U.S. were Asian American or Asian long-term residents. Their racial and ethnic identity, the generation of their immigration, their sexual orientation, and their gender identity are diverse. Also, some people are white-passing (to some extent) while others are not. For the purpose of obtaining answers to prepared questions while having as natural a conversation as possible, all the interviews were semi-structured. The majority of interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis, while some were conducted in twos due to time limitations or to coincide with the interviewees’ schedules. The language used in the interviews was English or Japanese, including occasional code-switching from English to Japanese and vice versa. Table 1 below includes the interviewees’ and the interviewer’s (author’s) profile whose data I will analyze in this paper. The names of the interviewees are pseudonyms for the sake of anonymity. The “new” generation in the table means the generation that moved to the US after the war.

Table 1. profiles of interview participants

	Linguistic background	Generation
Shoko	Japanese(L1)/ English	Long-term resident
Yoshiko	Japanese	Long-term resident
Mao	English(L1)	“New” 2nd
Kacey	English(L1)/Japanese	4th
Sadie	English(L1)	3rd
Erin	English(L1)	3rd
A(IR)	Japanese(L1)/English	-

Although I interviewed a range of Asian Americans, in this paper I will focus on Japanese American and Japanese long-term residents in the U.S. to minimize the differences for the purpose of better comparison. Subsection 4.1 will deal with the discourse Asian Americans encounter in their daily lives and how they are experienced by interviewees. Subsection 4.2 will, on the other hand, deal with politicians' discourse and how it is experienced by interviewees. In Subsection 4.1, the data will show how the "perpetual foreigners" discourse is still alive and how it is experienced by interviewees. In Subsection 4.2, the data will show that Asians were politically targeted even before the COVID-19 outbreak, and that some interviewees linked their experience with the inauguration of President Trump.

5. Discourse Asian Americans encounter in their daily lives

In this subsection, I will look into the othering discourse of Asians in the U.S. Extract 1 is from an interview with Shoko, a Japanese long-term resident in the U.S. At the time of the interview, she had lived in the country for approximately 25 years. For a further explanation of the context of the extract, she was talking to the interviewer (the author) about experience many Asian people have in common, such as being asked "Where are you from?" no matter how long they have lived there or what their citizenship status is. The interview was conducted in Japanese, so I attached a word-for-word translation and a more sympathetic version.

[Extract 1]

1. S: *tada sono: sono toki-ni: dakara itsumo(.) do:-yu:*
but well that time so always how
"but well, in that situation how (I'm) always"
2. *fu:-ni taisho shi-teru-ka-tte yu:-to wa ma:-↑ne*
way cope doing say well
"coping with (that), well"
3. A: @@
4. S: *nande mata mata kika-re-tara ne*
5. where are you from-te *itsumo* so again again asked if you know
always
"so, if (I'm) asked again, you know, always (I say) "Where are you from?""
6. A: @@
7. S: *muko:-no@@ [muko:-ni*
that person to that person
to that person"
8. A: [*sotchi-koso mitai-na n::*
you too like
"like, "How about you?""]
9. S: *un so:so:so:so:*
yup yesyesyesyes
10. S: *demo: sono kare-ga ano yu:-no-wa sono↑ne ano:*
But well he well says well so
"but what he(=husband) says (is), well"
11. *no-tta toki-no doraiba:-wa furendori:-no kanbase:shon-no*
rode time driver friendly conversation
"when (I) ride (the taxi), (it's for) friendly conversation"
12. *tame-da-tta(.)-to-yu:-fu:-ni-wa to-re-nai(.)-no to-re-nai-tte*
for the sake of like can't receive can't receive
"for the sake of (friendly conversation), can't (you) interpret so"
13. *yu:-fu:-ni kiku-n-desu-yo yappari-ne*
say like ask after all
"(he) asks (me) like that, after all"
14. A: *a: sono where are you from -tte-yu:-no-o*

- Well say
 “ah, (about) “where are you from””
15. S: *so:so: where where are you from -tte-yu:-no-o-ne*
 Yes say
 “yes, “where are you from””
16. A: [e::
17. S: [*dakara-ne so:*
 so
18. A: @@
19. S: *dakara sore-wa yahari kare-ga hakujin dakara-da-na-to omo-tte*
 So that after all he white that’s why think
 “so, after all that’s because he (is) white, I guess”

Before the material in line 1, the interviewer had brought up the typical experience of people of Asian descent, such as being asked “Where are you from?” in various situations. From line 1 to line 8, Shoko shares her experience of always being asked that question by a taxi driver, and how she copes with that (asking “Where are you from?” responding with a stress on “you”). From line 9 to line 18, Shoko explains that her husband suggested to her to interpret the utterance as a “friendly conversation” based on the fact that the drivers are often immigrants, too. However, Shoko does not accept this suggestion and assumes that this is a result of her husband’s whiteness. Her discourse indicates that Asian people are alienized so often, even in the Bay Area, California, which includes counties with large Asian populations. Also, in her discourse, people of other racial and ethnic groups (taxi drivers and her husband) are positioned as the subjects who treat Asians as “others.” From line 10 to line 11, her husband’s utterance is given as a constructed dialogue. Line 4 has Shoko’s own words as constructed dialogue, and line 13 and line 14 are the words of the taxi driver. Constructed dialogue is defined as “the animation of speech framed as a voice other than the speaker’s, with emphasis on stories told in conversation” (Tannen, 2007: 1), whose function is explained as representing the utterance that occurred in past, imaginary speech that wasn’t actually said, a summary of repeated utterances, inner speech (the speaker’s thoughts represented as speech), and so on. From line 10 to line 11, Shoko spoke in Japanese but used English with a Japanese accent (“*furendori:*” “*kanbase:shon*”), when she could use Japanese matching words. This was not only to animate the conversation but also to associate this utterance with racial difference, which is also clear by her use of the adverb “*yappari/yahari*” in line 12 and line 18. *Yahari* and its colloquial variant *yappari* are used to (re)confirm the coincidence between presuppositions (including social norms or what is thought to be common sense) and propositions (Hasunuma, 1998). The proposition here is Shoko’s husband’s utterance, while the presupposition is that Whites (the ingroup) do not share the same feelings as Asians being treated as the outgroup. Therefore, Shoko implied that her husband’s opinion was predictable due to his ascription as white, the group which will never be treated as racial “others,” unlike Asians. In lines 4, 13, and 14, Shoko and the interviewer switched their accent from Japanese to English to make a constructed dialogue. As Tannen suggested, hearers also contribute to constructed dialogue to show their understanding and involvement as interviewer did in line 13. Thus, in sequence, the constructed dialogue “Where are you from?” was firstly made by Shoko, secondly by the interviewer, and thirdly by Shoko, again. This constructed dialogue in turn and Shoko’s repetition of the interviewer’s utterance in line 14, including particles (“*-tte,*” “*-no,*” “*o*”) and a verb (“*yu:*”) highlight Shoko’s and the interviewer’s strong involvement in conversation (Kurokawa, 2006), supposedly because of their common racial background as Japanese. In other words, they engaged in constructing co-membership through common experience —“our” experience (Kushida, 2006). A similar construction was observed in the data of a second-generation Japanese American, Mao.

[Extract 2]

1. M: growing up here: in America where you're like a minority
2. A: hm
3. M: people might like(.)try to talk to you in Chinese I mean like ()
white () white people might try to talk to you in Chinese and [it's like
4. A: [ah yeah I know yeah
5. M: ok yeah I mean even Japanese like like I remember growing up(.)
being the mall and this white dude would like
6. A: ()like *konnichiwa* [()]@
7. M: [yeah exactly
8. A: @I know@
9. M: that's I mean [that's
10. A: [it's so annoying@
11. M: are they trying to be nice or whatever but obviously
12. A: uh
13. M: like just to try to display their power

This extract came after the interviewer's question about the experience of exclusion or discrimination. In line 3, Mao almost finished the sentence as "people might try to talk to you in Chinese," then self-repaired the subject "people" to "white people" (Sacks et al., 1977) and restated the whole sentence as "white people might try to talk to you in Chinese." Then, in line 6, the interviewer inserted the constructed dialogue "*konnichiwa*," to which Mao replied as "exactly" in line 7. This is also the case when the hearer supplies constructed dialogue to "illustrate an utterance type that is represented as occurring repeatedly" (Tannen, 2007: 113). As Mao's response in line 7 and the interviewer's expression of empathy in lines 8 and line 10 show, this extract is another example of co-membership construction in discourse (as language in use). Whereas Mao's (and partly Shoko's) discourse positioned white people as a subject of othering of Asians, the following extracts from Kacey indicate that not only white people but other racial groups, as well as Asians themselves, explicitly or implicitly treat Asians as "perpetual foreigners."

[Extract 3]

1. K: like I work with a lot of patients they always ask
2. A: um-hm
3. K: yah always ask especially
4. A: °hm°
5. K: the Asian patients who don't speak Eng↑lish
6. A: um-hm
7. (.)
8. K: Latino patients they ask so then I- I I I make sure I I know what they are asking but I want them to think about it
9. A: hmm
10. K: so sometimes I would say oh you mean like where- if you say where are you
really from then I say you mean my great great
11. A: @
12. K: grandpa↑rents(.)because I'm really from well I don' know my story is a
little bit
mixed but I'm from Tokyo and Los Angeles but [usually I would say Los Angeles
13. A: [hmm um-hm
14. K: hm
15. A: oh so you- were you born in ah
16. K: To[kyo
17. A: [To↑kyo
18. K: um-hm
19. A: ah and ah moved to the US just after:
20. K: umm [like when I was three and a half

21. A: [ah::three and a half uh-huh
 22. K: so I remember my cousins my American my *nikkei* cousins here
 23. A: um-[hm
 24. K: [or Los Angeles(.)I can remember that they were making fun of my English
 25. A: ahh rea[lly
 26. K: [I still have that memory
 27. A: uh-huh
 28. K: and you know feeling ashamed [I felt ashamed
 29. A: [hmm

Just like in Extract 1, the interviewer brought up the experience of being asked “Where are you (actually) from?” as an Asian before the beginning of Extract 3. In lines 10 and 11, the word “really” inserted in the sentence “Where are you from?” implies the fact that even when Asian Americans claim their belonging to American society, it is often questioned as they are not actually from the U.S. Kacey said that “Asian patients who don’t speak English” (line 5) and “Latino patients” (line 8) asked this type of question, indicating that Asians and Latinos also treat other Asians as an outgroup⁴. Although she was born in Japan (lines 12 and 16), she would say she is from Los Angeles if asked (line 12). As Kuroki (2012) argued, minorities survive by using their identity categories that activate their limited social resources. As such, Kacey can emphasize her national identity and origin in the U.S. by choosing Los Angeles as the city she was originally from. In a later part of the extract, Kacey revealed the memory of being scorned by her cousins due to her English skills at that time and of feeling ashamed. This discourse retroactively emphasizes the necessity of saying she is from Los Angeles.

Unlike previous extracts, Extract 4 is an example that shows the speaker’s internalized positioning of Asians as “foreigners.” Before the extract, Yoshiko told the interviewer that people always assume that she is Chinese only because she is Asian. In response to that, the interviewer asked her what she felt about living in the area with a large Asian population.

- [Extract 4]
1. Y: *nanka demo tabun [(h)amerika-jin(h)*
 Well but maybe Americans
 “well but, Americans”
2. A: [*un*
 yes
3. Y: *bakkari-no naka-ni jibun-tachi [dake yori-wa*
 Only among ourselves only rather than
 “rather than being among only (Americans)”
4. A: [*n:*
5. Y: *chotto anshin-kan @@*
 a bit feeling safe
 “(I) feel safe a bit”
6. A: a: [*sore-wa ari-masu-ne n:*
 That exist
 “(I) feel that”
7. Y: *nanka o onaji (.) setake*
 Well same stature
 “well, the same stature (as me)”
8. A: *n:*
9. Y: *onaji kao-no bunrui*
 Same face sort
 same sort of face (as me)”
10. A: *@@*

⁴ The reason why Kacey mentioned these two racial groups is presumably because of the demographic feature of the area of the workplace.

11. Y: *ga I iru ho:-ga chotto anshin*
Exist more a bit safe
“(I feel) a bit safer (other Asians) exist”

In the above extract, Yoshiko expressed how she felt safe living among a large Asian population rather than living among “only Americans” (in lines 1 and 3). “Americans,” in this utterance, apparently does not include Asians, as it is implied that they mutually exclude each other. Even though Yoshiko said she had a similar experience to Mao, as she was often lumped together with other races and ethnicities, she did not say that she had a problem with that or with being seen as uniformly “Asian.” Moreover, Yoshiko herself seemingly holds an identical view about Asians in lines 7 and 9, stating that Asians are a hardly distinguishable group, a discourse which was most blatantly seen in wartime propaganda. The fact that they published the tutorial so people could tell Chinese and Japanese individuals from each other indicates that both the Chinese and the Japanese were constructed as uniform “other.” On the other hand, in her discourse, Yoshiko said that the “similarity” of appearance among Asians gave her a feeling of safety. By doing so, Yoshiko reproduced the discourse that constructs Asians as stereotypical “others.” However, as Foucault (1976) recounted, discourse co-occurs with different strategies in different dimensions of society, and the same discourse appears in different ways. Unlike wartime propaganda, Yoshiko used the discourse of “monolithic Asian” with a relatively more positive nuance —the physical similarity makes her feel safe, and gives her more sense of belonging. At the same time, this reproduction still conveys the negative aspect of the discourse.

As a summary of this subsection, the discourse of othering Asian people is still shared in the Bay Area among various racial and ethnic groups. Even Asian people share and reproduce this discourse, but the appearance of this discourse can be different. In the next subsection, I will examine the political targeting of Asian people and how it affected Asian people through the interviewees’ discourse before the outbreak of COVID-19.

6. Discourse in politics: selected examples

In this subsection, I will examine the data interviewees talked about as regards the policy of President Trump and how it affected them. In Extract 5, Sadie and Erin talked about an incident involving Erin when she almost got hit by a car.

[Extract 5]

1. S: I never considered myself a minority other than being Japanese
2. (.)
3. S: I never even considered myself a person of color @@
4. A: ◦hmm◦
5. S: until
6. E: that’s because you grew up in ***(city name)=
7. S: =yes exactly
8. E: @@@
9. S: until the day after elections and she experienced(.)
10. E: [it was there
11. S: [the- the prejudice in ***
12. A: um-hm
13. S: and <that> shocked me because I realized(.)
14. E: it’s still there
15. S: early on because of- because of the Japanese people being put in
 internment camps
16. A: um-hm

17. S: just for looking(.)you know(.)because they- they were easily to identify they are Japanese
18. A: um-hm
19. S: and(.)because of that discrimination I knew when he started talking about the Muslims I thought this is wrong (h)I said(h) that(.)is just like the Japanese you know this could be happening
20. E: yeah registering Muslims
(...)
21. S: but I did not realize that this is wrong is what I was thinking but the day after elections (.)you tell it [yo- you tell the story
22. E: [I was walking her(.)our dog Dai↑sy
23. S: [in ***
24. A: [um-hm
25. E: [she’s much bigger than- and white
26. A: um-hm
27. E: she’s big and white and you could tell if she’s walking on the street because she’s white so I was I had the green light so I could cross
28. A: um-hm
29. E: so I was in crosswalk and I was like almost halfway and I saw this woman she was coming and she was going to make a left turn
30. A: um-hm
31. E: but I was already in the crosswalk so↑::
32. A: °>um-hm<°
33. E: she saw me and she looked at me and then she turned into me
34. A: oh no
35. S: [() the car
36. E: [so I had to pull back Daisy
37. A: oh no
38. S: my dog’s name is Daisy
39. (.)
40. S: [otherwise she would have [hit her with her car=
41. ?: [()
42. E: =she would she would have hit us
43. A: hit- [oh no
44. E: [yes yeah it was on purpose [and I don’t usually say ↑that
45. S: [()question
46. yeah
47. E: [I don’t usually say that
48. S: [()-
49. E: because I usually give the driver the benefit of the doubt I’d just say oh she was thinking about something else or she was just absentminded or she didn’t mean to do that I usually give them an [excuse
50. S: [yeah I know that [about her
51. E: [this one this one she looks directly at- she looked so full of hate and she (h)turned into me(h) I went woah woah
52. A: oh no:
53. S: so when she told me that it really hit me because I know that it’s the truth when she’s telling me that because I know that she doesn’t judge people and stuff
54. E: no [not in driving
55. S: [and and @@
56. E: not like you do @@@
57. S: yes in driving my () and get mad but for her to say that it made me realize(.)we are a target too I didn’t=
58. ?: =yeah
59. S: know that until then
60. A: [um-hm
61. S: [I didn’t realize(.)that we are minority and a person of color
62. and different [in that way where we would be targeted
63. E: [i- it’s coming out now

64. S: that was a shock to me
 (...)

65. E: so you know that- that [hatred is coming out

66. A: [that's awful

67. S: that anybody who is different

68. E: yeah [if you're not white

69. S: [tha- ()white

70. (.)

71. S: is a target

In lines 1 and line 3, Sadie revealed that she did not recognize herself as a “minority other than being Japanese” or a “person of color.” This recognition changed on the day after the election, when Erin had her incident. Turn-taking, as in lines 13-14 or lines 19-20, shows that Erin supports Sadie with structuring the discourse while Sadie has the floor (Edelsky, 1981, Hayashi and Hayashi, 1991, Cameron, 2001, etc.). Sadie and Erin co-constructed the discourse about the incident. Just after that, in line 57, Sadie got the floor back and summed up the story by saying that just after the election, she realized that she (and Erin) was a target of hate as she said in the first part of the extract. As well as this discourse describing the hate incident they faced, it also implies how political narratives affect a collective dimension of identity. As mentioned in Section 3, identity has a collectively constructed aspect. By referring to internment camps in line 15, Sadie made a connection between Erin’s story and their ancestors’ wartime experience, in which she foregrounded her collective identity as a Japanese American. Later in the extract, she referred to Muslims (line 19) and the similarity of their situation and that of Japanese Americans during wartime. By associating Muslims with Japanese Americans and positioning both of them as victims of America’s political agitation, Sadie represented herself as a member of a broader group —a person of color. In this process, Sadie and Erin successfully co-constructed their group identity as Asian or persons of color while pointing out how political affair affected not only them but also other racial and ethnic groups, thus associating others’ experiences with theirs.

The process of claiming group identity and demonstrating how political affairs affected their identity could also be seen in Shoko’s discourse. In Extract 6, Shoko described how she felt when she heard Trump (actually a person close to Trump) mention Japanese internment camps to legitimate Muslim registration.

[Extract 6]

1. S: *konaida tsui konaida toranpu-ga sono musurimurejisutore:shon*
 Recently just recently Trump well Muslim registration
 recently, just recently Trump, well, Muslim registration”

2. S: *suru-tte i-tta toki-ni*
 do say when “when (Trump) said (he) was going to do (Muslim registration)”

3. S: *Nikkei: amerikajin-no shu:yo:jo: o hanashi-o dashi-te ki-te*
 Japanese American internment camp story mention come
 “Japanese American’s internment camp, (he) mentioned”

4. A: *hai*
 “yes”

5. S: *rekishi-teki-ni kako-ni-mo rei-ga aru-tte yu:-fu:-na*
 Historically in the past instance exist like
 “historically (they) have precedent instance”

6. S: *koto-o i-tta toki-ni*
 Thing say when
 “when (he) said like that”

7. A: *hai*
 “yes”

8. S: *a: ja: honto-ni-ne son-toki-wa chotto mo: mi-omo-tte*

Well literally at that time well well myself with
 “well literally then, well, personally”

9. S: *zo:-tto shi-te sore-wa ano(.) haji hajimete anna kankaku*
 Terrified be that well the first time such feeling
 “(I was) terrified, that was the first time (I had) such a feeling”
10. S: *yappari dakara jibun-mo hen-na hanashi hanbun Nikkei amerikajin-ni*
 after all so me too weird story half Japanese American
 “so, then, me too, (it) sounds weird (but) half-Japanese American”
11. S: *na-tteru-n-da-na-tte sono toki-ni jibun-ga atakku sa-re-ta-tte*
 Became that time me attack was I am) getting (half-Japanese American), at that time I was attacked”
12. S: *honto-ni omo-tta-n-desu-yo*
 really thought (I) felt, honestly”

In line 3, Shoko referred to the internment camp and expressed her shock and empathy with the Japanese Americans when she heard Trump mentioning Japanese internment camps as a precedent of Muslim registration (actually it was Carl Higbie, a spokesperson for Great America PAC who said that). From line 8 to line 12, Shoko revealed that she felt it personally, as it seemed as though she was being attacked. In lines 10-11, Shoko said that she thought she had become “half-Japanese American” through this experience. In this discourse, she used the story of internment camps in a symbolic way to construct her identity as “half-Japanese American,” as this is the story shared among Japanese Americans whose ancestors experienced internment. In other data gathered by the author, Japanese American interviewees who are “new” generations (those who migrated to the U.S. after World War II) and Japanese long-term residents tended to be less empathetic or interested in the story of internment camps. Internment camps are thought to belong to experience of Japanese Americans, but of “older” generations (the generations migrated to the U.S. before World War II). However, in Shoko’s case, this made her aware of her identity as “half-Japanese American,” as it has a symbolic function as regards collective identity. In Shoko’s discourse, the story of Japanese internment camps play an important role in providing shared meaning (Schiff and Noy, 2006), as it functions as a specific meaning or a symbol shared between participants.

To sum up this subsection, Japanese and Japanese American interviewees told their story of how politics in the U.S. influenced their lives and identities. The data were collected in February (Sadie and Erin) and March (Shoko) 2017, just after Trump was elected. Both stories suggested that even before the pandemic happened, the systemic targeting of Asians (and other racial and ethnic groups) became a bigger issue after the election. It changed the way Asians saw themselves, their identity, and their lives. I would like to discuss this in the next section with reference to the current pandemic.

4. Discussion

In this section, I will go back to the research questions I set out in Section 3, then discuss how the issues highlighted in this paper are linked to the current hate incidents related to COVID-19. I believe that research question 1), to shed light on Asian Americans’ experiences and reveal the racism Asians are subjected to, was achieved by introducing the incidents reported by the interviewees. As regards research question 2), to examine how the discourse affects the identity and situation of Asians under a certain dominance, it was revealed that the othering of Asian Americans still continues, and that various racial and ethnic groups, including Asian people themselves, are subjects of this othering. Although it has been a long time since “Orientals” were renamed as “Asian Americans” in the civil rights movement, the stereotypical

assumption that Asians are a homogeneous group has not changed. This is stated in Mao's discourse and can also be affirmed by the author's similar experiences. However, some Asians, such as Yoshiko, embrace the homogeneous image as marker of solidarity. Other data on Japanese Americans clarified that some older Asian people even use the term "Oriental" as a positive marker of their solidarity and identity. However, the term is also widely shared as an inappropriate name for Asians. Findings from Subsection 4.1 show that the positioning of Asians as "perpetual foreigners" has also not changed and is still being used. Interviewees like Kacey and Shoko were aware of this discourse and explicitly opposed it, unlike Yoshiko, who has seemingly internalized this discourse and positioned Asians as non-American. At the same time, those interview data indicated how people in the U.S. position Asians as racial and ethnic "others." The data also indicated how Asian people position themselves and construct their identity, whether they internalize the othering or oppose it. By opposing the othering discourse, they claim their identity as American citizens and feel that they belong to society. What these data also showed is that Asians still experience traditional stereotypes against them and that they embed this discourse (as practices) into their discourse (as language in use), in which they position themselves and perform their identity. Another finding from Subsection 4.2 is that political discourse not only influenced individuals' lives, but also affected their self-identification. In a certain part of the interview not included in the extracts, Shoko stated that she had even shed tears of frustration when she heard that Japanese internment camps were legitimated by political figures. This story was repeated in the follow-up interview in 2019, where she explained how this had affected her emotionally. The Muslim registration legitimated by Japanese internment camps reproduced dominance over Asians too, not to mention Muslims. Sadie said it was the first time that she had seen herself as a target of hate when Erin experienced to the hate incident just after the election. This implies that not only does such negative self-recognition force minorities to live in fear, but it also discourages them as regards their social lives and reinforces the idea of dominance over them. In this regard, the next question is how those incidents and the political discourse links to the hate against Asians in relation to COVID -19.

Research question 3), analyze how discourse reproduces systemic violence against Asian Americans, and the story of Sadie and Erin exemplifies what happens when political leaders decide to scapegoat a specific race or ethnicity to distract the public from their own administrative wrongdoings. As mentioned in the Introduction, President Trump pointed the finger of the blame at Asians (especially Chinese people) for the pandemic, which triggered a large number of hate crimes against them. However, we have to bear in mind, as Gover et al. (2020) pointed out, that Trump using the terms like "Chinese virus" or "Kung flu" was not the start of Asians being exposed to hate. Anti-Asian hate existed before that, as well as the hate incidents motivated by it. Furthermore, the political discourse of othering and scapegoating Asians supposedly happened and was reconsolidated around the time of the election in 2016. This was then further reinforced at the start of the pandemic, as shown in Erin's story. The hate speech samples collected by Stop AAPI Hate contain many statements that are in line with traditional racist discourse. For example, denying Asian people's nativity or belonging to the U.S. (e.g., "Go back to your country") and denying their racial and ethnic diversity (e.g., treating any Asian person as Chinese). That is, the same discourses are reproduced and consolidated in response to social issues in different times. Considering that these discourses are at the root of violence, this needs to be taken more seriously. Not only do Asians have to combat the violence which arises from hate, they also struggle in the fight against the disease itself. Although the mortality rate from COVID-19 is lowest in Asians on a national scale,⁵ it

⁵ APM Research Lab: <https://www.apmresearchlab.org/covid/deaths-by-race>

is highest in San Francisco, where the Asian population makes up 36% of the total population.⁶ The reason for this can be explained by the language and cultural barriers (Nguyen, 2020), the difficulty in seeking help due to the fear of discrimination, and the “model minority” myth (della Cava, 2020). The model minority myth is the idea that all Asians are educationally and financially successful, which has led to society overlooking the Asian population in their struggle. As a result of this stereotypical view, Asians are barred from getting medical help and they receive less attention than other racial and ethnic groups (Chiu, 2020; della Cava, 2020). To stop this and to prevent further violence, we need to abandon the model minority myth and understand that Asians are actually in a vulnerable situation. It is not that history repeats itself, but that we are repeating it.

Conclusion

Through this paper, I examined the function of discourse in relation to hate and othering against Asian Americans. Data showed that Asian Americans have been under the influence of xenophobic discourses from wartime to today, and that the same xenophobic discourses are used for different purpose in different era and social context. As a result of the analysis, it can be seen that discourse as practices lead to the oppression and victimization of Asians, while discourse as language in use reveals this oppression and show how Asians express their identity. However, this research has limitations in terms of the racial and ethnic group it deals with, and it did not fully explore the function of discourse other than reproducing oppression. Further research is needed to include Asians other than Japanese, and to clarify the possibility of discourse as language in use to challenge oppressive discourse as practice.

Note: I have presented parts of Extract 5 and 6 in my Ph.D. thesis “Collective identity of sexual and ethnic minorities in intersectional discourse: For elucidation and social understanding of their multilayered-ness,” and a part of Extract 5 in EJHIB2019. I have since expanded the scope of my research and acquired additional data that has helped me to develop a new understanding of code-switching patterns.

Appendices

(.) micro pause	[overlap	() inaudible	= latching
@ laughter	↑tone rising	: prolonged sound	... omission of
lines			
(h) exhalation	◦ ◦ smaller voice	< > slower than other parts	
> < faster than other parts			

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⁶ U.S. Census: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/sanfranciscocountycalifornia,US/PST045219>

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Military Framing of Health Threats: The COVID-19 Disease as a Case Study

Sami Chatti⁷

Abstract

33

Military metaphors matter. In war as in peace, the language of warfare serves communicative purposes for it appeals to fear to persuade or dissuade. Given the analogy between the experience of disease and the enterprise of war, public health communication has often been receptive to the use of military jargon and war-related metaphors. The global outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic earlier this year evidenced the role and value of the warfare metaphor in framing the understanding of the novel infectious disease and informing pandemic response plans to this unprecedented and multifaceted crisis. The versatile function of the warfare metaphor poses, however, more problems than it solves. The paper explores the multiple correspondences between the source domain of war and the target domain of disease to explain the merits and limits of the warfare framing of the COVID-19 disease. It offers also an analysis of the collocational properties of the ‘coronavirus’ and ‘COVID-19’ lexemes to show the visceral relationship between treating diseases and waging wars. The fear-driven implications of such conceptual link motivate the use of alternative, hope-oriented metaphors to reframe the COVID-19 disease.

Keywords

War metaphor; Conceptual framing; Health communication; Covid-19

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Introduction

The illness experience is subjective in nature, with potentially dramatic repercussions on public health during epidemics and pandemics. The global outbreak of the novel coronavirus pandemic earlier this year announced an unprecedented public health crisis. In response to the emergency, world state leaders and health officials solemnly declared war on this invisible enemy. Lockdowns, confinement, social distancing, face mask wearing, massive testing, and active tracking of positive cases are just some of the restrictive measures implemented by governments worldwide to contain the spread of the deadly disease. To galvanize efforts and legitimate actions, political and medical authorities resorted to the warfare metaphor as a flagship of health crisis communication. Framing the COVID-19 disease in military terms raises, however, questions about its conceptual significance and communicative relevance. Fear-driven responses related to war imagery might evoke a distorted conception of the pandemic, negatively influencing prevention and treatment.

1. Metaphors We Heal By

Warfare references resonate clearly and consistently with the dynamic of business, politics, and medicine. For instance, the business-as-war frame holds that the means and methods of military conflict have some relevance to business conduct, particularly in the merger and acquisitions sector where aggression, conquest, and zero-sum outcomes are required and valorized. Political agendas, in particular, tend to resort to military rhetoric to inform policy diffusion strategies. President Johnson's war on poverty or Reagan's war on drugs emphatically capitalize on the engaging potential of the war frame to galvanize public support for policy change. Likewise, medical and healthcare communication regularly draws on the language of warfare to describe public health threats and elaborate appropriate responses to pandemic diseases and epidemic risks.

2. Role of metaphorical framing

The value of metaphor to communication lies in its potential to highlight salient features of an issue while deemphasizing or hiding less prominent aspects. This capacity to selectively voice certain elements and silence others generates biased perceptions of reality, attesting, therefore, to the pervasive role of metaphors in communication. Framing debating in terms of a boxing game, for instance, highlights the conflicting rivalries and enacts opposing strategies, whilst a tango dance framing would shift focus on mutual harmonies and collaborative synergies. Similarly, the trade-as-a-two-way-street frame promotes free trade, whereas the trade-as-war metaphor endorses protectionism and trade barriers (Robins and Mayer 2000). Further research found that thinking about relationships within the unity frame leads a person to focus on interpersonal conflicts, whilst the journey frame reflects more naturally the highs and lows of a relationship (Lee and Schwarz 2014). In the same vein, framing the country as a body encourages people to consider immigrants pathogens, leading to social rejection of immigration (Jia and Smith 2013).

Such perspective-changing function of metaphorical framing is empirically evidenced. Based on reader-response data, Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011; 2013) experimentally investigated, in two sets of studies, the effects of metaphorical framing on reasoning about crime. Framing criminality in terms of a beast or a virus resulted in divergent opinions about crime-solving. Their findings showed that the crime-as-a-beast frame triggers an overall tendency to law enforcement policies, whereas the crime-as-a-virus frame prompts a greater preference for social reform measures. The regularity of these framing effects led the authors to conclude that metaphors covertly influence thought. Pursuant to this reflection, the Chicago's crime prevention program opted for a plan to treat violence as a

contagious disease that requires the deployment of social workers to form a sanitary cordon that would prevent the escalation and propagation of violence (Kotlowitz 2008).

Reduplication of Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011)'s experiment on 28 Tunisian female students (aged 23-26) showed similar results⁸. Following the authors' method, participants were asked to read two Arabic version of a text on the crime problem and select appropriate solutions among a list of suggested measures. For the first group of participants, crime was metaphorically framed as a preying beast, and for the second group as an infectious virus. In line with expectations, fear from the beast tricked people into suggesting harsher police measures and stricter judicial policies, whereas concern for virus contagion led people to privilege the treatment of underlying causes of crime rather than its symptoms, and prefer social reform measures such as reducing poverty, fighting unemployment and improving education.

This consistency between metaphorical framing and policy preference failed, however, to showcase in a follow-up study to Thibodeau and Boroditsky, conducted by Steen and colleagues. In contrast to the original studies, Steen, et al. (2014) included the neutral frame 'crime is a problem' as a control condition to be contrasted with the two metaphorical frames 'crime is a beast' and 'crime is a virus'. Furthermore, the new study added two more experimental conditions which were not accounted for in the original studies, namely metaphorical support and topic exposure⁹. Results of this study led the authors to rule out the effect of metaphorical framing on reasoning, since participants expressed a clear preference for enforcement measures irrespective of metaphorical framing or metaphorical support. This exposure-related policy response finds evidence in several studies which draw parallels between media coverage of crime and people's fear of violence, resulting in consequent support for crime-fighting policies (Smolej and Kivivuori 2006; Custers and van den Bulck 2011; Goodall, et al. 2013).

Besides the arguable claim on the non-metaphoricity of the 'crime is a problem' frame and the ambiguity of some expressions used for metaphorical support like 'vulnerabilities', 'weakened', and 'succumbed', which could refer to both frames, Steen, et al. (2014)'s follow-up study seems to fall short on number of issues that it failed to notice in the original research, namely the relevance of the age, class, gender and race biases, as well as the role of participants' political sophistication and personality traits in the perception of criminality, and mostly the implications of implicit moral metaphors on decision-making and moral reasoning. Morally-valued words such as 'success/failure', 'maintain security', and 'decline', which were inadvertently used in both studies, seem to instantiate the Morality is Strength vs. Immorality is Weakness conceptual metaphors, in turn influencing moral judgment and emotional reasoning about crime (Mayer 2019). Drawing on further empirical evidences, Thibodeau and colleagues maintain the validity of their original premise that "natural language metaphors can affect the way we reason about complex problems" (2015: 2379).

From a neurocognitive perspective, metaphorical statements proved to be more memorable than their literal counterparts, particularly for their imageability (Marschark and Hunt 1985), leading, therefore, to better recall performance (Whitney, et al. 1996). Furthermore, empirical research showed that metaphors are more engaging, at the emotional level, than literal expressions. Several fMRI studies found that metaphorical stimuli trigger stronger emotional arousal compared to their literal counterparts and recruit regions involved in emotional processing, thus confirming the value of metaphor in emotional engagement (Citron, et al. 2020). This finding is further supported by recent

⁸ Participants were equally divided into two groups. The selection of female-only participants ensures more accurate, though gender-biased, data, given the tendency of Tunisian male youth to consider police action unproportionate and counter-productive due to past-decades of police brutality and abuse, during the recently ousted dictatorship regime, that targeted mainly male youth.

⁹Metaphorical support means existence of potentially metaphorical expressions throughout the text which may influence the reader, while topic exposure refers to the reading of crime-related materials before exposure to the metaphor.

behavioral research showing enhanced empathy in response to metaphorical language (Horton 2013), and accelerated heart rate responses to metaphorical translations compared to literal translations (Rojo, et al. 2014).

With emotional reasoning being prone to metaphorical framing, the use of affective metaphors proactively informs decision-making and problem-solving processes. Therefore, the crime-as-a-beast frame prompts a fear-based perspective to reason about crime, whilst the crime-as-a-virus frame shapes people’s perception of criminality from a hope-filled perspective. Accordingly, the former tends to neutralize the criminals through enforcement-oriented policies, and the latter aims to immunize the society through reform-oriented measures. The potential of metaphor to change perspective is further evidenced in literature. Deliberate Metaphor Theory (Steen 2015; 2017) builds on the value of metaphor in shifting focus and changing perspective to elucidate its use for communicative purposes.

The war frame, in particular, proves to be effective in grabbing people’s attention and motivating an audience to focus on the target problem. Studies showed that framing complex issues in terms of warfare makes them more memorable and enduring (Mirghani 2011). Flusberg and colleagues (2018) convincingly argue that war metaphors “draw on basic and widely shared schematic knowledge that efficiently structures our ability to reason and communicate (...), and reliably express an urgent, negatively valenced tone that captures attention and motivates action” (p. 1). In their recent study of the role of metaphorical framing in shaping attitudes, the authors found that people believe climate change is a more urgent and risky issue when it is described as an enemy in a war, rather than an opponent in a race (Flusberg, et al. 2017). In health communication, for instance, the description of flu as a hostile entity increases people’s willingness to get vaccinated (Scherer, et al. 2015), and brochures that frame the sunlight as an aversive entity increases people’s willingness to wear sunscreen (Landu, et al. 2018). Furthermore, the language of war tends to highlight the threat that diseases pose to public health, and, as a result, leads to increased funding for medical research (Petsko 2001).

3. Relevance of the MEDICINE IS A BATTLEFIELD metaphor

The history of diseases is intertwined with the chronicles of wars, and the trajectory of many epidemics converged with the routes of warfare. As soldiers crossed the borders, diseases circled the globe, travelling the highways and sailing the high waters. Ancient and modern soldiers often brandished their weapons on the battlefield, along with invisible pathogens and invasive diseases. Thucydides’ narrative of the plague of Athens that hit the city shortly after the beginning of the second Peloponnesian War contextualizes the disease in the wider dynamics of a hegemonic war. His account of the Athenian double-misfortune seals the nexus between disease and war and leads to fear and expectation of one in the presence of the other.

Many centuries later, the European conquistadors brought to the New World deadly diseases that conquered the Amerindians before the sword could be unsheathed. Modern history is equally replete with stories of wartime epidemics that provide a cautionary tale about the power of disease to decide the fate of war. During the Great War, the severe and crowded conditions of life in trenches provided fertile soil for the spread of war diseases across Europe – notably typhus, typhoid, dysentery, cholera, and influenza. The virulent flu virus, in particular, joined forces with war machinery to claim millions of lives throughout the continent. Unofficial medical records showed that the influenza pandemic killed more men in few months than did firearms in four years (Byerly 2010).

Diseases as lethal weapons further entrench the visceral relationship between viruses and wars in the collective imagery, and inform the use of the language of war to talk about health risks. Lexical representations such as ‘the national sanitary defense’, ‘a vaccination campaign’, or ‘the white-collar

army' explicitly reflect on these conceptual parallels between the medical field and the military field. In addition, hospitals resemble barracks, medical scrubs mirror military uniforms, and the physicians' Hippocratic oath evokes the soldiers' enlistment oath. In war as in peace, the mission of physicians remains the same, and the experiences of wartime caregivers have also had an undeniable impact on civilian practices, further fostering the synergy between medical and military healthcare services and protocols (Byerly 2010).

The use of the warfare metaphor in medicine evokes an affordable, ready-made war scenario that draws upon powerful elements of the individual and collective imagery to inform the common understanding of sickness and health: Germs attack the body and weaken its defenses. To neutralize these invading organisms, medical professionals conduct a battery of tests, devise a treatment protocol, and prescribe pharmaceutical bullets to defeat the disease and save the patient's life. This battlefield construct is often evoked to conceptualize the understanding of virulent diseases such as cancer: Malicious cells 'invade' surrounding healthy tissue, 'attack' the body's natural 'defenses', and 'destroy' the immune system. Equally-relevant is the description of radio and chemotherapy treatment in terms of military aerial strikes: Patients are 'bombarded' with toxic rays to 'kill' cancerous cells without, it is hoped, causing fatal 'collateral damage' to healthy cells.

The warfare imagery is even more persistent in the event of new epidemics or pandemics which threaten public health and require urgent, large-scale responses. As the drums of war grow louder, the society as a whole stands shoulder to shoulder with its medical community and public authority to face and fight the common, invisible enemy. Just as no sacrifice is excessive in time of war, expenditure and coercive measures are no longer policy concerns during a pandemic threat. It's no coincidence that the allocation of medical resources under conditions of shortage is phrased in military terms that connote urgency and necessity. For instance, the triage mechanism informs the distribution and rationing of medication and equipment according to the severity of the patients' conditions: the younger the patient and more likely to recover, the worthier of treatment and care. This utilitarian priority setting criterion is ethically ambiguous, however, as it involves some preferential treatment based on a tradeoff between cost-effectiveness and social worth. This selective prioritization strategy extends to the healthcare approach as the warfare metaphor tends to assign preference to critical care over preventive care, and to neglect palliative care when cure is not or no longer possible (Beauchamp and Childress 2001).

Furthermore, medical personal tends to use the fear of illness to foster acceptance of long and painful treatments. In the same vein, public authorities may exploit the anxiety contagious diseases feed and sustain to enforce obedience to the restrictive measures deemed necessary to contain the contagion. In time of crisis, the language of war may blur the fine-line that separates necessary measures to protect public health from excessive violations of individual rights and liberties. The global outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic is illustrative of the use of the warfare metaphor to legitimate restrictive measures and enact coercive procedures in the name of public health interest. The next section will show that the warfare metaphor is limited and limiting, as it may curtail the society's ability to address the threat posed by the global coronavirus pandemic.

4. Lexical phrasing and metaphorical framing of the COVID-19 disease

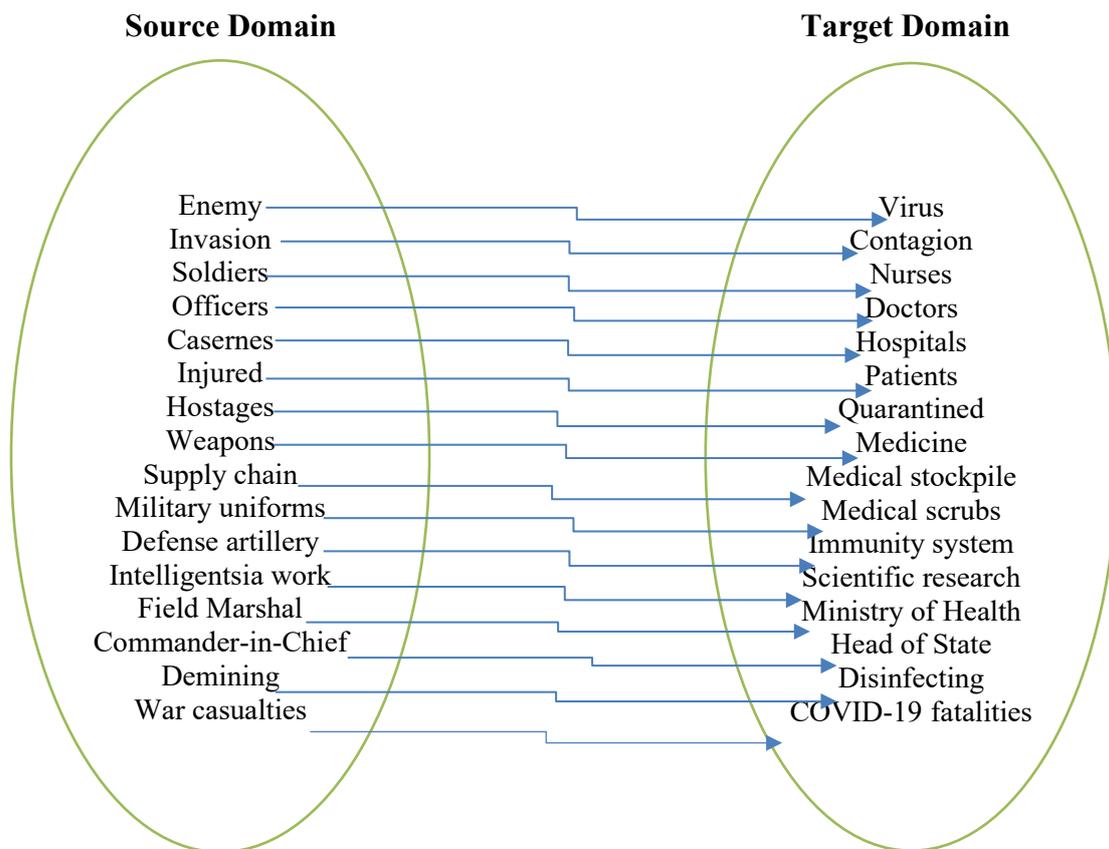
The prevalence of the warfare metaphor in the description of the coronavirus pandemic evokes deep-seated parallels between medical treatment and military effort. Governments, public health agencies and the media around the world resorted to military metaphors to describe this invisible enemy and galvanize effort to fight and beat the ravaging beast. From the early days of the pandemic, the 'white coat army' of doctors, nurses and health specialists has become one of the most active 'frontline forces' in the global fight against the coronavirus. Ministers of Health, commonly called 'war

generals’, are meeting daily in ‘war cabinets’ with medical advisors and experts to monitor the health situation and define strategies and policies to contain the spread of the virus and flatten the curve of infections. From this perspective, the warfare metaphor elaborates cross-domain mapping between fighting wars and combating diseases that commonly informs the understanding of the health pandemic.

5. Conceptual framing and collocational analysis of the COVID-19 disease

Pandemics are psychosomatic experiences that establish dynamic relationships between disease agents, methods of infection, and individual bodies. To make sense of these complex interactions, people resort to metaphor as a basic cognitive structure capable of translating this complexity in simpler, more intelligible terms. The warfare metaphor captures the multi-correspondences between the just-war source domain and the infectious disease target domain to project knowledge of the war enterprise onto the disease scheme. As a result, inferences about the novel coronavirus pandemic are generated based on stored information about the war phenomenon. The value of this cross-domain mapping lies in selecting background knowledge about a common situation to serve as a vehicle for facilitating understanding of a novel and complex situation.

Fig. 1. Cross-domain mapping of war onto disease



Source: Self-generated.

These multiple cross-domain correspondences between the warfare experience and the warfare enterprise seem to inform the understanding of the COVID-19 disease. Analysis of the phraseological

and collocational patterning of the ‘coronavirus’ and ‘COVID-19’ lexemes offers insightful reflections on the framing of the global pandemic. Empirical data from the coronavirus corpus, which counts 438 million words, collected between January and June 2020, show high frequency of military terms co-occurring with the ‘coronavirus’ and the ‘COVID-19’ lemmas. Collocational analysis of the top 20 most frequently-used verbs to appear within 4 words of the lemma ‘coronavirus’ ranks FIGHT in the 7th place with 10149 hits, together with a relatively high frequency of its synonyms COMBAT, BATTLE, and HIT, ranked in the 12th, 17th and 19th place respectively. Top collocates for the ‘COVID-19’ lemma show similar tendency, with the synonym set of FIGHT frequently co-occurring with the word ‘COVID-19’, and totaling 28514 hits (Tables 1 and 2, below). War-related nouns dominate also the nominal phraseology of these two lemmas, with the word ‘fight’ ranked 9th in the lexical environment of ‘coronavirus’ and 12th within the 4 words range of the word ‘COVID-19’ (Tables 3 and 4, below). These collocational properties are in line with findings from the COCA corpus, which lists FIGHT and BATTLE in the top ten verbs to appear within 4 words to the left of the word CANCER (Hauser and Schwarz 2015).

Table 1. Verbal Collocates of ‘Coronavirus’. Table 2. Verbal collocates of ‘COVID-19’

HELP	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONTEXT	FREQ		HELP	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONTEXT	FREQ	
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	[TEST]	39993		1	<input type="checkbox"/>	[TEST]	51575	
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CAUSE]	15084		2	<input type="checkbox"/>	[DIE]	17998	
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	[DIE]	13359		3	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CAUSE]	13347	
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	[SAY]	11505		4	<input type="checkbox"/>	[SAY]	12528	
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	[REPORT]	10832		5	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CONFIRM]	12291	
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	[INFECT]	10501		6	<input type="checkbox"/>	[REPORT]	11116	
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	[FIGHT]	10149		7	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RELATE]	10718	
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CONTAIN]	8703		8	<input type="checkbox"/>	[PREVENT]	10189	
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	[GET]	7986		9	<input type="checkbox"/>	[TREAT]	9730	
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	[PREVENT]	7239		10	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CONTRACT]	9724	
11	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CONTRACT]	6978		11	<input type="checkbox"/>	[FIGHT]	9477	
12	<input type="checkbox"/>	[COMBAT]	6440		12	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CONTAIN]	7817	
13	<input type="checkbox"/>	[AFFECT]	6375		13	<input type="checkbox"/>	[AFFECT]	7560	
14	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RELATE]	5950		14	<input type="checkbox"/>	[GET]	6861	
15	<input type="checkbox"/>	[HELP]	5443		15	<input type="checkbox"/>	[COMBAT]	6637	
16	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CONFIRM]	5408		16	<input type="checkbox"/>	[DIAGNOSE]	6509	

Source: Self-generated.

Table 3. Nominal collocates of ‘coronavirus’. Table 4. Nominal collocates of ‘COVID-19’

HELP	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONTEXT	FREQ		HELP	<input type="checkbox"/>	CONTEXT	FREQ	
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	[SPREAD]	74139		1	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CASE]	54420	
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CASE]	43165		2	<input type="checkbox"/>	[SPREAD]	53602	
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	[NUMBER]	20009		3	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CORONAVIRUS]	42884	
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	[IMPACT]	17181		4	<input type="checkbox"/>	[IMPACT]	29036	
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	[OUTBREAK]	14765		5	<input type="checkbox"/>	[NUMBER]	22439	
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	[PEOPLE]	14341		6	<input type="checkbox"/>	[DISEASE]	19715	
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RESPONSE]	11885		7	<input type="checkbox"/>	[PEOPLE]	16022	
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	[DEATH]	10527		8	<input type="checkbox"/>	[DEATH]	15824	
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	[FIGHT]	8090		9	<input type="checkbox"/>	[PATIENT]	11855	
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	[COUNTRY]	6930		10	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RESPONSE]	11636	
11	<input type="checkbox"/>	[CONCERN]	6844		11	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RISK]	11601	
12	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RISK]	6720		12	<input type="checkbox"/>	[FIGHT]	11326	
13	<input type="checkbox"/>	[TIME]	6534		13	<input type="checkbox"/>	[SYMPTOM]	10053	
14	<input type="checkbox"/>	[WAKE]	6423		14	<input type="checkbox"/>	[OUTBREAK]	10032	
15	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RESULT]	6133		15	<input type="checkbox"/>	[RESULT]	9662	
16	<input type="checkbox"/>	[SYMPTOM]	6009		16	<input type="checkbox"/>	[HEALTH]	8689	

Source: Self-generated.

6. Conceptual framing and collocational analysis of the COVID-19 disease

The jargon of warfare echoes a crisis-centered political rhetoric that established war-time metanarrative to legitimate governmental response to the unprecedented public health threat. In France, President Emanuel Macron solemnly declared war against the coronavirus, before claiming, three months later, “first victory” over the dreadful disease as France enters the ‘green zone’ of lower risk state. In Britain, Queen Elizabeth II addressed the nation in a vibrant speech that recalls the ‘stand-alone’ moment of 1940, urging the British to embrace a new age of sacrifice, resilience and collective endeavor. In the United States, President Trump pronounced himself ‘a wartime president’ combating a ‘foreign threat’. The Chinese leader, Xi Jinping has also declared a “people’s war” to defeat the coronavirus. In Tunisia, the freshly appointed head of government, Elyes Fakhfakh, declared the country on “a state of war against the coronavirus” ten days after he took office. His Minister of Health axed the sanitary strategy on “cutting the supply lines of the virus”, through the implementation of confinement and social distancing measures.

The communicative effects of this war framing are visible and impactful. Rounds of applause are ringing out in many locked-down cities throughout the world, and social media is being flooded with messages of support to health heroes for putting their own lives at risk to help others. In research laboratories, funds are pouring in to help scientists in their race against the clock to find a cure or a

vaccine to repel the invading pathogen. To ease the burden on social workers, young people volunteer to deliver food and medication to the needy elderly. Traditional and social media joined forces to share critical and reliable information on preventive and protective measures to reduce the risk of contagion. Powerful hashtags like – #StayHomeSaveLives; #StopTheSpread; #QuarantineLife; #FlattenTheCurve; #Masks4All – were endorsed by social media influencers to engage the public in the fight to flatten the curve.

War comes with a price, though. Winning the lexical battle is only the first step in a long and tedious journey. Words translate into actions, and so did this war of words which soon unfolded into military-like campaigns to contain the spread of the virus. Restrictive measures to reduce social contact and limit physical mobility have been enacted, including social distancing, large-scale confinement, quarantine protocols, mass testing and contact tracking programs, and complete lockdown of entire cities and countries. To enforce these strict measures, security forces – the police and the military – were granted extensive powers. Many countries declared the state of emergency and adopted the rule-by-decrees mode of governance to respond to the exceptional health crisis situation. Heavy fines and prison sanctions were introduced to punish violations of the restrictive measures on the freedom of movement and the failure to wear a face mask. Location tracking, contact tracing and big data analysis measures were developed and implemented with no or little consideration for their impact on privacy and data protection standards. In this regard, the warfare metaphor reveals to be questionable as it arouses fear and exaggerates the health threat in order to secure a willy-nilly acceptance of painful sacrifices.

In the course of war, fear is often used as a way to distort reality and break the will of the opponent. This strategic tactic may backfire, however, when it comes to fighting viral and bacterial enemies. Research on emotional distress proved that negative feelings are demoralizing and demotivating for the patients. Reflecting on her own battle to fight cancer, Sontag (1979), for instance, strongly warned against the demonization of diseases as dreadful enemies for it stigmatizes patients and influences their coping abilities, in turn affecting recovery. Furthermore, the warfare metaphor tends to increase the perceived difficulty of treatment, leading patients to feel guilty (Hendricks et al. 2018), disempowered (Semino, et al. 2017), and even accept fatalistic beliefs (Hauser and Schwarz 2019). Also, the linguistic exaggeration of a health risk without offering an efficient solution could suggest defeat as a potential outcome of a battle, blaming, in the filigree, the patient for partial or non-recovery (Granger 2014).

From this perspective, military framing of health crises poses more problems than it solves. Indeed, the language of war reflects a fearful description of treatment, affecting negatively people's receptiveness of health information (Hauser and Schwarz 2015). Fear appeals for Aids/HIV disease, for instance, enhance risk perception but decrease prevention behavior (Earl and Albarracin 2007). Similar studies showed that people who conceptualized their struggle with cancer as a battle experienced increased anxiety and depression during treatment, compared to those who conceived it as a journey (Degner, et al. 2003). These findings gain further importance in the context of the novel coronavirus pandemic, during which military jargon eclipsed medical terminology. Not only the warfare metaphor unnecessarily exaggerates a health risk, but also, and mainly so, neglects equally-important aspects of the global pandemic such as the effects of confinement and social distancing on the population (Wicke and Bolognesi 2020). These limitations of the warfare metaphor motivate the need for a plethora of metaphors to inform the communication of various aspects involved in the current pandemic. In this respect, the project to reframe COVID-19 in non-war-related metaphors, launched by Veronika Koller and Elena Semino in April 2020, aims to generate hope-oriented tropes as relevant alternatives for the fear-axed warfare metaphor. To-date, the initiative cumulated 339 contributions in 27 languages and 55 visuals, which select SPORTS as the dominant alternative metaphor to frame the COVID-19 disease. The hope-driven dimension of the sports domain, as

opposed to the fear-related effect of the war domain, may reveal to be a more suitable framing for public health communication about the COVID-19 disease.

Conclusion

The image of war informs morality with its bipolar oscillation between two opposing narratives: One that embraces the triumph of the self over an evil enemy, and another that mourns the loss and suffering of innocent civilians caught in the crossfires. To weave a positive moral memory of warfare, a just cause condition (*jus ad bellum*) needs to be fulfilled in order to legitimize the use of weapons and feature war as a necessary, rule-governed enterprise rather than a random murder mission. This positive just war imagery upholds the moral limitation of war and transcends the scope of military metaphors.

The prevalent use of the warfare metaphor to articulate what's at stake amid the outbreak of the novel coronavirus pandemic reflects an understanding of health risks in terms of military threats. The existence of multiple correspondences between the source domain of war and the target domain of disease attests to the significance of the warfare enterprise to inform the welfare experience. Fear of war, however, unnecessarily exaggerates a health risk, but paradoxically euphemizes death as an acceptable loss. Given its limited and limiting effects, the warfare metaphor fails to account for the imperative of hope that triggers recovery and resilience. Healthcare communication needs, therefore, to reframe the pandemic within hope-oriented frames that evokes the optimistic race for an affordable and effective vaccine to the disease. Sports metaphors, which highlight victory without dramatizing defeat, constitutes an alternative way to frame the COVID-19 disease.

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Klétaj ak Pwofitasyon Réflexion sur les agentivités discursives au temps du Covid en Guadeloupe postcoloniale

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Abstract in English

In this essay, we try to shed light on the social, political and cultural movement that manifests itself in times of crisis in Guadeloupe; especially in the context of this Covid-19 epidemic. Through this phenomenology of the epidemic in a colonized country, it is about highlighting the language practices and defense behaviors of a population regularly and traditionally subalternized and infantilized by the regal power, which censored people and was paternalistic. In the Covid context, it is visible that remained of the colonial reflexes is reinforced, and even more so in this critical context where the pretext of national security allows all abuses, including repressions. We will go through the discursive mores of Guadeloupeans by establishing a comparison between the 44-day strike and the health crisis, through the tropisms that are emerging.

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Abstract in French

Dans cet essai, nous tentons de faire la lumière sur la geste sociale, politique et culturelle qui se manifeste en temps de crise à la Guadeloupe; notamment dans le cadre de cette épidémie du Covid-19. À travers cette phénoménologie de l'épidémie en pays colonisé, il s'agit de mettre en exergue les pratiques de langues et les comportements de défense d'une population régulièrement et traditionnellement subalternisée et infantilisée par le pouvoir régalien, censeur et paternaliste. Dans le contexte Covid, il est évident que les réflexes coloniaux s'en retrouvent renforcés, et plus encore dans ce contexte critique où le prétexte de la sécurité nationale permet tous les abus, y compris la répression. Nous traverserons les mœurs discursives des Guadeloupéens en établissant une comparaison entre la grève des 44 jours et la crise sanitaire, par les tropismes qui se font jour.

Keywords in English

Confinement; neocolonialism; Covid 19; tropisms; languages.

Keywords in French

Confinement; néocolonialisme; Covid19; tropismes; langages

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Introduction

Dans cet essai, nous tentons de faire la lumière sur la geste sociale, politique et culturelle qui se manifeste en temps de crise à la Guadeloupe; et plus particulièrement dans le cadre de cette épidémie du Covid-19. À travers cette phénoménologie de l'épidémie en pays colonisé, il s'agit de mettre en exergue les pratiques de langues et les stratégies de défense d'une population régulièrement et traditionnellement subalternisée et infantilisée par le pouvoir régalien, censeur et paternaliste. Dans le contexte Covid, il est évident que les réflexes coloniaux s'en retrouvent renforcés, et plus encore dans ce contexte critique où la sécurité nationale apparaît aux yeux de la population, comme un prétexte permettant tous les abus (à son encontre), y compris la répression. À mesure que sera développé cet essai, il sera notable combien l'empreinte de l'histoire coloniale contribue à scléroser la vindicte d'une population majoritairement afrodescendante contre un appareil étatique perçu comme étranger¹¹.

Pwofitasyon et *Klétaj* sont deux mots fondamentaux qui ont scellé dans la conscience collective guadeloupéenne, la subalternisation et le paternalisme systémiques du Gouvernement français à l'égard des Territoires outremer. Dans deux contextes de crise distincts, deux termes qui émergent de la langue créole, également minorisée, pour scléroser la problématique de domination qui affecte la population endogène. L'utilisation du créole relève d'une agentivité, maintenant décennale, qui souligne la nécessaire volonté de singulariser l'identité guadeloupéenne, les spécificités du territoire et, surtout, l'autodétermination d'un peuple en devenir. Frantz Succab¹², écrivain, journaliste et militant nationaliste — intellectuel déterminant dans le paysage littéraire et politique guadeloupéen — signe, en 2009, un ouvrage collectif « Qui ne connaît pas Monsieur Domota ? » avec trois autres intellectuels dans lequel il écrit :

“Ce n'est pas une volonté de renouer avec une identité culturelle originelle. C'est, au contraire, la réclamation d'un droit de disposer de soi-même : devenir ce qu'on se tue à être et qui nous est interdit. C'est l'affirmation continue d'une humanité singulière qui, contre l'animalisation systématisée par des siècles d'esclavage, dont l'assimilation n'est ici que le subtil corollaire, a défriché un terrain culturel différent, constitué de nombreuses poches de résistance, afin de marquer sur un territoire non choisi la présence de l'homme : une langue, des musiques, un imaginaire, etc...” (Frantz Succab, 2009 : 76)

Ces quelques lignes empruntées à Succab nous permettent un détour mettant au jour la singularité du schème anticolonial guadeloupéen dans le contexte plus large des rapports oppositionnels des minorités ethnolinguistiques des territoires français, ou plutôt francisés (culturellement, et linguistiquement). Lorsqu'il énonce ces phrases, Succab aborde la marque distinctive du créole, au-delà des régionalismes de l'Hexagone, comme arme anticoloniale dans un arsenal investi pour décoloniser et internationaliser les relations d'avec la nation phagocytaire. Ainsi les termes susmentionnés — *Klétaj* ak (et) *Pwofitasyon* — s'en trouvent chargés d'une valeur nationaliste, démontrant une appropriation nationalisée des faits socio-historiques à l'œuvre.

¹¹ Française : ici, ce terme, bien que renvoyant à une nationalité partagée entre les Hexagonaux (donc les habitants de la France métropolitaine) et les ultramarins, et plus spécifiquement les afrodescendants.e.s.

¹² Frantz Succab est un écrivain, dramaturge, journaliste, pamphlétaire et intellectuel guadeloupéen. Très tôt, il milite pour l'émancipation de la Guadeloupe, particulièrement au travers de ses écrits journalistiques-patriotiques. Il fut fondateur et / ou contributeur à de nombreux organes de presses nationalistes et anticolonialistes. Étudiant en Métropole (ancienne appellation de la France hexagonale, connotée coloniale). Utilisée sciemment ici pour recontextualiser, il dirige le *journal de l'AGEG* (Association Générale des Étudiants Guadeloupéens). De 1977 à 1988, il est directeur du mensuel patriotique *Jakarta*, puis il contribue le journal *Lendépendans* de l'UPLG (Union Populaire pour la Libération de la Guadeloupe). Il continuera toujours de prôner l'idée d'un journalisme affranchi de toute pression étatique, en l'occurrence de toute pression gouvernementale française. Il crée en 2002 le journal de critique et de chronique socialopolitique, le *Mot-phrasé* ou *Mofwazé* (de son titre créole).

Pwofitasyon renvoie à la situation monopolistique béké de l'économie Guadeloupéenne, et par définition, des marchés et des réseaux de distribution, phagocytant le développement des autres entreprises du territoire. La notion de *Pwofitasyon* apparaît avec l'appellation LKP¹³ ou *Lyannaj Kont Pwofitasyon*, ce collectif agrégat d'une cinquantaine de syndicats, associations culturelles et mouvements politiques alliés pour présenter un socle commun de revendications à l'État Français et au patronat pour mettre fin à l'exploitation outrancière des travailleurs guadeloupéens — fait référence à "la vie chère" et l'exploitation outrancière (surtaxes des produits de consommation, avec l'octroi de mer notamment) et à la reproduction des classes phénotypico-sociales, strates héritées de la plantation. D'ailleurs, le pouvoir évocateur du terme conduisit à son emprunt et sa gallicisation (*profitation*) par les mouvements sociaux sur le territoire français hexagonal. Il est remarquable que l'exposition médiatique de la Grève des 44 jours — de la révolution guadeloupéenne, d'aucuns diraient — a favorisé une nationalisation — voire une internationalisation — des luttes, avec pour corollaire la nationalisation d'une terminologie née sur le sol colonial (la dynamique d'emprunt ou d'assimilation se produisant dans le sens contraire, soit de l'Hexagone vers les territoires outre-mers). Moussaoui rapporte dans "Qui ne connaît pas Monsieur Domota ?" (2009):

"En témoigne le succès rencontré par le terme créole de *pwofitasyon*, vite exporté et "francisé" en *profitation*. Cette notion, expose la dramaturge et poétesse Gerty Dambury, recouvre "la pérennisation d'un système de domination d'une caste sur le plus grand nombre — à savoir, osons le mot: le peuple". Terme sans équivalent dans la langue française, mais parfaitement compris et repris parce qu'il cristallise la contestation d'un système dans sa globalité par le simple fait de le nommer. Nul doute que cette expression forgée dans un contexte colonial recèle une dimension universelle" (Moussaoui, 2009: 30).

Le terme *Klétaj*, quant à lui, résulte d'un phénomène inverse. Il apparaît durant l'épidémie du Covid-19 en Guadeloupe par le truchement d'un processus de glocalisation¹⁴ (adaptation d'un phénomène au territoire où il s'inscrit, notamment, en l'occurrence son appellation). Le confinement est un phénomène globalisé — c'est une pandémie mondiale —, qui ramené à l'échelle humaine guadeloupéenne, est alors adapté au milieu et à la culture. La langue générée par les émotions est naturellement, voire instinctivement, le créole. Le terme *Klétaj* — construit à partir du mot créole *klé* signifiant *clé* en français, tout à fait transparent, auquel on ajoute le suffixe [-aj], également transparent puisque simple transposition créole du graphème français [-age] — renvoie donc à l'idée d'un verrouillage du corps. Le Guadeloupéen se saisissant du phénomène et s'en appropriant l'expérience va donc remplacer l'inusité par un créolisation du concept de 'confinement', par un mot à la sonorité locale et politiquement viable pour traduire l'expérience des insulaires de l'archipel. Il est à noter que le terme *confinement* est aussi simplement traduit par une utilisation à la consonance créole *konfinman* dans le parler créole familier, très usité dans les échanges familiers et quotidiens. Par ailleurs, il fut intéressant que la crise sanitaire, ainsi que la quarantaine et le confinement corollaire qui en ont découlé, fassent ressurgir le souvenir des encasernés : dans le cadre d'une collaboration sur un projet scolaire, nous fut rapporté l'histoire de la dénomination du projet « Mémwa Kazèné » mené avec des classes du primaire au collège. Le

13 LKP : Lyannaj Kont Pwofitasyon ou Collectif contre l'Exploitation Outrancière). Ce collectif d'une cinquantaine de syndicats, associations culturelles (Voukoum, Kamodjaka, etc). et de mouvements politiques ont présenté un socle commun de 120 propositions pour lutter contre l'exploitation outrancière. La Guadeloupe et la Martinique étaient en grève de janvier à février 2009.

14 Néologisme anglais formé du mot-valise « Globalisation » et localisation désignant l'adaptation spécifique d'un produit ou d'un service – et in extenso d'un phénomène – au lieu où il est vendu ou déployé, et à chacune des cultures à laquelle il est adressé. Que le terme soit utilisé dans le domaine du commerce, dans les champs de la sociologie ou de la science politique, il désigne un processus d'interdépendance et de tissage structuro-fonctionnel dans l'adaptation d'un phénomène d'une échelle globale sur ou dans un ensemble culturel supposément minoritaire, tout au moins investi.

mot *Kazèné* était donc utilisé par les conscrits au service militaire qui résidaient dans la caserne, notamment au Camp Jacob à Saint-Claude. La poésie de la mémoire est également à l’œuvre durant cette crise sanitaire qui déclenche des réflexes mnémoniques et/ou des comparaisons empiriques de l’ordre de la revue chronologique des expériences passées afin de mesurer l’impact traumatique de cette phobie de la contagion. L’épidémie de SIDA même ne semble pas avoir impactée la population franco-caribéenne avec autant de profondeur. Ce serait même le contraire qu’il nous faudra démontrer en premier lieu.

Ce développement étymologique et sémantique nous permet de mettre en lumière la relation non plus seulement linguistique entre les deux termes, mais également leur lien empirique. En effet, *Klétaj* et *Pwofitasyon* sont deux termes connexes: ils constituent un nexus (soit une jonction, une connexion) où se croisent toutes les problématiques phénotypico-sociales et politiques qui résultent du contexte colonial. En somme, questionner les discours qui prévalent en relation avec l’épidémie de coronavirus en Guadeloupe, c’est se voir opposer une réponse systématique, voire systémique: l’irrévocable et inaliénable colonialité exacerbée par les effets de l’autoritarisme d’État qui s’infiltré, insidieusement, dans le quotidien des habitant.e.s des outremer. Nous traverserons les habitus discursifs et les agentivités des Guadeloupéens dans l’adversité coloniale. En établissant les contextes épidémiques et sociohistoriques de la zone de la Caraïbe francophone, seront mis en relief quelques tropismes archétypaux (de part et d’autre de la frontière phénotypico-sociale) pour élaborer une dialectique sociolinguistique de la gestion de la crise en société postcoloniale. Enfin, il sera idoine de conclure sur une synthèse de la situation covidienne en Guadeloupe, ou d’un Apartheid tropical élusif.

1. Contextes: Épidémies, Systèmes de Santé et Colonialisme

Planter le contexte nous permet de nous plonger dans un décor sociohistorique qui a auguré de l’impréparation de la France face à cette épidémie de Covid. Il y eut le changement de paradigme médical et institutionnel qui a classé l’occurrence d’une pandémie dans des dossiers poussiéreux, mais aussi l’idée héritée de la perception négative du corps noir, érigeant en théorème indiscutable la pandémie comme phénomène indexé, de manière discriminatoire, au niveau de développement économique et social. Afin de cadrer notre démonstration, il semblait impertinent de ne pas, tout d’abord, se poser la question des contextes. Qu’est-ce qu’une épidémie? Qu’est-ce que cela implique en termes géopolitiques et culturels? Ou encore comment raisonne-t-on le phénomène épidémique aujourd’hui? Quel est l’état du système sanitaire et médical en Guadeloupe? Quels sont les moyens de lutte à disposition de la Guadeloupe et en lien avec le système de santé français global? Répondre à ces questions est plus que pertinent pour matérialiser les circonstances géostratégiques du traitement de la crise en Guadeloupe dans un contexte dit néocolonial. Il s’agit de mettre en lumière une obsolescence induite des savoirs en matière de gestion épidémique en France, les iniquités créées par et dans le système médical français et, transversalement, la substantialisation d’une colonialité dans l’abord du corps noir pathologiques et historiquement pathologisés.

En ce vingt-et-unième siècle, il faut croire que l’épidémie est devenue dans les esprits occidentaux un phénomène marginal, dans les deux sens du terme. C’est donc à la fois devenu un phénomène qui ne concerne a priori plus leurs territoires civilisés et modernes, et dans un second temps, c’est un phénomène qui ne toucherait que certaines populations dites marginales, catégorisées comme extérieures ou antérieures quant à leur stade de développement socio-économique—soit les peuples, communautés ou ethnies des pays émergents, autrefois dits envoies de développement.

Hormis les épidémies du 20^{ème} siècle comme le SIDA, quelles autres maladies infectieuses ou vénériennes qui auront atteint la planète entière? Kilbourne cite dans ses travaux: l'Influenza qui aurait causé la mort de milliers de personnes en 1918, 1957 et 1968. Il s'agit de la fameuse grippe espagnole (Influenza 1918) qui aura fait plus de cinquante millions de morts dans le monde. (Kilbourne, 2006). Le deuxième virus le plus létal depuis le début du 20^{ème} siècle à nos jours, reste le Syndrome d'Immuno-Déficience Acquise. Et même avec le fléau du HIV, de la conscience collective occidentale s'est évanoui l'existence de cette épidémie qui tue encore, à mesure que les générations post-SIDA apparaissent. Générations pour lesquelles le SIDA n'est qu'une maladie chronique. Effectivement, déjà au début des années 1980, les pays occidentaux pensaient avoir déjà vaincu ce genre de phénomène, qui appartenait déjà au passé. Thiaudière d'écrire dans "Sociologie du Sida":

"[...] le sida survient, en ce début des années 1980, au moment même où la lutte contre les maladies infectieuses connaît son apogée, que les réussites de la médecine symbolisent avec la généralisation de la vaccination et de l'antibiothérapie. Les questions de santé publique se ramènent principalement à la planification de campagnes de prévention (vaccinale ou d'hygiène) couplées à l'amélioration du dépistage afin de traiter le plus précocement possible les individus atteints par des pathologies infectieuses." (Thiaudière 2002: 4)

Ainsi, déjà dès le début des années 1980, le système occidental — français — modifie sa politique sanitaire pour se concentrer sur les maladies dégénératives. Et c'est une évidence : on ne parle plus du SIDA. En 2002 déjà la problématique du SIDA semble s'émousser des préoccupations des autorités gouvernementales et universitaires :

"Dans les hiérarchies des intérêts scientifiques, les maladies dégénératives (comme le cancer) ou génétiques ont détrôné les infections microbiennes et virales. Les politiques de santé publique ont suivi ce mouvement et se sont déplacées sur d'autres risques associés, par exemple, au tabac et à l'alcool, aux drogues illégales, à la vieillesse" (Thiaudière 2002: 4)

Thiaudière évoque même un 'ancien régime' pour définir le système de santé où les maladies infectieuses constituaient la priorité étatique. Ainsi, il apparaît que "ce modèle [seraient] socialement et médicalement dépassé. Si persistent des dispensaires antivénériens [...], ceux-ci n'occupent qu'une position marginale dans le système de santé." (Thiaudière 2002: 4). Toujours selon Thiaudière (2002:4) ce système centré sur les maladies vénériennes et infectieuses daterait du début du 20^{ème} siècle. Le 21^{ème} est résolument orienté vers les maladies dégénératives, soit le "nouveau régime":

"Le "nouveau régime", en référence aux pathologies dégénératives, se déploie par des dispositifs où la médecine curative occupe une place plus importante dans les réponses mises en oeuvre. Les traitements curatifs sont plus lourds mais nécessitent les séjours hospitaliers de moins en moins longs, et la vie professionnelle et familiale peut se poursuivre [...]" (Thiaudière 2002: 5)

La médecine moderne au plus fort de son expertise et de sa technicité se focalise sur le soin, et non plus sur la prophylaxie. Par ailleurs, l'économie médicale et le système de prise en charge français priorisent les pathologies nécessitant des hospitalisations courtes. L'État-Providence se réforme petit à petit : le système évolue progressivement depuis quelques décennies vers une forme de gouvernance plus libérale allant vers un « amaigrissement de l'État-providence, libération des énergies individuelles » (Merrien, 2007 : 101)¹⁵.

¹⁵ Bien que l'équité dans l'accès aux soins et à l'assurance d'une plus grande couverture médicale reste une priorité du gouvernement, la maîtrise, voire la réduction des coûts en matière de santé devient la priorité. Par cette libéralisation, la santé devient un marché dans lequel les patients deviennent des consommateurs face à des médecins prestataires de service, et sont responsabilisés en prenant une part plus grande dans leurs dépenses liées aux soins. « Ces mesures sont,

Donc, il est à retenir ici, que le phénomène épidémique est à la fois territorialisé, ethnicisé et marginalisé tant au niveau médiatique qu’institutionnel. En d’autres termes, il en ressort que le regard porté sur ce phénomène depuis l’Occident est larvé d’une condescendance et d’un paternalisme caractéristiques du colonialisme qui enferme les corps noirs—des bois d’ébène et de leurs descendant.e.s—dans des carcans stéréotypiques de genre, de race et de classe. L’empreinte du système colonial est critique dans la compréhension du contexte guadeloupéen et de la gestion de la crise sanitaire liée au Covid-19, à la fois pour ce qui concerne les moyens alloués par l’État français et les perceptions de ce même État sur les populations des Départements d’Outremer.

Outre la vétusté du C.H.U. (Centre Hospitalier Universitaire) de Guadeloupe, il est important de mettre en lumière la singularité des perceptions des institutions régaliennes et médicales sur les populations locales, en termes de santé publique, et la fragilité des relations (postcoloniales) dont elle procède. En effet, “[v]ictime d’un incendie majeur — d’origine humaine — le 28 novembre 2017, l’établissement a vu partir en fumée 4 blocs opératoires et les services des urgences, la réanimation et la maternité. Son fonctionnement reste depuis perturbé” selon ce que rapporte la journaliste Sélène Agapé pour 20Minutes (2019), l’hôpital général universitaire de Pointe-à-Pitre est dysfonctionnel et insalubre : ce qui est inacceptable dans un établissement médical public de la République française. Cette situation insoutenable, aggravée par l’incendie, provoque l’ire des soignant.e.s et le déclenchement de débrayages des employé.e.s de l’hôpital qui a dû gérer plusieurs grèves et mouvements sociaux. Agapé de rapporter encore :

“Le personnel revendique de meilleures conditions de travail et une augmentation des rémunérations. Mais dans l’archipel, la situation est encore plus critique. Les soignants et brancardiers protestent contre la vétusté (moisissures et saletés) et l’exiguïté des locaux, et le manque de moyens humains et matériels. En conséquence du sous-effectif, la majorité des services fonctionnent en service minimum. Il suffit d’une averse pour que les soignants et les malades pataugent dans des couloirs inondés” (Agapé, 2019).

Bien que la construction d’un nouveau C.H.U. soit à l’oeuvre (et devrait être livré en 2022¹⁶), la situation sanitaire reste extrêmement fragile. L’hôpital saturait avant la crise de Covid-19. Il était débordé au plus fort de la crise, avec des chiffres largement inférieurs à ceux de l’Hexagone. La négligence de l’État français quant à la réfection de cet établissement de santé, requise depuis plusieurs décennies, est indubitablement le symptôme d’une perception débiliteuse des populations locales (afrodescendantes dans leur majorité).

Historiquement, une médecine occidentale qui, malgré des principes égalitaires refusent de considérer l’appartenance ethnique comme un critère pertinent — ignore les pathologies des corps noirs ou leur en attribue pour mieux les affaiblir socialement ou donner chair à des stéréotypes et des croyances élaborés à leur encontre. Si l’on doit pointer du doigt l’éthique française : ce parti-pris est en phase avec l’idéologie universaliste et laïque française. En effet, contrairement à une nation multiculturelle, la France intègre par assimilation et refuse d’être nucléée par d’autres cultures. L’exception française et de sa langue dont le reflet d’une approche ethnocentrée du vivre-ensemble. Ainsi, il n’y aurait a priori pas d’approche ethnicisée ou racisée du soin. Tout du moins, le profilage racial n’existe-t-il pas dans l’élaboration des dispositifs de

par exemple, la suppression des subventions à la couverture maladie, la réduction des soins remboursés et l’augmentation du co-paiement (part de l’assuré aux dépenses). » (Merrien, 2007 : 109)

¹⁶ Situé à Perrin aux Abymes (près de l’aéroport), il sera construit selon les normes parasismiques, paracycloniques sur un terrain de 19 000 hectares et une surface plancher de 78 000 m²», a indiqué la préfecture de la Guadeloupe. Il comportera 618 lits et places, 14 salles d’opération. Son coût : 580 millions d’euros

soins, mais plutôt dans l'approche des corps racisés, dont l'historicité révèle une médecine peu objective, entachée de croyances tantôt idéologiques, tantôt religieuses. Ainsi, se développa aux Etats-Unis une recherche médicale raciale appelée "racialisme socio-médical" (sociomedical racialism) jusqu'à la Première Guerre Mondiale, supplantée par un autre courant post-première guerre mondiale appelée "épidémiologie scientifique", et ce suite à l'épidémie de tuberculose qui ravagea la communauté africaine-américaine dans la première moitié du 20^{ème} siècle. Un nombre inqualifiable de personnes noires moururent de la tuberculose, démontrant la perception naturaliste de la médecine du 20^{ème} siècle aux Etats-Unis (Tapper, 1999). Il faut bien saisir ce phénomène de naturalisation du corps noir pathologique — extrapolable à toutes les communautés afrodescendantes — qu'une littérature anglosaxonne très riche met en exergue les discriminations intersectionnelles (race/classe), notamment reflétée dans un corpus de références françaises plus parcimonieux (Melbourne 1999 ; Wailoo 2001 ; Dyson 2005 ; Skloot 2011 ; Dumont 2010). Après la tuberculose, un autre exemple extrêmement significatif est celui de la drépanocytose, similaire aux Etats-Unis comme en France: une maladie de Noirs. On notera encore aujourd'hui en France — contrairement aux Etats-Unis où la situation a drastiquement évolué depuis les années 1970 — un déni de cette maladie, une non-reconnaissance de sa classification en tant que maladie orpheline (Téléthon versus Drépanothon) et une difficulté de traitement et de prise en charge d'un mal marginalisé par le corps médical.

Keith Wailoo met en lumière la cécité des États-Unis vis-à-vis de la Drépanocytose en soulignant que "[...] the invisibility of sickle cell anemia must be examined in relation to the existing landscape of perceptions. To the extent that perceptions about death and disease were rooted in time, place, and cultural context, sickle cell disease's invisibility presents a complex puzzle" (Wailoo, 56). Le contexte est donc fondamental. À l'époque, dans l'imaginaire des blancs, (maîtres sur la plantation ou de leurs successeurs dans les systèmes Jim Crow ou d'Apartheid), le corps noir est larvé de maladies qui le rendent faible, indolent, inadapté, sans considération pour les conditions de vie plus que médiocres (inhumaines) imposées à ces corps, à ces individus, qu'ils soient appelés Créoles, Nègres, nègres ou métèques, dans les rouages de racismes devenus systèmes. Wailoo insiste sur l'archétypale pensée occidentale (une pensée persistante) du corps noir :

"Se lasser de tous les problèmes de santé des Noirs au début du XXe siècle en Amérique était une image accablante et largement acceptée : celle d'un peuple naturellement malade. Le «nègre» stéréotypé dépeint dans les journaux et par les professionnels de la santé était une menace sociale dont les superstitions, l'ignorance et le comportement insouciant constituaient un affront obstiné aux notions modernes d'hygiène et de progrès de la compréhension scientifique¹⁷". (Wailoo, 56).

Les représentations des corps noirs comme vecteurs de maladies, et singulièrement des affections épidémiques,—Wailoo évoquera entre autres la tuberculose et la syphilis, auxquelles nous pouvons également adjoindre le SIDA imputé aux Haïtiens aux USA avec les 4H (Melyon-Reinette, 2009) ou dans la Caraïbe—qui imprègne les systèmes de santé d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Wailoo d'écrire:

"[...] C'était l'image du «nègre» comme «porteur et vecteur» que les médecins (noirs et blancs) invoquaient à maintes reprises, soit pour souligner l'importance de l'éducation et de la réforme du comportement, soit pour souligner les vertus de la ségrégation pour la santé publique. Un médecin typique du Sud a fait valoir que «la sauvegarde de la santé des Noirs... [était] tout sauf

¹⁷ Translation of original quote: "Looning over all problems of black health in early-twentieth-century America was one overwhelming, widely accepted image: that of a naturally diseased people. The stereotypic "Negro" portrayed in news accounts and by health professionals was a social menace whose superstitions, ignorance, and carefree demeanor stood as a stubborn affront to modern notions of hygiene and advancing scientific understanding" (Wailoo, 56)

une tâche facile, car la lutte n'est pas contre la maladie, mais contre l'infériorité physique, mentale et morale, contre l'ignorance et la superstition, contre la pauvreté et la saleté.”¹⁸
(Wailoo, 56)

Ces mêmes accusations portées contre les corps noirs apparaissent dans la littérature française récente. L'historien Jacques Dumont retrace succinctement une histoire du vingtième siècle guadeloupéen et souligne le recrutement *pathologisé* des engagés originaires des colonies françaises (durant la Première Guerre Mondiale, les Guadeloupéen.ne.s sont encore des Créoles, des Coloniaux):

“Bien que les conditions atmosphériques soient évoquées, puisqu'on relève qu'“ils n'ont pas eu 8 jours ensoleillés depuis leur arrivée”, on insiste sur les mesures spéciales qui ont été prises (chauffage, tricot de laine, nourriture épicée et pimentée), brandies en manière d'excuse et de mise à distance: “On a pourtant pris des précautions pour ces gens-là...” les premiers rapports mentionnent un ensemble de conditions qui favorisent cette vulnérabilité : “En résumé, le contingent indigène incorporé sur le territoire du 16e corps d'armée [...], de résistance physique médiocre, déprimé par des conditions extérieures d'hygiène défectueuse, exagérées encore par un long et fatigant voyage, transplantés sous un climat froid pour eux et à brusques sauts de température, s'est montré un terrain admirablement préparé à la réceptivité et au développement des germes morbides”. (Dumont, 2010 : 33-34).

Ainsi, les missions d'inspection valideront des poncifs et stéréotypes racistes en apportant des conclusions soulignant une fragilité essentialisée, donc présentée comme “naturelle” et résultant en une anthropopathologisation des soldats d'origine antillaise : “*Le froid et la maladie ont chez eux une action des plus déprimantes qui exagère à l'excès leur indolence naturelle. Alités, il faut les surveiller comme des enfants*”. (Dumont, 2010:35). L'argumentaire est fait : le colonialisme et la pensée raciste qui en découle ont façonné la société occidentale jusque dans ces fondements les plus sacrés (l'église et l'hôpital devraient rester des lieux de traitement paritaire et égalitaire).

2. Tropiques, Tropismes, la Rhétorique du maître et de l'esclave

Tropismes post/coloniaux. Le discours sur l'esclavagisation des Africains dans les îles de la Caraïbe francophone est encore perçu comme le sempiternel refrain d'une population ingrate éternellement insatisfaite. Cette partie de l'histoire française a été abolie, par conséquent, simplement classée aux oubliettes. Bien que l'activisme des “ultramarins” (Franco-caribéens, Guyanais, mais aussi les ressortissants des territoires outremer de l'Océan Indien — Réunion — et du Pacifique) ait favorisé l'inscription de cette partie de l'histoire dans les manuels scolaires, ce procès en reconnaissance attenté à la République française fait date. L'historienne Françoise Vergès, à l'époque directrice scientifique de la Maison des civilisations et de l'unité réunionnaise, et Nicole Port, directrice générale de l'Institut National de recherches archéologiques préventives, écrivent dans une tribune dans *Le Monde* :

“L'histoire de l'esclavage a connu ces dernières années un développement important, sous l'impulsion d'historiens, d'associations et du Comité pour la mémoire de l'esclavage, réduisant ainsi le retard important pris par la France dans ce domaine. Traite des Noirs et esclavage colonial restent cependant minorés dans le récit national et dans la recherche. Pour une grande majorité de Français, cette histoire concernerait seulement les ultramarins. Cette minoration

¹⁸ Translation of original quote : “[...] it was the image of “the Negro” as “carrier and vector” that physicians (both black and white) invoked time after time, either to stress the importance of education and behavioral reform or to highlight the virtues of segregation for public health. One typical southern physician argued that “the safeguarding of the health of the Negro ... [was] anything but an easy task, for the fight is not against disease, but against physical, mental, and moral inferiority, against ignorance and superstition , against poverty and filth” (Wailoo, 56)

contribue parfois à substituer une attitude de commémoration victimaire à une démarche de connaissance du passé pour certains Guadeloupéens, Martiniquais, Guyanais ou Réunionnais, qu'ils vivent dans les DOM ou en métropole. Elle autorise la nation à ignorer l'ampleur de ce trafic infâme qui dura près de quatre siècles." (Vergès et Pot, 2009).

Tout comme évoquer l'histoire de l'esclavage hérissait le poil de nombre de citoyens et politiques français, les contestations et protestations des travailleurs guadeloupéens et martiniquais sont toujours entendues avec difficultés par le gouvernement. Non seulement la distance géographique de l'extra-territorialisation des organes de gestion des DFA est une extranéité socioculturelle indéniable, mais plus encore, ce sont les oppositions identitaires, politiques et mémorielles qui sclérosent les relations entre l'Etat et les populations franco-caribéennes. Depuis la période de la Guerre Froide et de le processus de la Décolonisation (inachevé à ce jour), les luttes indépendantistes se sont incarnées dans des organes communautaires et politiques divers : des associations étudiantes parisiennes aux syndicats ouvriers et prolétaires actuels, en passant par les groupuscules nationalistes et autres fronts de libération nationale tels que le GONG, le GLA, l'ARC, etc. ou encore les Mas. L'esprit du Nèg mawon (comme se surnomment de nombreux indépendantistes) est effectivement perpétué et transmis sous de nombreuses formes. En conséquence, l'idée même de sécession avec la France est-elle entendue comme une aberration. À propos de la grève des 44 Jours en Guadeloupe, Frantz Succab écrit :

"On peut comprendre que, du point de vue des sommités parisiennes, cela puisse paraître faire beaucoup de bruit pour pas grand-chose. Formées qu'elles sont, génération après génération, dans l'idée d'une France plus grande que l'Hexagone. L'idée d'Empire étant consubstantielle de leur idée de nation française, il leur est intellectuellement inconcevable qu'une quelconque possession ultramarine ose vouloir s'en émanciper." (2009 :74)

Le discours indépendantiste est anticolonialiste par essence. Comme une litanie interminable, il redonde dans les slogans de chaque conflit social, dans les allocutions de chaque lutte ouvrière, prolétaire, ou simplement chaque grève, et ce quel que soit le corps de métier manifestant. La fameuse dialectique du maître et de l'esclave s'est muée au fil du temps, de la chute des habitations au vingt-et-unième siècle, en une dialectique Patronat-État/syndicat. L'interdépendance entre le colonisé et le colon se construit dans une conversation asymétrique qui oppose la victime d'un système économique "génocidaire par surexploitation" à son bourreau, propriétaire de la majorité de ses moyens de subsistance.

"[...] une structure monopolistique dans le secteur privé, notamment dans l'agriculture, largement subventionnée par la Politique agricole commune, et la grande distribution, aux mains de quelques familles békés, sans oublier les entreprises de transport et, bien sûr, les stations-service, que se partagent quelques clans, et vous comprendrez que l'économie — par voie de corrélation, la politique — de la Guadeloupe, est pilotée par un petit nombre de personnes influentes." (Lasserre, 2014)

Aussi, les rapports entre leurs descendants se construisent-ils sur les lignes d'une défiance ontologique. Ainsi, les syndicats (UGTG, etc.) sont des émanations des groupes indépendantistes et sont devenus le contre-pouvoir face aux iniquités des monopoles économiques et des décisions patronales et étatiques. Rosa Moussaoui citant Patricia Braflan-Trobo :

"Les syndicats représentent la seule force d'opposition dans ces territoires il n'existe pas actuellement, en Guadeloupe, d'opposition politique authentique. Entre l'UMP et le Parti socialiste se jouent des oppositions absolument molles et endormies. Dans ce contexte, le collectif Lyannaj kont Pwofitsayon s'est institué comme un contre-pouvoir à ces partis politiques dominants. Les syndicats représentent le dernier rempart face aux dégradations que subissent les Guadeloupéens dans le travail et dans la vie quotidienne. En fait, ils sont les derniers défenseurs de la population guadeloupéenne, même face aux élus locaux" (2009 :35)

Autre fait important de ces joutes syndicales, une alternance codique avec une utilisation de la langue créole comme arme d’affirmation anticoloniale. Le créole est une langue – autrefois considéré comme un dialecte, puis une langue minoritaire – formée dans un processus de créolisation dans le monde plantationnaire. Métalangue, initialement, elle se forme par la rencontre de divers idiomes africains et européens (français, anglais, espagnol) afin de permettre les échanges dans cette cosmogonie fondée dans la violence. Le créole devient la langue véhiculaire de la plantation, puis la langue vernaculaire (par opposition au français, langue statutaire) de l’archipel guadeloupéen (comme ce fut le cas dans toutes les sociétés créoles post-plantationnaires). Ainsi, les militants nationalistes prennent la voix de l’esclavagisés pour s’opposer à leur sujétion contemporaine. Une autre citation du journaliste militant Frantz Succab, susmentionné, pour soutenir ce propos :

“Lorsqu’Elie Domota s’est adressé par les médias à la France toute entière et au monde, dans cette langue inconnue, en version originale sous-titré en, ce n’était pas le folklore. Ça ne voulait pas dire non plus qu’il ne parle pas français. C’était le choix politique : il parlait bel et bien la langue des Guadeloupéens, étrangère pour le plus grand nombre des Français.”
(Frantz Succab, 2009 :75)

Le français étant considéré comme l’instrument majeur de la campagne d’assimilation — par le biais du système scolaire français notamment — il était important pour les militants de s’exprimer dans leur langue “nationale” : le créole. Bien que née sur la plantation, elle est tout de même un hybride de langues africaines, et de ce fait, constitue une racine inaliénable, une déclaration d’indépendance symbolique et désaliénante. Succab de poursuivre:

“Chez nous, la langue de la contestation anticoloniale n’est pas le français, quoique... osciller d’une langue à l’autre est une très vieille habitude. On ne va quand même pas se priver de faire feu de tout bois. S’il faut mettre le feu. Il n’est pas banal d’affirmer en créole, à l’égard de la France, son identité d’étranger. C’est un point extrêmement sensible pour une grande nation qui s’est construite autour d’une langue qu’elle voulut unique, au détriment de toutes ses langues régionales, dans le but d’affermir le socle de sa république une et indivisible.”
(Frantz Succab, 2009 :75-76)

“La Gwadeloup sé tan nou, la Gwadeloup sé pa ta yo” scandent les militants de ce collectif syndical : le LKP. Le créole gouaille dans toutes les voix et assortit les manifestations de contestation à la confrontation physique, dans les espaces publics. En effet, l’État envoie des cohortes de CRS — les manblo, selon le terme consacré — réprimer les manifestations. La répression étatique est un tropisme constitutionnel sous les Tropiques. Le tropisme le plus décrié et reconnu de tous est, sans aucun doute, l’assistanat. Il est reproché au peuple guadeloupéen son tropisme de la “main tendue”, un procès en mendicité au regard de la très forte dépendance économique vis-à-vis de l’Hexagone. Elie Domota, lui-même, déplore dans une diatribe contre l’État français, qu’ « [i]l y a[it] un certain nombre de guadeloupéens qui n’ont toujours pas compris : dès que l’Etat français sonne la petite cloche et dit "à table" !", ils courent s’asseoir ». (Domota, 2009). Bien que la politique identitaire afrocentriste recommanderait de ne plus employer le terme “métropole” pour désigner la France (faisant de la Guadeloupe, par réflexion, une colonie), la polarisation des responsabilités entre les mains de l’État français perdure, faisant tout de même le centre névralgique. Mais s’il est un tropisme qu’il est nécessaire de mettre en exergue ici: ce sont les stratégies déployées par les deux parties ainsi que la teneur des discours politiques de chacune des parties dans ces luttes phénotypico-sociales protéiformes. L’outil majeur des syndicats est la grève ou la manifestation citoyenne de masse, opposée à la répression de l’État Français au travers de ses corps armés. Quant aux discours, il y aurait ce que nous pourrions appeler une “théologie du prolétariat” qui s’oppose

à une politique recolonialiste, à la fois infantilisante, exotisante and subalternisante, plus particulièrement en ces temps de Covid.

3. Covid, Exotisme et relents re-colonialistes

Il n'est pas aisé de faire un bilan d'une situation toujours en cours. Le recul nécessaire à une analyse distanciée et neutre est impossible puisque, alors que ces lignes sont écrites de nouvelles mesures sont prises, en ce début d'année 2021 pour contenir le virus dont trois mutations se sont faites jour : les variants britanniques, sud-africains et japonais. Toutefois, cette dernière partie fera la tentative de brosser à grands traits le paysage du Covid-19 en Guadeloupe. A première vue, et sans analyse scientifique approfondie, dans le courant de la vie sous ces latitudes, la colère infuse à mesure que l'on écoute les informations et que l'on subit des mesures restrictives de nos libertés (ce « nous » inclusif est irrépensible ici), en grande partie illégitimement inscrites dans un suivisme des dispositifs hexagonaux. Cette emprise sur les corps est d'autant plus mal vécue qu'elle s'opère dans une société postcoloniale dont les stigmates plantationnaires sont encore extrêmement vivaces. Observer ces stigmates de manière empirique, tout au long de sa propre existence, débouche sur ces affirmations perçues comme des affirmations quelque peu grandiloquentes. Pour objectiver cela, il suffit de se reporter à la partie précédente établissant les relents racistes du monde médicales, les insuffisances d'un système à plusieurs vitesses qui ultra-périphérise les territoires outremer, ou simplement rapporter quelques faits sociaux et politiques, qui de manière systématique rappellent la stratification systémique des rapports phénotypico-sociaux. En 1989, Aimé Césaire écrivait dans son "Discours sur le colonialisme" : « On me parle de tyrans locaux mis à la raison ; mais je constate qu'en général ils font très bon ménage avec les anciens et vice versa, il s'est établi, au détriment des peuples, un circuit de bons services et de complicité » (Césaire, 1989 :20). En 2009, on rapportait: « [d]es discours anticolonialistes, empreintes de références raciales, ont cours encore aujourd'hui, alors que le XXI^e siècle est déjà bien entamé. Ils dénoncent une République française qui favorise et privilégie le sectarisme, les inégalités sociales, perpétue un féodalisme hérité de la période esclavagiste. Ils mettent en lumière les dysfonctionnements et les accords passés entre un État — qui se dit partisan de la liberté, de l'égalité et de la fraternité – et des chefs d'entreprise, descendants des derniers colons des îles à sucre des Petites Antilles. Ils trahissent un ras-le-bol face à des abus qui subsistent depuis des siècles, abus d'une classe coloniale dominante sur un colonisé dominé ». (Melyon-Reinette et Durpaire, 2009 :7). Aujourd'hui, en 2021, de nouvelles formations patriotiques, l'ANG (Alyans Nasyonol Gwadeloup) tentent de prendre le pouvoir aux prochaines élections régionales, contre un gouvernement français qui ne peut plus décider pour « nous ».

Par ailleurs, il nous faut rappeler, et cela de manière systématique, que le temps de ces régions est aussi un locus colonisé. Aussi, mesurer l'impact de l'esclavagisme ne peut se faire au diapason de la chronologie occidentale des pays anciennement colonisateurs, mais à celle des esclavagisés.e.s. En fait, les quelques générations qui nous séparent de l'abolition n'offrent pas le potentiel d'une guérison aux esclavagisés et à leurs descendants. Persistent ce que nous appellerions des « symptômes de l'opprimé » : une ire irraisonnée, mais aussi « la peur, le complexe d'infériorité, le tremblement, l'agenouillement, le désespoir, le larbinisme » (Discours sur le colonialisme, Aimé Césaire). La schizophrénie identitaire et la paralysie dans la responsabilisation. S'il est difficile aux descendant.e.s des colonisé.e.s de sortir de la paralysie chronique, il est encore plus difficile aux descendants ou héritiers des colons d'accepter ce fait. Les révoltes indépendantistes ont depuis la plantation été réprimées dans le sang, et là également, une maladie chronique qui n'a pas trouvé de thérapie : les luttes de pouvoir racialisées, dominés contre dominants, sous couvert de luttes sociales. C'est un peu ce que Lasserre exprime dans son article sur le LKP comme des « [...] événements qui relèvent à la fois du *déjà vu* et du *reja vu* sont, ni

plus ni moins, des tics de l’humanité, des réactions nerveuses sociales, reproduites à l’identique »
(Lasserre, 2014).

3.1. Peur et fascisme corporatiste

Le contexte de la crise sanitaire liée au Covid cristallise des comportements typiques de ce cercle vicieux. En premier lieu, parlons de la répression. A l’échelle du globe, les mêmes enjeux se jouent : deux entités sont entrées en guerre dans le contexte de la crise sanitaire : les forces de l’ordre et les populations contestataires. Au début de l’année 2020, tandis que le Covid prend son essor d’un continent à l’autre avec une croissance exponentielle en Europe et aux Etats-Unis, les violences policières explosent partout dans le monde. Amnesty International dénombre des violations des droits de l’homme en recrudescence, et ceux-là perpétrés par les services de police supposés faire respecter les lois, donc le droit. Amnesty sous-titre :

“Afrique du Sud, Iran, Angola, Salvador... dans 60 pays, nous avons documenté des abus de pouvoir des forces de l’ordre pour faire appliquer les mesures sanitaires liées au COVID-19. Dans certains États, pour non-respect du confinement, des personnes se sont retrouvées derrière les barreaux, d’autres ont été tuées.” (Amnesty International France, 17 décembre 2020).

Le type de régime gouvernemental pourrait être avancé pour expliquer les abus (théocratie, dictature, etc.), si ces derniers n’étaient comptabilisés dans les pays démocratiques : passages à tabac et homicides (Afrique du Sud, Tchétchénie, Salvador, etc.), emprisonnements abusifs (République dominicaine selon Amnesty), violations de la liberté d’expression, restriction du droit à manifester (Pologne, Iran), etc. L’apex de ce phénomène planétaire point avec la mort George Floyd, le 25 mai 2020 à Minneapolis, visible par les médias. C’est l’image de l’officier agenouillé sur son cou pour l’immobiliser qui est insupportable. Tout acte est à portée d’un smartphone et retransmis sur tous les terminaux connectés via les réseaux sociaux. En somme, cet apex est déclenché par la vélocité des retransmissions de la vidéo mise en ligne. L’effet médiatique braque l’attention des sympathisant.e.s, militant.e.s, afrodescendant.es, de tous bords et de tous les horizons. Sans l’hyperconnectivité, ce serait un corps noir de plus tombés aux oubliettes. D’ailleurs, il est loisible de dire que ce nouvel attentat à la vie d’un homme africain-américain apporte la justification de la litanie de corps noirs asphyxiés ou abattus par les forces de l’ordre, scandant leur « Blue Lives Matter » en réponse au légitime Black Lives Matter. De mémoires collectives, les corps noirs sont lynchés, pendus, jetés aux rebus depuis des siècles maintenant. Cet acte suffocant vient alimenter les colères qui se brûlent partout dans le monde. Des violences policières de ce type sont reportées un peu partout, où les corps noirs, subversifs, sont confrontés à un corps blanc (voire bleu) dominant. La situation sanitaire et la raison d’état de sécurité nationale donne une caution à ces violences justifiables, par la peur provoquée par le Covid, outre la désormais ‘traditionnelle’ dangerosité des hommes — et femmes— (supposément) venant des ghettos.

Mais la France n’est pas en reste : le 8 mars 2020, une manifestation féministe est réprimée, des centaines de réfugiés déportés depuis Calais (Amnesty, op. cit.) et des bavures policières. Des policiers sont armés à toutes les strates des forces de l’ordre. Être investi du pouvoir de punir serait l’opium d’une soldatesque en mal de reconnaissance ? À Paris, un producteur de musique noir est molesté, attaqué et arrêté à tort par deux policiers qui appellent des renforts. Le Parisien rapporte :

“La caméra de vidéosurveillance du studio de musique a tout enregistré. Samedi soir, Michel Z. se trouve sans masque à proximité de son local professionnel du XVII^e arrondissement. À la vue des policiers, il décide de rentrer pour éviter l’amende mais se retrouve agrippé par un policier qui le pousse à l’intérieur. L’agent en civil est très vite rejoint par deux collègues en tenue et la situation s’envenime.” (Le Parisien, novembre 2020)

Puis, c'est l'escalade : pluie de coups, lacrymogènes, etc. Pour non-port du masque sur la voir publique. Le producteur a eu a chance de pouvoir prouver les mensonges des policiers grâce aux caméras de sécurité. Claude Jean-Pierre dit « Klodo » n'aura pas cette chance. Priscilla Romain rapporte les faits suivants pour Guadeloupe Première :

“Claude Jean-Pierre aurait été contrôlé par la gendarmerie le 21 novembre à 14h dans le centre ville de Deshaies. Quelques instants après, les secours sont appelés par les gendarmes pour un malaise et l'homme est pris en charge par le SMUR. À son arrivée au CHU de Pointe-à-Pitre, les secours lui constatent une double fracture des cervicales et l'une d'entre elle lui compresse la moelle épinière. Il présente aussi plusieurs hématomes au visage. Sa famille se dépêche alors sur place pour le soutenir.” (Romain, 2020).

C'est un silence abyssal qui enveloppe l'affaire du côté des autorités. Les conditions du contrôle de police restent à ce jour opaques. Entre l'interpellation et l'incarcération, Klodo serait resté en présence des forces de l'ordre de manière ininterrompue. La bavure policière est probable. Le silence de l'Etat français est assourdissant. Il n'y a ni langue de bois, ni langue tout court. Mais l'idiome de l'indifférence et de la subalternisation.

3.2. Subalternisation, Tourisme et l'Exotisme coûte que coûte

Au début du mois de mars 2020, en Guadeloupe aucun cas de Covid-19 n'a été décelé. L'insularité est par essence consubstantielle de l'isolement et d'une accessibilité contrainte. N'ayant de frontières physiques avec aucun autre territoire, elle n'est atteignable que par les voies des transports motorisés ; et cela même lorsqu'il s'agit d'un archipel comme la Guadeloupe. Des navettes relient la Guadeloupe continentale à ses dépendances, les îlots de Marie-Galante, les Saintes (archipel également) et la Désirade. D'ailleurs, la Désirade a longtemps été la léproserie pour la quarantaine des malades de la Guadeloupe et de Martinique, avant d'être transférée sur le continent à l'hôpital de Beauperthuy à Pointe-Noire. L'insularité permet donc un confinement naturel. Les outremer auraient pu être épargnés par la simple instauration d'une fermeture de l'accès aux touristes. L'État français ne l'entendit pas de cette oreille.

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La population guadeloupéenne — s'identifiant comme « population locale » dans les discours émis durant cette conjoncture par opposition aux touristes — manifeste sa désapprobation (suivie par les élus) de voir arriver des touristes sur le territoire. Et ce sont des croisiéristes qui voient cristallisé sur eux un discours anti-Covid. Sacha Martinez raconte le cauchemar du périple de cette croisière qui ne fera jamais escale repoussée par tous les chefs d'État de la Caraïbe soucieux de préserver leurs citoyens. Entre le 6 mars (départ de Pointe-Pitre) et le 14 mars, ils sont systématiquement refoulés :

“Nous sommes le 6 mars 2020. L'épidémie de coronavirus commence à déferler sur l'Europe. L'Italie vient de fermer ses écoles. Et la France compte déjà 9 victimes du Covid-19. Seulement, les voyages restent encore autorisés. Alors au port de Pointe-à-Pitre, en Guadeloupe, quelque 2 300 passagers embarquent. Direction : les îles des Caraïbes pour une semaine. [...] « Cette semaine-là, on a été refoulés de toutes les îles » se rappelle Jérôme [...]”

Après des refolements successifs aux ports de Trinidad-and Tobago, Barbade, Grenade, Saint-Martin et Martinique, les passagers « locaux » sont débarqués et mis en quarantaine chez eux en Martinique, puis à la Guadeloupe qui acceptera d'opérer le rapatriement des voyageurs via son territoire (acheminement, affrètements de plus de 15 vols charters, etc.) : « Le 13 mars, les résidents martiniquais ont l'autorisation de quitter le navire. Mais immédiatement, les autorités les placent en quarantaine. De son côté, le Costa Magica prend la route de la Guadeloupe. Les passagers s'attendent alors à vivre une quarantaine semblable à celle du Diamond Princess, au Japon. Il n'en

est rien. Le 14 mars, le bateau entre au port de Point-à-Pitre, en Guadeloupe. Le soir même, une partie des passagers est transportée, en bus, sur le tarmac de l’aéroport. » (Sanchez, Mars 2020). Le préfet de Guadeloupe, Philippe Gustin s’exprimera au sujet des mesures prises pour gérer la crise qui accosta au port de Guadeloupe, au micro des animateurs de RCI Guadeloupe:

“Je crois qu’il faut d’abord responsabiliser nos concitoyens. Nous avons aujourd’hui 5 cas en Guadeloupe. C’est-à-dire 4 de plus qu’hier. Nous en avons 2 à Saint-Martin. Nous en avons 2 de plus à Saint-Barth. Ça en fait 3 à Saint-Barth. Ce sont des gens d’horizons divers. Certains viennent de Métropole, d’autres ont eu d’autres parcours. On est en train d’analyser les parcours de ces gens pour avoir tous les cas contacts afin de pouvoir les informer”

– On sait que l’un des cas au moins est lié à une croisière. Alors il y a eu un arrêté au journal Officiel pour interdire le mouillage et l’accostage de tous les navires en Outremer. Ça va mettre un terme à la saison de manière anticipée... n’y a-t-il pas eu une mauvaise gestion de ce cas-là ?” (un journaliste)

“Non il n’y a pas eu de mauvaise gestion. Je viens de prendre un arrêté spécifique pour la Guadeloupe. [...] nous avons, depuis en début de la semaine, anticipé cette fin. Il faut que ce soit fait correctement. Et je remercie tous les services qui se dévouent là... On fait quasiment du H24 avec le SAMU, avec la Croix Rouge, avec le Port, pour accueillir... Vous savez que nous avons trois bateaux qui doivent arriver là en fin de croisière. Le Costa Magica qui est arrivé hier soir. J’étais moi-même sur place pour accueillir tous nos compatriotes guadeloupéens, tous ceux qui résident ici. Nous avons le Costa Favolosa qui arrive demain, une fois que toutes les personnes qui étaient sur le Magica auront quitté ce bateau. Soit elle seront rentrées chez elles. Je rappelle que le Costa Magica et Costa Favolosa, cela faisait 3500 personnes. 2500 sont acheminés vers la métropole et vers d’autres pays européens. Et 1000 qui sont ou qui resteront sur place. Nous avons naturellement déjà résolu la situation des Guadeloupéens qui sont arrivés hier soir. Un avion qui est parti hier soir en direction de Rome avec plus de 260 italiens. Nous en avons un qui décolle à l’instant direction Paris. Et au fil du temps, nous allons résoudre le problème. Parce qu’il faut garder le calme, il faut penser au coup d’après. Il y aura un après-coronavirus. Il faudra redémarrer le tourisme ici qui va être naturellement impacté par le coronavirus. Il faut surtout, surtout (j’insiste bien), à ces personnes qui sont sur ces bateaux de croisière un bon souvenir et l’envie de revenir. Et je puis vous assurer que les sourires que j’ai vu hier soir de nos compatriotes guadeloupéens qui rentraient, et qui pourtant ont vécu une semaine infernale [...] Et j’ai vu beaucoup de passagers qui étaient heureux de la manière dont la Guadeloupe les traite aujourd’hui...” (RCI Guadeloupe, Mars 2020. Édition spéciale coronavirus avec Philippe Gustin. Retranscription par l’auteur).

La retranscription verbatim de ces échanges radiophoniques est sans équivoque. Il était fondamental de donner lieu à la parole officielle dans une version non-interprétative. Laisser aux propos de la gouvernance locale, la représentation étatique française sur le territoire guadeloupéen, exprimer ses priorités. Ces mots retentissent dans l’espace public de manière cinglante et scelle, une énième fois, l’ultériorité de la santé de la population locale dans les affaires publiques. Bien qu’il apparaisse que la volonté du Préfet était de remplir sa fonction régaliennne et de servir au mieux l’économie de la Guadeloupe : c’est l’insistance sur les priorités économiques du tourisme et le contentement des croisiéristes étrangers qui va scléroser dans les esprits, voire raviver, la hiérarchisation phénotypico-sociale. Il semblerait qu’au-delà des rapatriements sa politique tient plus à la sauvegarde des intérêts de la France en outremer que de la sécurité réelle des habitants « locaux ». D’autant que les conditions sanitaires laissaient déjà grandement à désirer, comme nous le précisons en première partie, avec la vétusté du centre hospitalier, mais aussi par d’indisponibilité de masques de protection en nombre suffisant sur l’île. Un distinguo clair est effectué entre le territoire national et les outremer. Bien que les décisions gouvernementales aient oscillé entre continuité territorial (ou suivisme) et décisions spécifiques, la Guadeloupe demeurerait un appendice infranational dont seul les atouts géographiques et politiques importent.

Ce sera désormais le schéma récurrent de la gestion sanitaire et économique de la Crise. La population respecte les restrictions sanitaires dans sa grande majorité. Mais chaque pic sur la courbe des contaminations se produira à la suite de la réouverture des frontières aériennes et maritimes. Entre confinement (quelques mois), déconfinement et depuis couvre-feu ou re-confinements, les mesures étatiques rouvrent systématiquement les frontières avec les outremer. Bien que le nombre de décès varient peu (168 mors à ce jour), l'atmosphère est à l'anticolonialisme et l'anti-exotisme.

Les interlocuteurs qui défendront les droits des Guadeloupéen.ne.s — c'est une évidence — seront les syndicats. Les lettres ouvertes et autres missives seront les instruments de médiation et de fédération des syndicats pour générer un mouvement de masse de contestation contre la gestion du coronavirus en Guadeloupe (et en Martinique). Ces dernières circulant principalement via les réseaux sociaux tels que WhatsApp ou facebook, ici quelques morceaux choisis :

“Après nous avoir assignés à résidence et confinés en octobre-novembre, vous venez « en même temps » d'ouvrir toutes grandes les portes de notre pays à un intarissable flot de touristes et de prendre des mesures de couvre-feu et d'annulation de notre carnaval. Tout ceci dans le noble souci affiché de notre bien être sanitaire. [...] Mais nous sommes de ceux qui, [...] ont de bonnes raisons dont une raison majeure propre à nous, Martiniquais, de ne pas faire confiance à l'État français.” (Cazelles, 2020. Lettre ouverte au préfet de la Martinique)

Le discours est le même en Guadeloupe avec la même défiance vis-à-vis d'un État perçu comme génocidaire depuis les fondements de leurs histoire commune, de l'esclavagisation au chlordécone. Il poursuit :

“Nous faisons partie de ceux qui combattent pour un procès et un châtement des coupables du crime de l'empoisonnement de 92% de notre peuple au chlordécone par les grands propriétaires terriens békés soutenus par l'État. Vous en êtes ici le représentant zélé, prompt à pourchasser les valeureux militants anti-chlordécone et à protéger les empoisonneurs. Vous avez fait annuler un arrêté municipal qui interdisait, en concertation avec les administrés, l'utilisation des pesticides sur une partie de la commune du Prêcheur: singulière façon de vous soucier de notre bien être sanitaire !” (Cazelles, 2020. Lettre ouverte au préfet de la Martinique)

Les discours des syndicats ont irrévocablement la même teneur : un champs lexical de l'anticolonialisme. En analysant, la sémantique des discours ou courriers émanant des syndicats, y sont décelés des tournures abrasives à l'encontre des autorités régaliennes françaises comme des appellations au caractère nationaliste. Lorsqu'Élie Domota milite en 2009 : il est appelé le Che Guevara de l'île, comme le Président de la Guadeloupe. Toutefois, le discours du préfet de Guadeloupe, comme de nombreux autres prononcés tout au long de la crise, laisse penser que la parole de l'Etat ne s'adresse pas à ses citoyens de seconde zone — les Français entièrement à part — mais aux hexagonaux. Wailoo mit en exergue l'accent sur la capacité des états coloniaux — loin d'être dans une postériorité de cette histoire — a créé une rhétorique qui enferme les corps noirs dans le rôle des vecteurs de maladies infectieuses. Il écrit à propos de la ville de Memphis :

“Dans leur discours civiques, les Memphiens ont souligné les dangers posés par les Noirs dans leur ville, bien plus que les dangers posés aux citoyens noirs. Des citoyens progressistes ont défendu des campagnes de lait pur, mis en garde contre la typhoïde et le paludisme et approuvé l'éradication des maladies vénériennes dans la population noire” (Wailoo, 61).

Le discours étatique français n'est pas accusateur et ne pointe pas directement du doigt la population locale; mais n'évoque pas les Guadeloupéens avec bienveillance. Il y a surtout les enjeux économiques et géopolitiques de l' France qui important. La priorité au tourisme en est la preuve. En décembre 2020, les Français peuvent venir en grand nombre dans l'île pour profiter des

plages et du soleil. Le plaisir des Hexagonaux surpasseraient le bien-être d’une population qui applique les geste barrière aussi méticuleusement que possible.

Conclusion

Il n’est pas inconcevable de penser que l’État français a tiré des leçons de l’expérience du LKP. Il semblerait que la nouvelle stratégie de l’État se résumerait en quelques mots : ne pas engager de négociations. Toutefois, l’année 2020 est aussi une année d’un nouveau marronnage. À l’instar d’Imbert Marboeuf, de nombreux hommes noirs d’envergure se sont éteints. Marboeuf était un indépendantiste convaincu, ancien prisonnier politique et militant de la première heure. Il se sera évadé des prisons guadeloupéennes avec Luc Reinette et deux autres acolytes à la fin des années 1970. Alors que les indépendantistes sont au crépuscule de leur vie, quittant nos rivages et nos cieux, les violences policières qu’ils auront affrontées se démultiplient, et le sens de leur lutte s’en retrouve aiguisé. La situation épidémiologique liée au virus Covid-19 exacerbe une conjoncture fondée dans la violence et qui perdure dans la violence. Aussi symbolique semblerait-elle. Le peuple guadeloupéen subit encore un colonialisme qui ne dit plus son nom qu’implicitement, en niant simplement les demandes du peuple. L’épidémie est un phénomène qui a souffert d’une inflation médiatique alors que le péyi Gwadeloup est historiquement la proie de nombreuses épidémies :

Figure 1: Veillée d’Imbert Marboeuf. 7 octobre 2020. Pointe-à-Pitre. Source: Photo prise par l’auteur.



“Depuis les débuts de la colonisation, les maladies ont affecté la vie des habitants de la Guadeloupe. Les dernières à avoir frappé les Guadeloupéens ont été la lèpre (les lépreux ont été évacués de La Désirade en 1958), la tuberculose (le Sanatorium de Pigeon (Bouillante date de 1969), le pian et la bilharziose (dont il existe encore de petits foyers). Jusque dans les années 1950, le risque de décès dû à la variole, à la fièvre jaune, au choléra était élevé”. (LaFleur, Uwi)

Notons qu'elles éclatent systématiquement à partir des bateaux des colons, qui à l'époque semblaient plus soucieux de leur préserver leur écologie locale. Le langage de l'épidémie en Guadeloupe est celui d'une conversation de sourds entre deux communautés qui n'ont pas encore construit la métalangue pour déconstruire le monde colonial ensemble.

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Non-Thematic

Predicting Self-Regulation through Inner Speech Reflexivity Modes

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Abstract

Archer (2012) theorized that internal conversation [inner speech] has a mediating role between *objective* or macroscopic features of social configuration and *subjective* mental [cognitive] activities. This mediating role is represented by communicative, meta-reflexivity, autonomous, and fractured modes. The literature review reveals that self-regulation may have originated in inner speech. However, it is unclear how different modes of inner speech/conversation can explain and predict self-regulation. To examine this question, 150 students completed measures of self-regulation and inner speech. Students reported lower levels of the *fractured mode* of inner speech than other modes. Although the meta-reflexivity mode (MRM) had the largest effect size in predicting self-regulation, communicative mode, self-consciousness, and MRM together predicted 41% of variability of self-regulation. As well, there were no differences in female and male participants' scores in inner speech reflexivity modes and self-regulation stages. The results suggest several implications to enhance students' self-regulation within the social context of educational settings.

Keywords

Self-Consciousness; Self-Regulation; Inner Speech Reflexivity Modes

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Introduction

Human thinking contains several latent cognitive mechanisms and processes such as directing (Vallotton, 2008), reasoning and planning (Heimpel, Qian, & Song, 2018; Morin, 2005, 2011), appraising and reappraising (Kraaij & Garnefski, 2019), controlling, inhibiting or delaying of gratification (Hadjicharalambous & Fanti, 2018; Santrock et al., 2005), and other cognitive strategies that are involved in constructing and developing self-regulation. Zimmerman (2000, cited in Sandars & Cleary, 2011) defined self-regulation as “self-generated thoughts, feelings, and actions that are planned and cyclically adapted to the attainment of personal goals” (p. 14). This cognitive capacity refers to the active and constructive ability to manage personal emotions, thoughts, feelings, and wishes as well as activities to achieve desired outcomes and fulfil a variety of individual needs (Carey, Neal, & Collins, 2004; Corsini, 1999; Trommsdorff, 2009).

Such definitions reveal that a series of cognitive components characterize self-regulation by dealing with the compromise between personal emotions, thoughts, feelings, and social demands or coercion (Carey et al., 2004; Corsini, 1999; Sandars & Cleary, 2011). These components include appraising; reappraising; selecting alternatives; planning; monitoring progress; restraining desires, emotions, and tempting thoughts or impulses; maintaining activities to gain goals; and adapting to social demands (Baumeister et al., 2007; Chan, Shum, Toulopoulou, & Chen, 2008; Garnefski, & Kraaij, 2007, 2008; Saban, Ornoy, & Parush, 2014). All such mechanisms revolve around the axis of consciousness or awareness that motivates researchers to see self-regulation as a function of self-awareness (Morin, 2011). However, it is postulated that self-regulation is maintained through human language particularly inner speech (Cheyney, Wang, & Bettini, 2013; Vallotton, 2008).

Inner speech has been postulated as *self-talk* (Brinthaupt, Hein, & Kramer, 2009; Brinthaupt, 2019), *inner language* (Cheyney et al., 2013; Vallotton, 2008), and *internal conversation* (Archer, 2012, 2013). Considering both inner speech and internal conversation as self-talk, it is suggested that inner speech has a causal role in developing self-regulation in both women and men (Morin, 2011, Morin & Racy, 2015). Although some studies reported no gender differences in inner speech (Ren, Wang, & Jarrold, 2016), there were some differences across gender in both using inner speech and self-regulation strategies (Bashir & Bashir, 2016; Goubet & Chryssikou, 2019; Vallotton & Ayoub, 2011). Goubet and Chryssikou (2019) argued that these differences are related to the frequency and the flexibility of using emotional regulation strategies indicating that women are more flexible and superior compared to men. Conducting a longitudinal study, Vallotton and Ayoub (2011) reported some significant gender differences in both self-regulation trajectories and the impact of language on self-regulation in early development.

Regardless of such gender differences, the role of inner speech in developing self-regulation was implied by Vygotsky (Bodrova, 2014) when he emphasized that children use the process of internalization through language to develop from *co-regulating behavior* with an adult to behave *independently*. This development occurs within the *zone of proximal development*, which is the growing edge of competence representing a set of skills a child needs to learn (Florez, 2011). To reach this level of development, individuals use inner speech as self-directed thought. Accordingly, inner speech may be considered as an agent that performs cognitive processes to generate meanings, internalize concepts (Margolis & Laurence, 2011), interpret external situations, adapt to situations, and change external situations socially and developmentally (Cheyney et al., 2013).

For Archer (2012), inner speech (or internal conversation), as self-talk, has a mediating role between the *objective* or macroscopic feature of social configuration and *subjective* mental

(cognitive) activities. Margaret Archer is a British sociologist who developed a social morphogenetic approach to find a solution for the problem of “structure and agency.” She claimed that individuals have power to monitor, change or develop their social stances and situations by virtue of inner conversation [inner speech] about their personal or social concerns, ideas, values, and behaviors. For individuals, this is an “exercise of the mental ability to consider themselves (their concerns) in relation to their social contexts and vice versa” (Archer, 2012, p. 1). Although Archer did not focus on self-regulation as a product of inner speech, she theorizes that through this exercise (internal conversation), individuals are involved in some processes at both *cognitive* and *societal* levels by which concepts and context-based meanings are proliferated and then provide an opportunity to produce different modes or styles of inner speech in social context.

At the *cognitive level*, inner speech [internal conversation – Archer, 2007, 2012] is involved in a set of cognitive mechanisms and processes that determine thoughts. Some of these processes may include receiving, defining, coding, classifying, discriminating, evaluating or appraising, screening, planning, adaptation, searching, formulating, implementing, and reassessing (Baumeister et al., 2007; Chan et al., 2008; Garnefski et al., 2007; Garnefski, Grol, Kraaij, & Hamming, 2008; Miller & Brown, 1991; Saban et al., 2014). Evidence-based findings demonstrated that such processes emerge and act through the rehearsal of inner speech (Malim, 1989; Morin, 2011; Morin & Uttl, 2013).

At the *social level*, Archer (2007, 2012) argued that this rehearsal occurs within social contexts and, since individuals develop within social contexts, the products of inner speech are socially contextual and constructed. The role of social context is to activate the above-noted processes and to develop different modes of inner speech (Archer, 2003, 2007, 2012). Accordingly, each single process of thought is a result of the interplay between cognitive levels and social levels (Archer, 2007, 2012). Through this interplay, norms are learned and internalized, and four different modes of inner speech develop.

The *communicative mode* refers to a type of “internal conversations that need to be confirmed and completed by others before they lead to action” (Archer, 2012 p. 13). This mode may strengthen social integration, and it may be used by people who tend to maintain contextual continuity strongly (Clarke, 2008). With this mode of inner speech, people seek similarities among the population and across situations. Although this mode can establish and maintain peoples’ identities (social identity), it may create strong resistance against any possible changes.

Autonomous reflexivity refers to a type of inner speech that is “self-contained and leading directly to action” (Archer, 2012, p. 13). Clarke (2008) argued that goal-achievement is a major characteristic of autonomous reflexivity. This mode is characterized by relying on internal resources, self-directed decision making, taking an independent course of action, relying on individual concerns, promoting contextual discontinuity, transforming behavior into action through voluntary conduct, and self-autonomy (Clarke, 2008; Colombo, 2011).

Meta-reflexivity is another mode that is characterized by self-critique and societal critique (Clarke, 2008). Archer (2012) elaborates features of meta-reflexivity including searching for personal and social reality, being satisfied with this searching, critically considering future plans or projects, trying to make a project feasible in the external world, and being critical about effective actions in a society. In addition to these modes of reflexivity, the *fractured mode* is characterized by focusing on personal distress and disorientation and the lack of purposeful

courses of action. Passive agent is another name that some researchers use to refer to this mode (Clarke, 2008; Colombo, 2011).

Devoting attention to inner speech reflexivity modes and self-regulation is important in educational contexts. For example, King and Kitchener’s (2004) reflective judgment model focuses on how educational experiences can facilitate the development of reflective thinking and informed decision-making. The role of self-regulation in educational settings is well-established (e.g., Greene, 2018). In addition to their relevance to student development and outcomes, inner speech and self-regulation are also important for teacher preparation programs (e.g., Hofer, 2017). Thus, examining the relations among inner speech modes and self-regulatory tendencies can provide us with interesting implications for educational and other kinds of behavioral interventions.

In summary, comparing the cognitive mechanisms of self-regulation (Carver, Johnson, & Joormann, 2009; Legault & Inzlicht, 2013; Trommsdorff, 2009) with the features of the inner speech (internal conversation) modes in Archer’s theory reveals that there are several common cognitive processes (Shahidi, 2015). For example, the meta-reflexivity mode may be seen in self-regulated individuals (Neal & Carey, 2004, 2005), and this mode also deals with self-improvement, self-realization, and self-awareness (Vandenberghe, 2003) that may have close association with self-regulation. However, it is not clear whether such inner speech modes can explain self-regulation. Also, since people use different levels of modes in different situations (Archer, 2012), it is unclear how these modes predict self-regulation. Accordingly, the present study examined the following hypotheses.

- 1: Inner speech reflexivity modes will be positively related to self-regulation stages.
- 2: There will be some differences among the inner speech reflexivity modes and self-regulation stages in terms of gender.
- 3: Inner speech reflexivity modes have positive roles in predicting self-regulation.

1. Method

1.1 Participants

After collecting and cleaning the data from 165 participants attending undergraduate programs including Psychology, Arabic Literature, Computer Engineering, and Art at Islamic Azad University, Tehran Central Branch (IAU-CTB), 150 surveys were used in the study. Fifteen participants were removed because they did not respond to some parts of the survey. Mean age of all participants was 25.21 years ($SD = 5.7$). Of the overall sample, 101 (67.3%) students were single and 49 (32.7%) were married; 123 (82%) individuals were female and 27 (18%) were male. The proportional discrepancy between female and male students in Iranian universities reflects women’s cultural preferences and university admission policies by which the number of female students are more than male students (Rezai-Rashti, 2012; World Bank Middle East and North Africa Social and Economic Development Group, 2009). Students agreed to participate in the study after reading an informed consent form.

1.2 Instruments

Self-Regulation Questionnaire (SRQ): To assess self-regulation, the 63-item questionnaire developed by Miller and Brown (1991, Brown, 1998; Neal & Carey, 2005) was used. The questionnaire has seven subscales and each of them contains nine items to assess a specific stage of self-regulation (Neal & Carey, 2005). The stages include receiving information or informational input, self-evaluation, triggering to change by the perception of discrepancy, searching for more options, formulating a plan, implementing the selected plan, and assessing the plan's productiveness (Neal & Carey, 2004; Neal & Carey, 2005). These stages were postulated by Miller and Brown (1991) based on Kanfer's works on self-regulation (1970a, 1970b; Karoly & Kanfer, 2003; Neal & Carey, 2005). Individuals display their capacity of self-regulation (through using these stages) in three sequential categories including a) high (intact), b) intermediate (moderate), and c) low (impaired) self-regulation capacity (Kanfer, 1970a, 1970b; Karoly & Kanfer, 2003; Miller, & Brown, 1991; Neal & Carey, 2005). High test-retest reliability for the total SRQ score ($r = .94, p < .0001$) as well as high internal consistency ($\alpha = .91$) was reported previously (Aubrey, Brown, & Miller, 1994; Gavora, Jakesova, & Kalenda, 2015). Gavora et al. (2015) used SRQ in 360 Czech university students and reported an acceptable Cronbach's alpha .88 for total score of SRQ. In the current research, internal consistency was good, $\alpha = 0.90$. All subtests showed acceptable reliability values between 0.64 and 0.87 (see Table 2).

The Inner Speech Reflexivity Scale (ISRS): ISRS was developed in Persian by the first author based on Archer's (2012) theory of reflexivity in Persian. The first version of ISRS consisted of 39 items rated using a frequency format (0 = *never*, 1 = *occasionally*, 2 = *a moderate amount*, 3 = *a great deal*). The total score of each subscale was calculated by summing scores of the items for each mode. Of the total items in the first version of the ISRS, 32 items measured four modes of inner speech and 7 items measured self-consciousness. After an exploratory factor analysis, five items were removed, leaving 34 items that explained 46.8% of the variance of four modes of inner speech and self-consciousness.

Of the 34 items, six items measured the communicative mode (e.g., *When I talk to myself, I prefer to conform my thoughts to what others believe*), nine items measured the autonomous mode (e.g., *When I talk to myself, I feel to be independent in my thoughts*), seven items measured the meta-reflexivity mode (e.g., *When I talk to myself, I criticize my ideas*), and six items measured the fractured mode (e.g., *When I talk to myself, I realize that my thoughts are not consistent*). The subscale of self-consciousness contains six items measuring the extent to which participants were conscious and purposeful through their rehearsals of inner speech (e.g., *When I talk to myself, I am conscious of my thoughts*). The self-consciousness subscale was included in this questionnaire to examine the degree to which students are conscious during their engagement in the inner speech reflexivity modes.

The total score of the scale reveals the degree to which students are engaged in all different kinds of inner speech reflexivity. Measuring Cronbach's Alpha revealed that all subscales had acceptable internal consistency between .72 and .80. Table 1 also shows that the associations between subscales were low enough indicating each component is a unique and distinct factor with no significant overlap.

Table 1: Correlations among Subscales of Inner Speech Reflexivity Scale

	Modes of Inner Speech	2	3	4	5	6
1	Total Score of ISRS	.65**	.58**	.61**	.60**	.72**
2	Communicative Mode	1	.14	.19*	.29**	.19*
3	Meta Reflexivity Mode		1	.20*	.29**	.37**
4	Autonomous Mode			1	.25**	.34**
5	Fractured Mode				1	.33**
6	Self-Consciousness					1

Note. N = 150; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

In a pilot study with 45 students who were selected from the same population of IAU-CTB, we examined the convergent validity of ISRS through using the Persian versions of Self-Talk Scale (STS- Khodayarifard, Brinthaup, Zardkhaneh, & Ebadi Fard Azar, 2004) and the Varieties of Inner Speech Questionnaire (VISQ) that was developed by McCarthy-Jones and Fernyhough (2011). Those participants were from different disciplines who enrolled in one general course and answered to all three questionnaires in one session of their class time. Results showed that the association between ISRS and STS total scores was .78, and between ISRS and VISQ total scores was .82, indicating acceptable convergent validity for the ISRS.

Students' Demographic Questionnaire (SDQ): The SDQ consisted of 20 questions measuring the fundamental social characteristics of participants such as age, marital status, educational discipline, gender, and other demographic variables.

1.3 Results

After calculating the descriptive statistical indexes (Table 2), the first hypothesis was analyzed using the correlations between diverse modes of inner speech and self-regulation stages (Table 3). As Table 3 shows, there were weak associations between the autonomous mode and self-regulation, but the other modes revealed significant correlations with most of the self-regulatory stages. It was noteworthy that, whereas the communicative mode related negatively to self-regulatory tendencies, the other modes were positively associated with self-regulation scores. It is also clear that the meta-reflexivity mode related most strongly to self-regulation.

Table 2: Descriptive Indexes for Subscales of ISRS and Self-Regulation

Modes of ISRS and SR	Number of Items	Mean	SD	95% Confidence Interval
Communicative	6	11.57	3.85	10.95 – 12.02
Meta Reflexivity	7	8.92	2.37	8.54 – 9.31
Autonomous	9	9.27	2.7	8.84 – 9.71
Fractured	6	4.24	1.41	4.02 – 4.47
Self-Consciousness	6	13.66	3.33	13.12 – 14.20
Total Score ISRS	34	47.68	8.77	46.26 – 49.10
Total SRQ Score	63	218	27.01	213.71 – 222.42
Receiving Stage	9	31.7	4.81	30.92 – 32.27
Evaluating Stage	9	29.98	4.58	29.25 – 30.73
Triggering Stage	9	30.27	4.2	29.60 – 30.95
Searching Stage	9	32.35	5.71	31.42 – 33.27
Planning Stage	9	30.11	4.56	29.45 – 30.92
Implementing Stage	9	30.57	5.13	29.75 – 31.40
Assessing Stage	9	32.20	5.17	31.35 – 33.02

Note. $N = 150$; ISRS = Inner Speech Reflexivity Scale; SRQ = Self-Regulation Questionnaire; SD = Standard Deviation.

Table 3: Correlations among Inner Speech Reflexivity Modes and Self-Regulation Stages

Self-Regulation Stages	Inner Speech Reflexivity Modes				
	Communicative	Meta Reflexivity	Autonomous	Fractured	Self-Consciousness
Receiving	-.14	.56**	.06	.22**	.25**
Evaluating	-.21*	.35**	.16*	.14	.29**
Triggering	-.13	.36**	.16*	.22*	.31**
Searching	-.21*	.40**	.11	.14	.29**
Planning	-.05	.35**	-.01	.26**	.15
Implementing	-.20*	.44**	.03	.19*	.26**
Assessing	-.15	.38**	.08	.18*	.33**
Total Self-Regulation Score	-.19*	.53**	.12	.26**	.33**

Note. $N = 150$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

We used independent samples *t*-tests to examine the differences between females' and males' scores on both self-regulation and inner speech reflexivity measures. These analyses did not show any differences among the scores of self-regulation stages and inner speech reflexivity modes in terms of gender. Thus, there was not support for the second hypothesis.

Regarding the third hypothesis, stepwise multiple linear regression was used to control overlapping among the variables and to extract the possible models in predicting self-regulation by means of inner speech modes. This method extracted four models for explaining the effect sizes of inner speech modes in predicting SR (Table 4).

As the results show, Model 1 included only the meta-reflexivity mode (MRM) of inner speech, indicating that this model could explain 28% of the variability in self-regulation. Model 2 included MRM and the communicative mode (CM) and accounted for 35% of the variability in self-regulation. Model 3 contained MRM, CM, and self-consciousness (SC) explaining 38% of the variability in self-regulation. Model 4 demonstrated that four factors including MRM, CM,

SC and the fractured mode (FM) of inner speech explained 41% of the variability in self-regulation.

Table 4: Results of stepwise multiple regression in predicting self-regulation through modes of inner speech

Models	Predictors (Modes of Inner Speech)		U-Beta	S-Beta	R	R ²	F**	df	R Square Change
Model 1	Constant	164.5							
	Meta Reflexivity Mode		6.0	0.53	.53**	0.28	56.63	(1,148)	0.28
Model 2	Constant	182.34							
	Meta Reflexivity Mode		6.44	0.56					
	Communicative Mode		-1.88	-0.27	.59**	0.35	39.15	(2, 147)	0.07
Model 3	Constant	169.24							
	Meta Reflexivity Mode		5.61	0.49					
	Communicative Mode		-2.08	-0.30	.62**	0.38	30.28	(3, 146)	0.04
	Self-Consciousness		1.67	0.21					
Model 4	Constant	165.92							
	Meta Reflexivity Mode		5.28	0.46					
	Communicative Mode		-2.33	-0.33					
	Self-Consciousness		1.38	0.17	.64*	0.41	24.68	(4, 145)	0.02
	Fractured Mode		3.12	0.16					

Note. $N=150$; ** $p < 0.000$; * $p < 0.05$

Table 5: Results of multiple regression in predicting self-regulation through overall inner speech reflexivity modes of ISR

Predictors: ISRM*	Constant	U-Beta	S-Beta	R	R ²	F	df	R Square Change
	173.99			.62	.38	22.46*	(4-145)	.38
Communicative		-2.26	-.32					
Meta Reflexivity		5.82	.51					
Autonomous		.25	.02					
Fractured		3.75	.19					

Note. $N = 150$; * $p < .000$.

Removing the component of self-consciousness from the regression equation, we examined the degree to which all different modes together may predict self-regulation. Thus, the predictors were entered into the equation of regression through “enter method”. The results (Table 5) indicated that the overall modes could predict 38% variability of self-regulation without the component of self-consciousness.

Discussion

Archer (2012) postulated that inner speech (internal conversation) has different modes. Using these modes provides people with different social configurations and ways to compromise between personal concerns and social demands. Although recent research examines the general relationships among inner speech, consciousness, self-awareness, self-regulation, and other cognitive processes (e.g., Bodrova, 2014; Bramucci, 2013; Florez, 2011; Morin, 2005, 2011;

Perrone-Bertolotta, Rapin, Lachaux, Baciua, & Loevenbruck, 2014; Vallotton, 2008), the literature lacks empirical studies about the relationships between Archer's modes and self-regulation; hence, the current research is the first study about the relationship between ISRS based on Archer's view and self-regulation. Focusing on how such modes might help to explain and predict self-regulation, the results revealed that participants used the fractured mode of inner speech less often than other modes of inner speech. This indicated that the participants were focused less on their personal distress and disorientation than other features of their inner speech.

The communicative mode (CM) of inner speech showed a negative correlation with self-regulation. This result aligns with the characteristics of the communicative mode in Archer's (2013) views. People with this mode try to show social conformity (Clarke, 2008) rather than actively present a critique of the social status quo. Alternatively, self-regulated people tend to take a proactive role in shaping social situations through self and social regulation (Bandura, 1999).

Opposite of the communicative mode, the meta-reflexivity mode (MRM) of inner speech showed higher correlations with all stages of self-regulation in students. That is, the more use of the meta-reflexivity mode, the higher levels of self-regulation. Also, MRM had the largest effect size in predicting self-regulation; that is, MRM explained almost 30% of the variability in self-regulation. This finding suggests that there may be some common cognitive processes (such as assessing or appraising, reappraising, planning, monitoring progress; maintaining activities to gain goals; and others) that underpin both MRM and self-regulation.

Moreover, MRM, CM, and self-consciousness together predicted 41% of the variability in self-regulation. These results supported previous research in which other features of inner speech have shown a relationship with self-regulation (Alderson-Day & Fernyhough, 2015). This research provides an avenue for exploring different patterns of inner speech through psychosocial theories. For example, although previous studies recommended working on all types of inner speech in educational settings to improve students' sense of agency (Shahidi, 2015), the current research suggests that MRM might be more central than other inner speech modes to reflect individuals' self-regulation. This mode deals with the self-critique, appraising, assessing, and reassessing that are influential in constructing self-regulation.

Any intervention program to enhance and develop self-regulation may concentrate on the above-noted modes of inner speech particularly MRM, CM, and SC. Teacher preparation programs should also focus on reflection and reflexivity (e.g., Hofer, 2017; King & Kitchener, 2004). Our results suggest that attention to inner speech modes would be beneficial for such programs. The result of the second hypothesis showed that there are no gender differences in participants' scores on self-regulation and inner speech measures. This result was in line of Ren et al.'s (2016) research suggesting that working on these modes to enhance students' self-regulation should be equally planned in both female and male students.

There are other interesting implications of the present findings. In particular, whereas we drew the current sample from the Middle East, the relations among inner speech modes and self-regulation may differ depending on cultural context. Future research should explore these variables in other cultures (such as Asia or Central-Eastern Europe), given Archer's (2012) argument that inner speech reflexivity modes develop in social-historical contexts. The present sample was also college-age, so it is not clear whether the relationships among the variables studied will differ for younger or older participants. For example, Perkowska-Klejman and

Odrowaz-Coates (2019) found that older (doctoral) students reported higher levels of critical reflexive thinking compared to younger (undergraduate) students.

Conclusion

In this paper we attempted to portray the predictive role of inner speech reflexivity modes in self-regulation. Since inner speech reflexivity modes happen and develop in socio-historical contexts (Archer, 2012) and because the educational system is a major organized socio-cultural and historical context, improving students' self-regulation through inner speech (reflexivity) modes should be considered contextually as a long-term plan in an educational system. This research provided some important findings suggesting that psychologists and educators focus on the modes of inner speech reflexivity in their intervention programs contextually. Working on these modes can help students and teachers to regulate and prioritize their concerns in relation to different contexts (social situations). However, we faced some limitations in this research. The results of the current study are not fully generalizable to all university students as participants were convenience sampled. Although attempts were made to include students across gender and academic programs, the number of female and male participants was not equal. Thus, the result of second hypothesis should be interpreted cautiously. Further studies can examine gender differences through using a more balanced sample. As well, future research can focus on the common and unique cognitive processes that underpin both MRM and self-regulation cross-culturally.

Conflict of interest

Authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Face-attack in Political Discussions on Radio in the Context of Ghana's 2016 Electioneering Period

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Abstract

We examined insulting and offensive comments made by political actors and party sympathizers on radio as recorded by the Media Foundation for West Africa in the 2016 electioneering period in Ghana. Using the concepts of face and face attack, we found that rival politicians, members/affiliates of political parties and even journalists were attacked through face-threatening acts which include the use of name-calling expressions and derogatory adjectives. We identified face-attacking expressions in the form of attack on moral behaviour, attack on intellectual/mental ability, and attack on physical appearance/characteristics. As suggested by previous studies, face attacks block the free exchange of critical ideas which play a very important role in the development of democratic countries as many citizens would not want to get involved in discussions that threaten their self-image. We, therefore, recommend that political actors in Ghana desist from disrespecting people of divergent political backgrounds or persuasions and rather focus on substantive issues in their public speeches.

Keywords

Election; Face Attack; Politics; Free Speech; Democracy; Radio

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Introduction

Ghana has experienced stable governance under two political parties namely the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), and all general elections held from 1992 to 2016 have been free of major violent acts. However, none of these elections has been devoid of verbal animosity, indecorous language and the use of abusive words on radio, which often resulted in needless tensions among citizens (Asamoah, Yeboah-Assiamah and Osei-Kojo, 2014). In Marfo’s (2014: 527) words, the political landscape has become a “theater of most vitriolic insults ...”. Various explanations have been given and factors commonly mentioned are the rights to freedom of speech and freedom of the media guaranteed by the Constitution of Ghana (Mahama, 2012; Marfo, 2014; Thompson and Anderson, 2018). Another factor, according to Asamoah et al. (2014), is the repeal of the Criminal Libel Law. They explain that repealing this law was meant to “encourage a free and congenial expression of thoughts and opinions ... but it appears it has rather encouraged uncouth free speech” (Asamoah et al., 2014, p. 49).

Before the 2016 general election in Ghana, the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) in Ghana undertook a nine-month project titled ‘*Promoting Issues-based and Decent Language Campaigning for a Peaceful, Free and Fair Elections in Ghana in 2016*’. They focused on speeches or comments made by supporters, affiliates and officials of various political parties in Ghana on selected radio programs from April to December 2016. The project produced bi-weekly reports from the day-to-day monitoring of comments the MFWA refers to as “indecent expressions” used by individuals during the stipulated period. By the end of the first two weeks, it was already clear that offensive language was mainly used during programs related to politics. Also, insulting and offensive comments, unsubstantiated allegations and provocative remarks were observed to be the three most frequently used types of “indecent expressions” among Ghanaian politicians (Tietaah, 2017).

This paper provides an analysis of the comments labeled as insulting and offensive comments in the MFWA project in light of the theoretical conceptualizations of face and face attack (Goffman, 1967; Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]; Tracy and Tracy, 1998). It focuses on the strategies of face attack employed by some political actors who participated in radio discussions during Ghana’s 2016 electioneering period. Additionally, it highlights the lexical contents of the expressions that these political actors used to attack the faces of their targets.

1. Concepts of Face and Face Attack

The concept of face posited by Goffman (1967) is considered as more useful for studies that focus on expressions in social interactions that are antagonistic and hostile or negative communicative behaviour in general (Locher and Watts, 2008; Tracy, 2008; Arundale, 2010). Face is defined as “the public self-image every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 61). It involves an emotional investment and thus can be lost, maintained, or enhanced. In a speech event, a speaker’s choice of words and expressions can be interpreted as ‘giving’ or ‘attacking’ face. Speakers ‘give’ face when their utterances can be interpreted as preserving or maintaining the other party’s perceived sense of respect while speakers ‘attack’ face when their utterances can be interpreted as undermining the other party’s perceived sense of respect (Brett, Olekalns, Friedman, Goates, Anderson and Lisco, 2007).

This means that whether one’s utterances preserve or attack face, they are subtly providing information about their relationship with the other party or how they perceive the other party’s

behaviour. On the one hand, preserving a person's face suggests that the speaker acknowledges the person's status and regards him/her as one 'above' others (which may include the speaker). Also, it suggests that the speaker believes that the person's behaviour/character is following the norms of a society or institution. Thus, the person deserves respect. On the other hand, attacking a person's face implies that the speaker sees the person as one who is 'below' him/her or as one whose behaviour/character transgresses the norms and values of a society or institution (Brett et al., 2007). For that reason, the person must be disrespected or treated with contempt.

According to Tracy and Tracy (1998), face attacks are "communicative acts perceived by members of a social community (and often intended by speakers) to be purposefully offensive" (p. 227). They are that part of a speech, discourse, or even a single comment that is often judged as contemptuous by the 'direct target' (intended addressee), the 'indirect target' (affiliates of the intended addressee present at the speech event) or sometimes by other hearers. The contempt expressed by the speaker is seen as "with the intention of causing open insult" (Methias, 2011. p. 12). Tracy (2008) notes that face-attacking communicative acts are "judged as deliberately nasty and spiteful, where the speaker is assessed by the target and at least some others as purposefully out to disrespect and insult" (p. 173). Many scholars agree that face-attack is a better way to label communicative acts that are commonly described as insulting, offensive, rude, demeaning, disrespectful, personal attack, or out-of-line (e.g. Tracy and Tracy, 1998; Mills 2005; Culpeper, 2011; Mirivel, 2015).

Face attack is often an interpretation rather than just a linguistic feature which points to an attack on the direct target's social identity. It is an assessment of a situated communication on the basis of one's cultural knowledge of what kinds of identities are desired or undesired or what kinds of communicative acts are appropriate or inappropriate in a particular speech community or context (Holmes, Marra and Schnurr, 2008; Tracy, 2011). Generally, the recipient of a face attack constructs the speaker's behaviour as intentional. As a result, one whose face is under attack is more likely to respond in a defensive and non-cooperative manner (Culpeper, 2005). In a socio-political speech event for instance, not only will the political actors who suffer face attack (or their affiliates) defend their material interests, but also their honor and self-image. There is, therefore, a high possibility that face attacks will escalate and reduce the possibility of agreement and harmony, thereby, destabilising personal relationships and further causing social conflicts (Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann, 2003; Kienpointner, 2008). In the present study, we identified that the face attacks were mainly directed at some key politicians in Ghana. Also, we realized that some of the attacks were not directed at individuals but to all the members of a political party. This occurs because of the collectivist nature of face in the Ghanaian context. That is, a group's face matters more than an individual's face (Agyekum, 2004).

2. The use of Insults among Ghanaians

According to Ofori (2017), an insult is "a behaviour or discourse, oral or written, direct or indirect, gestural or non-gestural, which is perceived, experienced, constructed and most of the time intended as slighting, humiliating, or offensive, which has the potential of psychologically affecting not only the addressee or target but his/her associates" (p. 130). This act typically involves two communicative participants namely, a perpetrator and a target(s), and it defies the target(s)'s desire to be respected and to have the self-esteem maintained (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2009). On many occasions, specific words or string of words which may be ingenious, insidious or unpredictable and can cause psychological and emotional harm are deployed to strike directly at the target's self-esteem, identity, pride and ego (Neu, 2008). Among Ghanaians, the use of

insult is generally considered morally unjustifiable (Thompson and Agyekum, 2015; Ofori, 2017; Thompson, 2021). However, it is often used when a speaker wants to unleash their anger or express their pain about a particular situation. Neu (2008) notes that the intention to offend or draw out some negative feelings of a person is unnecessary for an insult to be effective. That is to say that a speaker may lack the intention to insult a person but if their language signals a lack of regard, it may cause offence. The damage is done once the latter perceives it to be hurtful and consequently becomes offended whether the speaker intended to inflict emotional harm on the addressee or not (Yiannis, 1998).

The content of an insult is arguably arbitrary as its impact is usually not dependent on its veracity. The impact may be as a result of consistent prosodic and nonverbal elements such as increased loudness, tense voice quality and frowning. It may also be determined by the mood of the person (target), the time, the event, the place the atmosphere, or the audience involved (Thompson, 2020). Consistent with this, Forson, Fordjour, Tettey and Oteng-Preko (2017) note that in order to achieve the much-needed impact of insults and other abusive language forms in Ghana, “most often perpetrators intentionally attack their victims at strategic settings, [...] such as durbar grounds, lorry stations, and market places” (p. 150). The foregoing therefore suggests that there is a high chance that the use of insults during interactive socio-political programs on radio, especially those with wider listenership, can have a negative effect on the target(s).

Bousfield (2008) notes that communicative practices that breach the norms of many societies (e.g. the use of insults) form a central part of radio broadcasts that involve issues of national interest and encourage citizens’ self-expression through interactive programs. During such broadcasts, citizens not only have access to information in their own languages; they also have the opportunity to express views which could sometimes shape decision-making processes through whatever medium they find comfortable. In Ghana, for instance, many radio stations have created the room through their talk shows for political party activists and sympathizers, government officials, and other citizens from diverse socio-political backgrounds to speak out about issues of national concern (Karlekar and Marchant, 2007). Various studies have examined the use of language during socio-political discussions on radio in Ghana and have concluded that it is characterized by (1) emotionally charged contributions, which can be considered as disrespectful to people in authority (Yankah, 1998); (2) expressions of dissatisfaction about national issues through verbal attacks and insults (Coker, 2012); and (3) on-record strategies of impoliteness (Thompson and Anderson, 2018).

In a democratic country like Ghana, although political discussions on radio usually involve people from different sides of the political divide, it is required that reasonable arguments, cooperative communication, and mutual respect remain the strong ideals that shape the linguistic behaviour of participants. At the same time, it is not unexpected that the use of offensive comments and provocative remarks will be a regular feature of such discussions, especially during an electioneering period (Sobieraj and Berry, 2011). However, to the best of our knowledge, prior studies of political discussions on radio in Ghana have not focused on *face-attack* (or *impolite moves*) in contributions made during the 2016 electioneering period. The present paper fills this gap.

3. Dataset

We used an existing dataset from the project, *Promoting Issues based and Decent Language Campaigning for Peaceful Elections in Ghana in 2016* conducted by the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA 2016 data). This project involved daily monitoring, recording and

reporting the use of abusive language on radio during the campaign period of general elections in Ghana. From April to December 2016, a total of 16,006 interactive programs which were aired in the morning or evening were observed on 70 selected radio stations across the country. The purpose was to identify radio stations, hosts of programs, panel discussants (guests), and callers who engaged in the use of abusive language during the period. It was also to identify specifically the kinds of expressions used and to name and shame political actors who engaged in verbal abuse rather than issue-based discussions and arguments.

In all, a total of 464 “indecent expressions” were identified and these were categorized as (1) Insulting and Offensive Comments, (2) Remarks inciting Violence, (3) Remarks Endorsing Violence, (3) Ethnic/Tribal Slurs (4) Provocative Remarks, (5) Unsubstantiated Allegations, and (7) Divisive Comment²⁶. Table 1 below shows the distribution of these categories. These “indecent expressions” were recorded during interactive programs related to political party activities, corruption, and the 2016 elections. The majority of the participants (i.e. panelists, callers, or texters) as well as the moderators (hosts) of these programs were males. Those who participated in these programs were political officials, affiliates and supporters of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Progressive People’s Party (PPP), National Democratic Congress (NDC), People’s National Congress (PNC), Ghana Freedom Party, New Labor Party (NLP) and the National Democratic Party (NDP). Most of the “indecent expressions” recorded were used by known political figures from the two major political parties, NPP and NDC (Tietaah, 2017).

For the scope of this study, we focused only on the 159 expressions categorized as insulting and offensive comments as shown in Table 1 from the MFWA 2016 data. This is because, as explained in Section 1.1 above, the concepts of face and face attack are more applicable to the insulting and offensive comments than to the other forms of expressions identified. Thus, the other forms of “indecent expressions” in the Table 1 were not taken into consideration.

Table 1: Indecent expressions used during Ghana’s 2016 electioneering period

Categories	Frequency
Unsubstantiated Allegations	165
Insulting and offensive Comments	159
Provocative Remarks	88
Remarks endorsing inciting Violence	26
Remarks inciting Violence	12
Divisive Comments	12
Ethnic/Tribal Slurs	2
Total	464

(Tietaah, 2017, p. 23)

4. Method of Analysis

We examined the data through the analytical lens of *face attack* ((Goffman, 1967; Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]; Tracy and Tracy, 1998). First, we got acquainted with the MFWA 2016 data, reviewed the comments labeled as insulting and offensive comments to ensure that they are consistent with our working definition of insults. Secondly, we identified the forms of attack that political officials and supporters employed on radio to challenge the faces (i.e. positive

²⁶ The operational definitions of the categories identified can be found in Tietaah (2017, pp. 13-15). The authors of the present paper do not contest these definitions.

self-images) of others. Also, we sought to identify the negative lexical content that made up the insulting comments. The comments were then double coded by the second and fourth authors. They coded the comments based on the forms of face attack identified. Lastly, they compared and merged their codes to ensure consistency.

Comments from the MFWA 2016 data used as examples in this study were mainly presented without the names of the speakers. The names were replaced with pseudonyms to minimize any risk of potential harm to the speakers and to ensure the protection of their public image (Tilley and Woodthorpe, 2011). Also, comments that were not originally in English were first presented in the Ghanaian language used and then followed by its translation. In the presentation of excerpts, we introduced the ellipses points (...) to indicate that parts of a comment that are not needed to enhance understanding in the present study have been omitted.

5. Face Attacks in the 2016 Electioneering Period

This section presents (1) the forms of face attacks in the MFWA 2016 data and (2) the lexical contents of the face attacks. As exemplified in the following, the face attacks were mainly directed at key politicians but in some instances, the speakers extended the abusive behaviour to all the members or supporters of their ‘rival’ political parties. Also, there were few instances where the attacks were directed at certain journalists in the country.

5.1. Forms of Face Attack

The attacks directed at these politicians were in three forms. As shown in examples 1 – 12, they are attack on moral behaviour, attack on intellectual/mental ability, and attack on physical appearance/characteristics.

5.1.1. Attack on Moral Behaviour

The examples below portray some of the negative characteristics attributed to the targets as an attack on their moral behaviour. Among other things, the speakers commonly identified their political rivals as ‘thieves’, ‘liars’, ‘criminals’, ‘murderers’, ‘dishonest’, ‘corrupt’, ‘wicked’, and ‘disgraceful’.

1. ... *Kojo Adu Asare, kɔɔfoɔ tekyiamoa and I am saying it without fear or favor, a thief. Me ne wo yere koraa anka m'agyae wo. kɔɔfoɔ, ah wo ne Kejetia kɔɔfoɔ difference nnim. The only difference is that, ɔmo no, ɔmo ye institutional armed robbers but you, wo deɛ wo ye decorated armed robber ... criminal like you.*
 ‘... Kojo Adu Asare, perfect thief and I am saying it without fear or favor, a thief. If I were your wife, I would have divorced you. Thief, ah there is no difference between you and Kejetia thieves. The only difference is that they are institutional armed robbers but you, as for you, you are a decorated armed robber ... criminal like you.’
 [EOB, 7/21/16]

Excerpt 1 demonstrates a face attack on Kojo Adu Asare, a member of parliament, as the speaker explicitly labels him as a thief, an armed robber, and a criminal. The use of the phrase ‘without fear or favour’ implies that the speaker recognizes the target’s social status. However, to him, the target has failed to adhere to some expected conduct of someone of his competence. Thus, he implies that the member of parliament is not fit to have a wife given that being married is seen as honorable and respectable in the Ghanaian context. Also, the speaker compares the member of parliament to *Kejetia kɔɔfoɔ* ‘Kejetia thief’ and concludes that apart from their

background, there is no difference between them. The repetition of the label *krɔnfoɔ* ‘thief’, modifying it with an evaluative adjective *tekyiamoa* ‘perfect’ and using a worse form of the label ‘armed robber’ heightens the face attack on the member of parliament (see Taboada, Trnavač and Goddard (2017) on repetition and adjectives).

2. ... *this same Bawumia the liar has come out to lie and say se they will not take any more loans because President Mahama regyegyɛ loans dodo, the same Bawumia the liar has come out to say se, ɔmo deɛ ɔmo ngyɛ tax because we are overtaxing Ghanaians, enti ɔno Bawumia deɛ, ɔba a, all the taxes that are in place, ɔbe yiɪ ni nyinaa efri hɔ...this same Bawumia the liar.*

‘... this same Bawumia the liar has come out to lie and say that they will not take any more loans because President Mahama has been taking too many loans, the same Bawumia the liar has come out to say that, they will not be taking taxes because we are overtaxing Ghanaians, so he Bawumia, when he comes, all the taxes that are in place, he would eliminate all of them ...this same Bawumia the liar.’ [KA, 7/27/16]

In this excerpt, Bawumia (the presidential running mate of the NPP, the main opposition party in 2016) is repeatedly called “the liar” because according to the speaker he stated that when their party is voted into power, they are not going to take loans or take taxes from citizens. Labeling the target as a ‘liar’ gives us the hint that this speaker (who was a deputy general secretary of NDC, the party in power in 2016) believes that it is impossible for a ruling party to avoid taking loans and at the same time ask citizens to stop paying the taxes already in place. This excerpt, therefore, signals an indictment on the NPP running mate’s commitment to follow “due process” for national development. The face-attack here is not just on the running mate but the entire leadership of the NPP.

3. *Ghanafoɔ, akrɔnfoɔ aba kuromu o! Thieves are here, ye betumi apam wɔn mu a gyɛɛ 7th December because 7th November deɛ Ghanafoɔ enyi wɔn adwen enfiri hɔ, maame no ye wicked... ɔka kyerɛ John Mahama se I will not disappoint you because ɔservi John Mahama’s interest, not Ghana’s interest.*

‘Ghanaians, there are thieves in town o! Thieves are here, to be able to sack them we’ll have to wait for 7th December because we can forget 7th November, the woman (referring to the electoral commissioner) is wicked... she told John Mahama that I will not disappoint you because she serves John Mahama’s interest, not Ghana’s interest.’ [CO, 5/26/16]

Here, the speaker described the electoral commissioner as wicked and added that she served the president’s (John Mahama) interest rather than the nation’s interest. De Angelis (2009) states that “institutions rest on ethical principles that define the legitimate expectations that citizens nourish towards them” (p. 524). Normally, it is required of the leaders and others who are part of every institution to uphold such principles. Even though everyone who is part of the institution should ensure that the ideals are accomplished, it is the leader(s) who is often seen as most responsible as they supervise/control the implementation of decisions. Therefore, for the speaker in this excerpt to say that the electoral commissioner was subverting the ideals of the commission for an individual’s interest is a serious face attack. The comment “she serves John Mahama’s interest, not Ghana’s interest” means that the electoral commissioner was not attentive to or has violated the commission’s basic values. The speaker, therefore, was challenging the electoral commissioner’s commitment to the democratic processes that can guarantee Ghanaians of a free and fair election.

4. ...*NDCfoɔ ye akrɔnfoɔ too much, wo ye awifo too much, wo ye nsommɔre, wɔye nsommɔre.*

‘... Members of the NDC are dangerous thieves, they are dangerous thieves, they are ticks, they are ticks.’ [UEB, 5/9/16]

Without any form of hedging, the speaker maintains that members of the NDC are thieves. In addition to the name calling, the face attack on the NDC members is reinforced in the repeated metaphorical expression, “they are ticks”. Since the NDC was the government in power then, referring to them as ticks may be the speaker’s way of saying that they were exploiting the system to the detriment of others.

5. *Wɔn a w'atwa Nana Akufo-Addo ho ahyia no nyinaa, se wɔn kɔda mu mma a yɛ a, wei yɛ cocaine ni, ɔnye cocaine ni a, w'ako da mu aba. Se enye cocaine a, wa yɛ wei. Mo nkyerɛ me nipa baako pɛ, sika die basabasa. Exconvictfoɔ nkoa na etwa ne ho ahyia. Yenfa Ghana mme hye m'onsa, yenfa Ghana mme hye exconvictsfoɔ nsa, jail breakers foɔ, Captain Koda, yenfa Ghana mme hye m'onsa. Anfo Kwaakye ex-convict, yenfa Ghana emme hye m'onsa, eh, Anfo Kwaakye o, exconvict, yenfa Ghana mme hye wɔn sa. Raymond Amankwah, Nana Addo be ma wɔ mo diplomatic passports. yɛ kyekye wɔn wɔ cocaine ho wɔ Brazil, ɔmo aba, yen nsa nfa Ghana emme hye mo nsa? ‘all those around Nana Akufo-Addo, if this has not gone to jail, this is a cocaine dealer, if this is not a cocaine dealer, he has been to jail. If it’s not cocaine, he has done this. Show me one only person, spending money anyhow. Its only ex-convicts that have surrounded him. We should hand Ghana over to you, we should hand Ghana over to ex-convicts, jail breakers, Captain Koda, we should hand Ghana over to you. Anfo Kwaakye ex-convict, we should hand Ghana over to you, eh, Anfo Kwaakye o, ex-convict, we should hand Ghana over to you, Raymond Amankwah, that Nana Addo gave them diplomatic passports. They were arrested in Brazil because of cocaine, they have returned, should we hand Ghana over to you again?’ [MA, 6/17/16]*

Here, the speaker suggested that associates of the then opposition leader Nana Addo did not possess qualities deemed acceptable for governing a nation. Employing name calling, he refers to them as jailbreakers, ex-convicts, and cocaine dealers. From this excerpt, it can be understood that, to the speaker, people with such background are morally incompetent or not capable of being at the helm of affairs in Ghana.

5.1.2. Attack on Mental/Intellectual Ability

The attack on the mental or intellectual abilities of the targets can be seen in the use of certain expressions and keywords against them as shown in the excerpts below. The keywords include ‘fool’, ‘mad’, ‘retard’, ‘empty, hollow brain’, and ‘unwise’. By the use of these keywords, the speakers discredit their targets as being mentally or intellectually unfit.

6. *Ɔye hwan?... Afoko w'anom cocaine saa w'abɔ dam, mmere a yɛ reye campaign na w'anom cocaine abɔ dam, me se Afoko kwasea saa, Afoko gyimifoɔ. ‘Afoko has sniffed cocaine for a long time, he is mad. When we were campaigning, he was already mad as a result of cocaine, I said Afoko, is a fool indeed, Afoko, is retarded ...’ [KA, 5/3/16]*

Afoko, the one to whom the face attack in this excerpt is directed, was the national chairman of the NPP who was suspended in 2015 by the party’s National Executive Council for allegedly working to undermine their chances in the general election. In this excerpt, the speaker (who is also a leading member of the party) identified Afoko as *kwasea* ‘fool’ and *gyimifoɔ* ‘retard’. Both expressions, as observed by Thompson (2020), are insults used in Ghana against a person whom one believes has engaged in some inappropriate acts that challenge the values of a society. The speaker also expressed contempt for his target by posing twice a question which is considered derogatory in this context, *ɔye hwan* ‘who is he?’ as well as maintaining that Afoko has gone mad as a result of the continuous use of cocaine.

7. *Abankwah Yeboah ...wo na wo krakra party sika...wo se Nana Addo se, menfa sika no nkɔtu account a εye dormant mu εwɔ Ecobank ... m'aka akyere wo se koyi wo sika because they can do fraud at any time, nea ɔmo ye no ye fraud, serious fraud ... w'anbe kasa kraa there would have been wisdom in his silence...papa no n'adwen mu tokro dem, tokro wɔ n'adwen mu, its empty, hollow*
'Abankwah Yeboah...you have the party's money...you said Nana Addo says, I should place the money into a dormant account at Ecobank ... I have told you that go and take your money because they can be fraudulent at any time, what they are doing is fraudulent, serious fraud ... If he has not even spoken there would have been wisdom in his silence...the man has a hole in his brain, there is hole in his brain, it is empty, hollow'. [LNKP, 7/21/16]

The face theory states that people have the desire to be appreciated, approved of, or seen as competent during a social interaction. Excerpt 7 shows a total disregard for the target's face wants in this respect. The statement 'if he has not even spoken, there would have been wisdom in his silence' indicates that the speaker did not appreciate the response from the target. The speaker intensifies the face attack by adding that "the man has a hole in his brain, there is a hole in his brain, it is empty, hollow".

8. *Me gye di se Baah Achamfour ankasa onoa ankasa eyeme se n'adwene no... gyama ate... ate. Akoa yi main line no mu abɔpɔw.*
'I believe that Baah Achamfour himself, he himself, I think that his mind ... perhaps, is torn. It is torn. This gentleman's main line is entangled.'
(Baah Achamfour is mentally ill.) [ECK, 5/17/16]

In excerpt 8, the speaker resorts to indirectness to say that the target is mentally ill. As posited by Amfo, Houphouet, Dordoye and Thompson (2018: 16), "the key to normal human behavior and function is the mind". That is, for the speaker to say that Baah Achamfour's mind is torn and his main line (referring to the neural connections in the brain) is entangled means that he is engaging in abnormal human behaviour. By this, the speaker is further implying that people should not pay attention to Baah Achamfour because he is not in a sound frame of mind.

9. *... Onnim nyansa, maame no onnim nyansa, onim nyansa a, ɔnfa Ghanafoɔ akoma nni agorɔ.*
'... She [Charlotte Osei] is unwise, this woman is unwise, if she is wise, she would not play with the hearts of Ghanaians'. [CO, 5/26/16]

Here, we see the speaker trying to justify his attack on the electoral commissioner (Charlotte Osei) with the claim that she was toying with the hearts of Ghanaians. However, describing the commissioner as 'unwise' is considered very disrespectful in the Ghanaian speech culture since she is regarded as more powerful and of a higher social rank than the speaker (Thompson and Anderson, 2018). The face attack on the electoral commissioner may even be measured higher not only because the speaker employed the techniques of parallelism and repetition for emphasis but in this context, it is also because the attack was on radio (Forson et al., 2017).

10. *Baby Ansaba should go away with his gutter journalism...Baby Ansaba ɔkaase yen nim nu anaa ...?*
'Baby Ansaba should go away with his gutter journalism...Baby Ansaba, does he think we don't know him...?' [NOB, 5/16/16]

The use of the phrase 'gutter journalism' clearly shows the speaker's contempt for Baby Ansaba's style of journalism and discredits it. The rhetorical question *ɔkaase yen nim nu anaa?* 'does he think we don't know him?' also signals that the speaker knows something unpleasant or about the target that can damage his image.

i. Attack on Physical Appearance/Characteristics

In excerpts 11 and 12, the speakers describe their targets in an abusive manner by drawing the attention of readers to certain physical characteristics of these targets.

11. *Obi te se Collins Dauda, dabiaa na wa hye n’atadee na abe si ni ha sei na oto ne pa tesse akokono a owo abe mu.*
 ‘Someone like Collins Dauda, every day, he wears a dress that is hanging on his leg, then he is twisting his waist like the insects in a palm tree’. [YAB, 5/10/16]

In excerpt 11, YAB challenged the face wants of Collins Dauda (a member of parliament) by vilifying him based on his style of dressing. Even though this comment can be seen as innocuous in another context (see Sekyi-Baidoo, 2009), it is hard to imagine that Ghanaians will not describe it as insulting, especially if they consider that the target is older and higher in rank than the speaker.

12. *Manesseh Azure, nea ye kakyere wo nne ewia e, ye nim se sebe sebe, wo se aprɔ, bra na yen ma wo toothbrush ne toothpaste na ko twetwe, na yen sa mma wo sapɔ ne samina na wo honam kankan a ewɔ wo ho a, ... na w’adware*
 ‘... Manasseh Azure, what we are telling you this afternoon, we know that, excuse me, your teeth are rotten, come and let’s give you toothbrush and toothpaste and brush your teeth. We will then give you sponge and soap so that the body odor you have ... you take a bath’. [MA, 6/9/16]

Excerpt 12 focuses on personal hygiene of the target. To describe the target’s teeth as rotten and to add that he has a body odor means that the target is not engaging in good personal hygiene practices. Personal hygiene assessments of this kind, according to Grainger (2004), is “personally face-threatening” (p. 44).

5.2. Lexical Content of Insulting Expressions

The following shows that the insults in the MFWA 2016 data were expressed both in plain language (13-20) and in imagery or symbolic terms (21-27).

5.2.1 Plain Language

The plain language used was in the form of noun phrases, adjectives, and adverbs.

Noun Phrases

We observed the use of name-calling expressions such as *akɔɔfoɔ* ‘thieves’ and *awudifoɔ* ‘murderers’ in excerpt 13 and ‘paedophile’ in excerpt 14:

13. *Na Electoral Commission ho, nipa num wo ho a omo ye akɔɔfoɔ W’omo ye akɔɔfoɔ awudifoɔ paa.*
 ‘There at the Electoral Commission, there are five people who are thieves ... they are thieves and murderers.’ [AD, 5/19/16]

14. *obi de adee bi edi wo ama Kofi Ghana ena yen nyina ne no twe manso, o se wo de wo to na a ko gye KMA boss, now, na wo Otiko Djabah, a wo me nim wo track record, a paedophile, a paedophile ...*

‘someone did something to you for Kofi Ghana and we all quarreled with him, he said you used your body to gain the position of the KMA boss, now and you, Otiko Djabah that I have your track record, a paedophile, a paedophile ...’ [LNKP, 7/21/16]

or nouns modified by derogatory adjectives such as ‘stupid fool’ in (15) and ‘greedy bastard’ in (16) below:

15. *Mugabe ... Wo dwane behyee nkran ha a wo nyaa dɔm, obi yee wo adom ma wo kɔɔ kɔhyee UK. nne wote hɔ nom se den? You are a stupid fool.*
‘Mugabe ... You escaped to Accra and got many followers, someone made you a favor to UK. Today what are you saying? You are a stupid fool.’ [HA, 5/30/16]

16. *Carl Wilson ne ho aye fi ... who born dog? greedy bastard.*
‘Carl Wilson is dirty ... who born dog? greedy bastard.’ [MA, 6/9/16]

Adjectives

Adjectives often “carry a large proportion of the evaluative load in language” (Taboada et al., 2017, p. 64). This suggests that derogative adjectives including ‘dumb’ and ‘corrupt’, as used in excerpts 17 and 18 respectively depict the speakers’ negative evaluation of the targets.

17. *Wo President nu w’abon, onni anisuadehunu ...*
‘Your president is dumb, he has no vision ...’ [NA, 5/26/16]

18. *IGP... IGP... Police Payin no ankasa ye corrupt.*
‘IGP... IGP... The Inspector General of Police is corrupt.’ [BAB, 5/30/16]

Adverbs

The excerpts below demonstrate the use of adverbs of degree/intensifiers such as ‘very’ as in ‘very very uncouth’ (19) or *saa* ‘indeed’ as in *kwasea saa* ‘a fool indeed’ (20) to exacerbate the face threat and heighten the face damage inflicted on one’s target.

19. *Yese every great leader must surround himself with intelligent and smart people, nti wo ko nya obi te se Tawiah Boateng... Unintelligent Character, very very uncouth to come and stand on radio and talk a, saa na ebe ba.*
‘It is said that every great leader must surround himself with intelligent and smart people but when you have someone like Tawiah Boateng, who is an unintelligent character and very uncouth talk on radio issues like this come up.’ [EOB, 5/18/16]

20. *ɔye hwan? Kwasea saa, ɔye hwan? Afoko w’anom cocaine saa ...*
‘Who is he? A fool indeed, who is he? Afoko has sniffed cocaine for a long time ...’
[KA, 5/3/16]

5.2.2 Imagery

The imagery used included animal terms, similes, and other figurative expressions. It is noteworthy that in the Ghanaian context, the use of images as insults is rhetorically more powerful and has a more debilitating punch than the use of plain nouns and adjectives.

Animal Terms

Addressing someone with the name of an animal is metaphorical (Allan and Burridge, 2006). It implies that the speaker is bestowing on the person, the negative characteristics of that animal. In many societies (including Ghana), the negative characteristics that the people perceive about that animal determine how badly the target has been vilified (Ofori, 2017).

21. *sebe, sebe moahu se national media commission wo ho. Se wa reserve one-hour ama aboa bi a ye frɛ no apapon, ... ɔhye wee.*

‘excuse me, you have seen that there is National Media Commission. That you have reserved one hour for an animal you call billy goat, he smokes marijuana’.

[MA, 6/21/16]

22. *Ye bisaa nu se wa gye bribe da anaa se ya ma no bribe da, ɔse as a human being?... the man is a dead goat! Nipa no agye atumu see ɔye dead goat... enti ɔno koraa ɔte ho no, onim se ɔye nipa... ye bisa no asem aah as a human being, as a dog na ye bisa wo asem, cow, dog, dead goat, John Mahama na ye bisa wo asem...*

‘When asked if he had taken a bribe before or if he had been offered one he asked if as a human being?... the man is a dead goat! He accepts that he is a dead goat... so even he over there doesn’t know he is a human being?... when asked a question you say as a human being? you were asked as a dog, cow, dog, dead goat, you were asked as these things John Mahama’. [CO, 5/27/16]

23. *Kennedy Agyapong ɔre a, opo te se kraman.*

‘Kennedy Agyapong stands and barks like a dog.’ [MA, 6/17/16]

Among Ghanaians, referring to someone as *apapon* ‘billy goat’ as in excerpt 21 means the person has body odor, is destructive, extremely stubborn, or promiscuous; ‘dead goat’ as in excerpt 22 means the person lacks not only the qualities of a human being, they also lack those of a living goat; ‘dog’ as in excerpt 23 means the person is greedy, promiscuous, quarrelsome, or a thief (see Ofori, 2017; Thompson, 2020).

Similes

In excerpt 24, the target is compared to a child while in excerpt 25, the target’s style of walking is compared to that of insects in a palm tree.

24. *Kwadwo Adu Asare te se akwadaa bi.*

‘Kwadwo Adu Asare is like a child.’ [DB, 5/16/16]

Even though this excerpt has no explicit negative label, it is considered insulting and offensive among Ghanaians because it is seen as belittling the target. This is because in Ghana, children are often perceived as people who are immature, frail and incapable of making sound decisions (Ofori, 2017). To present Kwadwo Adu Asare (a member of parliament) as *akwadaa bi* ‘a child’ is to degrade his social status.

25. *Obi te se Collins Dauda, dabiaa na wa hye n’atadeɛ na abɛ si ni ha sei na ɔto ne pa tɛɛɛ akɔkono a ɔwo abɛ mu.*

‘Someone like Collins Dauda, every day, he wears a dress that is hanging on his leg, then he is twisting his waist like the insects in a palm tree’. [YAB, 5/10/16]

The insects in a palm tree include caterpillars, palm weevils, and palm borers. These insects are boneless, and they usually crawl. Therefore, the expression ... *na ɔto ne pa tesɛɛ akɔkono a ɔwo abɛ mu* ‘... then he is twisting his waist like the insects in a palm tree’ means that the target’s style of movement is incomparable to that of other human beings.

Other Figurative Expressions

26. *Yebe ka corruption dea esese NPP foɔ ka wɔ mo ano tumu but ɔmo hyɛda paa because panyin biara nni ho a obetu wɔ mo fo.*

‘When we talk of corruption NPP has no right to speak but they do so because there is no elderly person to advise them.’ [ABS, 5/16/16]

The statement *panyin biara nni ho a obetu wɔ mo fo* ‘there is no elderly person to advise them’ in excerpt 26 is considered offensive because it implies that the members of the NPP lack guidance and therefore are unable to make informed decisions on social issues. Generally, Ghanaians believe that the elderly (people advanced in age) are the symbol of wisdom and are supposed to know better. Thus, people who rely on their guidance and advice usually do extremely well (van der Geest, 1998; Thompson, 2020). This means that people who do not have any elderly persons in their factions are more likely to behave in a way that is contrary to the tenets of society or even fail in their endeavors.

27. ... *nti se ye pe mmarima na a ma ɔmo akasa ewɔ Ghana ha a, na ɔmo a ɔmoho aye fi a ewɔ se, eeh, sebe sebe, yen ma ɔmo sapɔ ne samina, ye de sapɔ ne samina, ye de hyɛ Appiah Stadium nsa...Carl Wilson ewɔ se ye de sapɔ ne samina hyɛ Appiah Stadium nsa, se Appiah Stadium e, Carl Wilson ne hu aye fi nti dware no wɔ badwem.*

‘...so if we want men to talk in Ghana, then those who are dirty, excuse me, let’s give them sponge and soap, we will give sponge and soap to Appiah Stadium... Carl Wilson, we ought to give sponge and soap to Appiah Stadium and tell him that Carl Wilson is dirty so bath him in public.’ [MA, 6/15/16]

Carl Wilson, the target of the excerpt above, was a former chairman of the Confiscated Vehicles Committee but was sacked over allegations of abuse of office and corruption. The expression *Carl Wilson ne hu aye fi* ‘Carl Wilson is dirty’ is an indirect way of saying the target is corrupt. The speaker further implies that the target has no moral right to speak about issues in Ghana, rather he must first be made clean.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In this paper, we examined insulting comments made by political actors and party sympathizers recorded by the MFWA during Ghana’s 2016 electioneering period in light of the concepts of face and face attack. We found that the communicative behaviour displayed on radio during the 2016 electioneering period is clearly not reflective of the “respect for others” that national stakeholders seek in Ghanaian political discussions. The radio discussants attacked the face of rival politicians, members/affiliates of political parties and journalists by employing negative assertions or negative references to arouse the negative sentiments of the listening public towards them. Generally, the attacks were in three forms: attack on moral behaviour, attack on mental/intellectual ability, and attack on physical appearance/characteristics. They were expressed directly through noun phrases, adjectives, and adverbs or indirectly through symbolic terms or imagery. The discussants purposefully delivered their comments (together with the

face-threatening acts) because of the elections as they wanted to persuade the listening public to vote for their preferred candidates.

Even though research has shown that face-threatening acts are not uncommon in political discussions due to the emotions involved, when face attacks become recurrent, they can easily cause an impairment to the target’s enduring preferred social identity. Also, the act of attacking the self-image of leading politicians and lowering their social status can easily lead to social conflicts, especially in situations where the public is involved as there may be counter attacks from their supporters. Moreover, face attacks have the potential of blocking the free exchange of critical ideas, which plays a very important role in the development of a democratic country such as Ghana. This is because people would not want to get involved in discussions that threaten their self-image. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the practice of resorting to verbal abuse in the midst of disagreements is one of the main factors that dissuade people from participating publicly in political discussions in Ghana. That is, when deliberative political discussions are devoid of insulting remarks, people of diverse backgrounds will feel encouraged to participate and good will among citizens will also be advanced.

We, therefore, recommend that political actors in Ghana must desist from insulting and disrespecting people of divergent political backgrounds or persuasions. They must promote Ghanaian communicative values by exercising their right to freedom of speech in a responsible manner, especially on radio and other open spaces. Also, leaders of the various political parties should boldly sanction their members, especially those who are high ranking, when they engage in deliberate face attack of their political rivals. The MFWA must be motivated to carry on with their name-and-shame approach. Their initiative must be supported by the government of the day to cover a wider scope so that individuals who engage in deploying insults to tackle issues of national concern rather than coming up with more convincing arguments can be identified and openly condemned.

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Discourse analysis around the issue of child labour in the Global South

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the impact of discourses on positioning working children in social and political agendas in a semi-peripheral region of the world system. In Latin America at least two narratives around the issue of child labour coexist. Each of them has distinct political implications and practical consequences. On the one hand, we consider the Eurocentric conception of international agencies which establish the hegemonic categories related to childhood. This eurocentric discourse may seem distant and hardly operative in Latin American context, but we highlight its relevance since it is expressed in human rights instruments that have been ratified and incorporated in our countries legal framework. On the other hand, the postcolonial narrative raises the need to establish differentiated forms of nomination to address childhood in the periphery of the world system. Although this narrative may constitute a closer approach to the reality of children in the periphery, its corollary can be seen as a defense of child labour due to “cultural factors” that contributed to its naturalization and invisibilization. Though at face value it may seem an emancipatory discourse, we suggest that it consists of a conservative one, since it tends to the reproduction of inequality in society, based on the idea that people are assigned to certain positions in the productive structure due to their socio economic background. Altogether, the analysis of the ideological implications present in the narratives around the category of child labour is necessary to account for the factors that contribute to its persistence in Latin America.

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Keywords

Child labour, Global South, Human Rights, Colonialism, Discourses

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Introduction

*The quantity of abandoned, neglected, exploited and abused children is growing.
The law defends them, but is this protection sufficient?*

Janusz Korczak, 1929.

In Latin America several narratives around the issue of child labour coexist. Each of them has different political implications and practical consequences. In this paper we consider the Eurocentric perspective of international specialized agencies such as the International Labour Organization (ILO²⁸) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF²⁹) that establish the hegemonic categories related to childhood. Their discourse may seem distant and hardly operative in Latin American due to the dissimilar background and trajectory of children in Europe, yet we highlight its relevance since it is expressed in human rights instruments that have been ratified and incorporated in Latin American countries legal framework. For instance, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) represented the -at least formal- closure of the doctrine of the “Irregular Situation” and restructured representations around childhood. This modification has had significant practical consequences in the design of social programs and policies aimed at children, which had to resignify their content and apprehend a perspective that exceeded the one prevailing throughout the nineteenth century and almost the entire twentieth century, which considered children as objects of welfare and compassion of the State and charitable institutions.

The Eurocentric approach is contrasted with the (post)colonial narrative³⁰ that raises the necessity to establish differentiated forms of nomination and approaches to address the particularities of childhood in the semi-periphery of the world system. Although the postcolonial discourse may be closer to the trajectories of children in the region, we suggest that its corollary can constitute a defense of child labour due to cultural factors that contributed to its naturalization and invisibilization. Though it may seem an emancipatory discourse, we believe it consists on a conservative one, since it tends to the reproduction of inequality in society, based on the notion that individuals should be assigned to certain -subaltern- positions in the productive structure according their socio-economic background. One example can be found in the discourse of Children's Workers Organizations (NATS) that defend the “right to work” of children without considering that in a context of extreme poverty and in the face of

²⁸ The ILO was created in 1919, as part of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the First World War, and reflected the conviction that social justice was essential to achieve universal and permanent peace. The First International Labor Conference in Washington in October 1919 adopted six international labor conventions, referring to hours of work in industry, unemployment, maternity protection, night work for women, minimum age and night work for “minors” in the industry (source: www.ilo.org). More critical perspectives consider that the ILO's real objective is to “humanize capitalism” and mediate conflicts between capital and labor.

²⁹ Created in 1946 by the United Nations General Assembly in order to respond to the urgent needs of children at the end of World War II. In October 1953, the organization, then known as the United Nations International Children's Fund, became a permanent entity of the United Nations system with a broader mandate: to respond to the needs of long-term impact of children in developing countries. Its name was shortened and renamed the United Nations Children's Fund, although the well-known original acronym UNICEF was maintained (source: www.unicef.org)

³⁰ We refer to it as “postcolonial”, although we agree with Odroas-Coates, Quijano, Monzó and others on the premise that “colonial is still colonial”, so this category does not really rise fresh issues in the problem of dependency of peripheral economies, but on the new forms of oppression and domination derivate from new technologies and other vehicles that transmit dominant ideology.

no other possibility, there is hardly “freedom of choice”. This narrative disregards not only international conventions on children’s rights but also conclusive evidence about the reproduction of poverty in families whose members have worked as children. Altogether, the analysis of the ideological implications present in the narratives around child labour can contribute to understanding its persistence in Latin America as a constitutive part of the Global South.

1. Child labour and precariousness

Child labour as an analytical category leads to multiple interpretations, each of which entails different practical consequences. The bibliographic review and my own research³¹, show that the limit between what is and what is not child labour is diffuse, and each State -with its regulatory framework-, each organization and each social actor can have a particular interpretation. Although several classification criteria have been established by academics, during the field work many different and often contradictory notions of child labour emerged. This is understandable since this practice acquires multiple forms and some of them may not even consider as “work”. Even though each perspective implies a more or less conscious political and ideological positioning, there are general parameters that set a standard and agree in the need to eradicate forms of child labor considered “intolerable”. These categories were established by specialized agencies: ILO, the ILO Program for the Eradication of Child Labor (IPEC³²) and UNICEF. Although fundamental at diagnosing problems, recommending actions and evaluating “best practices”, these agencies and their operational manuals for the identification and eradication of child labour are based on a Eurocentric conception of childhood, family and society. This is why the established criteria -mostly in the mid-twentieth century, with the proliferation of human rights treaties that were later extended to the rights of children- are not always operational in other contexts, or are more difficult to apply. However, these agencies have given visibility and placed child labour on the public and political agenda and under the radar of the international community. We emphasize the context of the insertion of child labour, since it contributes to determine its forms and its very existence, rendering unviable the application of a unifying criterion in social formations that have followed a very different economic, political and cultural path.

In this article we address practices regarded as child labour in Latin America as a peripheral region of the world system (Wallerstein, 1982) where informal work in precarious conditions is widespread. The labour market deterioration had a turning point in the region in the 1990s with the flexibilization measures imposed by the so-called Washington Consensus³³. As Fairclough (2003) states, this has led to radical attacks on the universal social welfare and the reduction of the protections against the effects of markets that welfare provided for people. It has also caused an increasing division between rich and poor, growing economic insecurity and intensification of the exploitation of labour. Neo-liberalism is a political project for facilitating

³¹ In reference to the fieldwork conducted for my PhD Thesis “Child labour in the Triple Border between Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay”, University of Buenos Aires, 2018.

³² Program created in 1992 with the objective of progressively eradicating child labor by strengthening the capacity of the countries through technical and financial assistance. IPEC is currently operational in 88 countries, with an annual investment in technical cooperation that exceeded \$ 61 million in 2008. IPEC is the world's largest program of its kind and the largest individual operational program of the ILO (source: <http://ilo.org/ipec>)

³³ The “Washington Consensus” refers to the set of neoliberal economic policy measures applied from the eighties to, on the one hand, face the reduction of the profit rate in the countries of the North after the economic crisis of the seventies, and on the other, as a way out imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to the countries of the South before the outbreak of the external debt crisis, all this through macroeconomic conditionality linked to the financing granted by these organizations.

the re-structuring and re-scaling of social relations in accordance with the demands of an unrestrained global capitalism (Bourdieu, 1998). Also according to Fairclough, no contemporary research can ignore these changes, since they are having a pervasive effect in our lives. Capitalism has the capacity to overcome crisis by radically transforming itself periodically, so that economic expansion can continue. Following Castel (1997) we understand labor precariousness as the trend towards greater job instability, an increasingly restricted access to social security and the persistence of low wages, conditions that imply the weakening of employment as a means to guarantee the exercise of social rights: decent work, education, housing and health.

All of these reflect in the way children are address in liberal and conservative narratives, redefining their role in society according to their social and economic background. In Latin America child labour analysis should be linked to labour market precariousness, structural inequality, growing economic insecurity and the weakness of social protection systems. Under these circumstances, work appears as a logical possibility and sometimes the only one available for impoverish children. But child labour is also linked to economic exploitation, to servitude and to the coloniality of power in Latin American societies. Since colonies became “independent” in the XIX century, the organization of work in the region has been grounded in informal and inequitable labor relationships and in the participation of children in economic reproduction of the household and the society. The condition of children as overexploited economic agents is inherent to the subaltern economies of the world-system, as are informal work and the precarious wage conditions of adults (Pedraza Gómez, 2007).

Poverty and inequality in the region are historically amongst the world’s highest. Although the socioeconomic situation in Latin America was already delicate before the COVID-19 outbreak, it worsened in 2020. The extreme poverty rate rose to 12.5% and the poverty rate reached 33.7% of the population. In other words, the total number of poor people reached 209 million at the end of 2020, 22 million more than in 2019. Of that total, 78 million people were in extreme poverty, 8 million more than in 2019 according to reports by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL, for its initial in Spanish). Poverty tends to concentrate in children and adolescents, of whom approximately 17 million perform some kind of economic activity (ILO, 2016).

2. Ideological implications of the discourses on childhood

Childhood is a social construction product of specific socio-historical conditions. It does not designate an objective and universal reality, although it is often considered in an ahistorical and uncritical way, which makes possible the homogenization of multiple childhoods under the same normalizing criteria. We discuss the notion of childhood coined from a Eurocentric perspective that does not account for the diversity of childhoods in each context and socio-historical moments, which implies a reductionism that deprives this category of much of its analytical potential. Moreover, the limits of “childhood” are diffuse, in addition to acquiring different nuances depending on their relations with other concepts such as poverty, exclusion, vulnerability. In the positioning of children -whether in conservative or liberal narratives- we must take into account “the influencing culture, social structures and micro level factors, such as family relations, treating this macro and micro instances as mutually conditioning, or reproducing each other” (Odrowaz-Coates, 2019). The perception of childhood varies along with social processes and the actual hegemonic conception of childhood follows a Eurocentric stance, consistent with the claim of universality of all knowledge produced by the Global North, which determines what is considered “valid” at each historical moment. This epistemological

interference was possible due to the strength of political, economic and military intervention of modern colonialism and capitalism. Intervention that, according to Boaventura de Sousa Santos, discredited and even suppressed all forms of knowledge that was contrary to the interests to which it served. For Santos, this “epistemicide” was the pretext of the colonizing mission that sought to homogenize the world and had as a consequence the loss of epistemological, cultural and political diversity (Santos, 2014). In the field of childhood, this definition requires a discussion from a postcolonial and post-western perspective, in order to account for the specificity of childhood in peripheral countries.

While in Europe children of working families were retired from industrial jobs and protected by the school and social system, indigenous children, slaves and *mestizos* in America, Asia and Africa continued to participate in the economic primary production typical of colonial countries (Pedraza Gomez, 2017). The specific and contextualized forms these practices acquired throughout history show that through child labour and exploitation in general, certain groups have secured their privileges and subsistence at the expense of others.

On the other hand, the notion of childhood is part of theoretical frame that includes a series of hierarchically organized categories and accounts for the power relations in society. Thus, impoverished children were, and continue to be in certain contexts, labeled as “minors”, “in social or moral risk”, “potential criminals” whom the State should “guard” (Law 10903 of *Patronato of Minors*, Argentina, 1919) and other euphemisms typical of the Irregular Situation paradigm discourse. This regulation evidences the fact that poor children have historically been subject of control and differentiated application of the law, as well as objects of welfare and compassion of the State and charitable institutions. Some authors propose to distinguish between “harmful”, “neutral” and “beneficial” work (Bourdillon, 2001). However, the particularities of semi-peripheral societies make it difficult to find “beneficial” work for children who have very difficult access to basic rights as health, education, housing, a family. Many children collaborate with domestic duties or perform small tasks which are not considered work according to the time they take, the effort they represent and the impact in their health. We are not referring to these tasks here, but to those forms of child labour that take place in urban informal economy, in agriculture, in construction, domestic intensive work (which in some countries of Latin America acquires the form of *criadazgo*) and sexual and commercial exploitation, which constitute “modern forms of slavery”³⁴.

3. Child labour in the discourse of international agencies

International organizations have played a central role in disseminating theoretical and practical considerations about childhood and child labour. Their operational manuals provide technical criteria, recommendations and lines of action for the design of programs and monitoring tools for interventions, as well as technical and financial advice. However, in these agencies and their reports, a primacy of technical and legalistic considerations about child labor is observed, such as age ranges and the workload of the activities carried out. More subjective factors, such as cultural and religious considerations, are not always taken into account maybe due to the difficulty of quantifying them and weighing their impact on the various strategies of child labour. Specialized agencies stand for an abolitionist conception of child labour -to which we subscribe- based on the premise that the exercise of work implies the violation of inalienable

³⁴ These forms include: Sex Trafficking; Child Sex Trafficking; Forced Labor; Bonded Labor or Debt Bondage; Domestic Servitude; Forced Child Labor; Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers (US Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/what-is-modern-slavery/>)

rights, such as the right to education, to the health, leisure and play. In this sense, the CRC considers child labour any activity carried out for economic purposes by children or adolescents from 0 to 18 years (CRC, Art. 1) both legal and illegal, paid or not, visible or invisible. Beyond the technical criteria, international agencies state that child labour constitutes a threat to “the potential and dignity of children”, in addition to compromising their physical and mental development, by preventing or hindering access to education. In its worst forms (typified in ILO Convention 182³⁵) child labour implies the separation of the child from his family, the exposure to illnesses and accidents, and in extreme cases, situations of slavery. These considerations are fundamental when discussing the need for the eradication of child labour, which does not imply denying the capacity for agency or self-determination of children or the principle of progressive autonomy, enshrined in the CRC. On the contrary, this argument employed by the defenders of child labour constitutes a fallacy, since it attempts to transform this practice that is quite often an imposition of a situation of poverty and vulnerability, into a “free choice”.

That is, the right of impoverished children to *choose* to work is raised, but there is no freedom of choice if there is no alternative but to work to reach the minimum means of subsistence.

3.1. The performativity of the narrative of human rights

International agencies discourses are rooted in the narrative of human rights. However, as Hannah Arendt observes, despite being conceived as belonging to all humanity, from the moment of enunciation human rights only make sense within the areas of sovereignty, so refugees and stateless persons represent “the very end of human rights”, expelled not only from their communities but also from humanity, what Arendt calls “human rightlessness”. In other words, the people who most need the guarantee and protection of human rights are those to whom these rights are denied, a statement that we extend to children in situations of vulnerability, poverty and exploitation. Arendt points out that rights are attributed to people only if they are previously considered “citizens”, in these way human rights are articulated with the laws and social policies that operationalize them. As Rita Segato (2006) states, in spite of having its origin in an act of force through which the dominant group imposes its code on the dominated, the law thus imposed will behave, from the moment of its promulgation, as an arena of multiple contests and tense interlocations. That is to say, the law is a consequence of symbolic struggles in the field of power to give legitimacy to certain demands to the detriment of others. Following Segato: “the text of the law is the master narrative of a nation and from this derives the struggle to register a position in it and *gain legitimacy and audibility within that narrative*. These are true and important symbolic struggles” (Ibid., P. 213).

Bourdieu remarks that the law gives *reality status* to the social groups whose rights guarantees, establishing its existence from the “mere act of nomination” (1989:238). In this sense, we suggest that the law granted entity to working children, by recognizing their very existence and providing the visibility they lack in official discourses. Therefore, the power of nomination transcends the linguistic to become an operation with real practical consequences. That is why

³⁵ Convention No. 182 defines the worst forms of child labour as slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety or morals of girls and boys under 18 years of age. The Convention was adopted unanimously by the International Labour Conference on 17 June 1999 and achieved universal ratification in August 2020, the first time in the history of the ILO that all its member states have ratified an international labor convention.

human rights treaties are considered “performative speech acts” that give entity to what they represent: “the state of affairs represented in the propositive content of speech acts acquires existence by the same performativity of one's own speech act” (Baxi, 2007: 189). We highlight the value of the discursive, historical and post-colonial perspective that can help us rethink the political and ideological implications of these treaties. In this regard, we recover the notion of “subaltern cosmopolitanism”, coined by Santos to refer to “those who live in misery in a world of abundance” and realizing that “the understanding of the world greatly exceeds measure the western understanding of the world” (Santos, 2014: 39). Santos believes that political resistance alone is not enough, but an epistemological resistance is also necessary, since the critical task requires alternative thinking. In this sense, this cosmopolitanism demands anyone who is a victim of intolerance and discrimination, anyone whose basic dignity is denied needs a community of human beings. In this regard we extend his reflection on science to the field of human rights: “many times it was, and continues to be, appropriated by subordinate and oppressed social groups to legitimize their causes and strengthen their struggles” (Santos: 2014: 9). That is to say human rights as a symbolic device can be capitalized by both hegemonic and marginal narratives, and in the latter case, contribute to recreate democracy.

The previous considerations highlight the potential and limitations of the human rights narrative, which, as a symbolic rhetoric with practical consequences, could be incorporated into the social fabric of peripheral regions and reinforce actions tending to guarantee children's rights. But in order to do this, the aforementioned difficulties must be considered (and overcome): the “epistemicide” that does not consider the conditions of the context, the double standard of human rights as a criterion of recognition and differential application of the law and the material conditions of life that entail reproduction of poverty and vulnerability in the region.

Precisely because of all of the above, we sustain the necessity to carry out a creative reading that enables the conditions for the appropriation of rights and the mobilization of marginal narratives based on the specificity of Latin American (pos)colonial societies. Ultimately we want to highlight the role of human rights as a tool for the construction and regulation of childhood under various parameters throughout history. Even though this category is dynamic, what remained constant is the existence of -at least- two childhoods, one included in the traditional socialization institutions and another object of control and disciplinatio

3.2. The postcolonial discourse on child labour

The criteria established by international agencies set a standard in terms of defining and approaching child labour that does not always account for the heterogeneous realities of Latin America. These agencies have their origin in Europe and their vision reflects the cognitive needs of capitalism: “measurement, quantification, externalization of an objectification of the knowable with respect to the knower” (Quijano, 2014: 68). These operations must be questioned in their usefulness to account for the (re)configuration of Latin American societies throughout history. As mentioned, the specialized agencies present a Eurocentric conception of childhood and family, which followed a very different trajectory in Latin America: “while in Europe children received an increasing pedagogical and medical attention, family and school, the children of the European colonies, converted like their parents into subordinates, entered the productive circuits of servility and slavery” (Pedraza, 2007: 83). That is, the coloniality of power appears as constitutive of our region, rather than as a consequence of the conquest and colonization of America. This process extends even after independence when the elite of the new nation-states, perceives their interests as equals to those of the former European rulers. This ideological use renewed the colonial character of the new nations and established social

mechanisms to reproduce differences in all spheres, including the labor market and education. For instance, as Odrowaz-Coates points out, “the initial economic and social dependencies remain in the conditions of the neoliberal, free market economy, maintaining cheap or enslaved labour in the previously exploited areas” (2017:15). In line with this idea, it can be argued that the colonial character of our nations is far from being over. Lilia Monzó suggests that

The greatest myth of our time is the notion that we inhabit a poscolonial world, that when the global south rose up against the horrors inflicted upon them by the colonial powers and victoriously proclaimed their independence, the economic, social, and political assault on the so called developing world and its people ceased (but) colonial relations have and continue to persist and to endanger the lives of indigenous people and people of color across the globe (Monzó, 2017:18).

This epistemological interference was possible thanks to the strength of the political, economic and military intervention of modern colonialism and capitalism. Intervention that, according to Boaventura de Sousa Santos, discredited and even suppressed all social practices of knowledge that was contrary to the interests to which it served. This epistemicide was the pretext of the colonizing mission that sought to homogenize the world and had as a consequence the loss of epistemological, cultural and political diversity (Santos, 2014). In the field of childhood, this definition requires a discussion from a postcolonial and post-western perspective, if we want to account for the specificity of childhood in peripheral countries. However, the corollary of this perspective is that, by following a different path, in Latin America the specificity of child labour implies respect for the child's work activity, due to the aforementioned peculiarities of the economy and the labor market in the peripheral countries. Organizations such as the NATs (Children and Adolescent Workers) arose in Latin America -Peru and Paraguay- and spread to other countries in the region. The NATs deny the national and international regulations on child labour, and if they accept it they do so in a fragmentary way, since they consider that child labour contributes to the economy of a country and to society in general (ILO, 2005). Our objection to the NATs' argument is that while they justify child labor due to the post-colonial character of Latin American societies, we believe that this is precisely the starting point of criticism of the existence of child labour: a practice residual but widespread, by-product of the exploitation activities of the central countries over the colonies with their intensive labor requirement.

In these cases, cultural factors are used to justify the existence of child labour pondering its “socializing or formative role” without considering the abundant evidence of the harmful consequences of work for children (ODSA, 2011, ILO, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2012, 2015), of its impact on the deterioration of physical and psychological health, on the opportunities of access to education and recreation; that is to say: child labour compromises essential rights and constitutes a risk for physical, psychological and social well-being. On the other hand, the participation of children in economic activities is an indicator of social vulnerability correlated with poverty, socio-residential segregation and segmentation processes in the educational field (ODSA, 2011).

The justification of child labour and its correlate in the rights to the organization and self-determination of children or respect for their cultures is, paradoxically -as it pretends to be a rebellious discourse- functional to the reproduction of capitalism system's inequalities. The need to work affects repetition and school desertion; studies show the link between children who work and those who do not work in terms of school contribution (regular attendance,

tardiness, fatigue...); and highlight that children who attend school are protected against the possible effects of work that is not considered dangerous (ILO, 2006). Nevertheless, the role of school must also be questioned since it tends to the reproduction of inequality in society, as described by Bourdieu, based on knowledge regarded as “legitimate” and the indifference towards the experience and knowledge of children from working class families, who have skills that receive little or no social recognition. School reproduces social inequalities by reinforcing the “habitus” of middle-class families, that is, school is not the place where these inequalities originate but where they are legitimized. Even though school is structured to favor students who already possess the “legitimate culture”; educational institutions have the potential to empower children, to show different possibilities and offer the instruments with which they may improve their economic standing and their present and future lives. And if not more than that, the school offers relief to basic needs like food, medical care and a space where children are relatively safe from the violence and abuse they may suffer in other spaces³⁶.

Conclusion

To situate these discourses and their political and practical implications, the reflection on the territorial and cultural anchoring is essential since it enables practices that together with historical and social factors make possible the persistence of child labour, along with its naturalization and invisibility. In Latin America, in the face of inequality, vulnerability and poverty, a battery of strategies are implemented to reverse their effects, including child labour in its various forms. The singularities of the region imply that the categories of analysis coined in the context of the central countries should be reconfigured in view of factors such as the extent of poverty, inequality and the persistence of forms of oppression, marginalization and long-standing exclusion in the region.

A revision of the narratives around the category of child labour and its historical course is necessary to understand how it came to be naturalized, acquiring its quality of “inevitable” in certain contexts, with its logical practical consequences: this interpretation about the inevitability of child labour invited to assume an attitude of tolerance or resignation, which was installed in the social imaginary and resulted in insufficient or non-existent mechanisms of detection and prevention. The concern should not be how “to protect the rights of working children” (disguised as “granting children the right to participation”) but how to prevent the vulnerability and exclusion that lead to child labour and exploitation in the first place.

To demand “better working conditions” for children is a capitulation and a resignation; in addition to an invitation to the State to withdraw from its basic areas of competence. How a State (let’s leave aside the market) that cannot guarantee employment and optimal living conditions for the adult population is supposed to guarantee “decent work” for boys and girls?

Children deserve better. They need to be protected from all forms of violence and abuse. Participation has many forms, not necessarily measurable in terms of productivity or economic contributions.

In a region where 17 million children must work to survive, there is a clear debt with childhood. A debt that in Latin America is deeply rooted in the social, historical and political conditions and the subaltern role in the world-system economy.

³⁶ We still rely heavily in traditional socialization institutions since public policies in Latin America have a historical debt to get to groups marginalized from these spaces.

Finally, the fact that the United Nations General Assembly declared 2021 as the Year for the Elimination of Child Labour may contribute to the visibilization and awareness on the fact that the rights to which children are entitled should not depend on the place they are born. It may seem utopist but to believe that we can build a better world is the first and necessary step to do so.

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South Asian Youth in Diaspora Anti-racist Discourses & Entangled Epistemes

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Abstract

The South Asian postcolonial diaspora has produced multiple new encounters with racism for South Asian immigrants. Colonial forces that repressed non-western traditional thought and knowledge persist today through the coloniality of power. Erasures of South Asian cultures are advanced through imperial legacies of racism, colorism, sexism, and islamophobia. South Asian youth raised in diaspora must negotiate a liminal state poised between their parents' often romanticized and conservative traditions that were forged in relation to coloniality and the marginality of their own experiences and identities produced through North Atlantic discourses of whiteness and modernity.

This article is based on textual analysis of feminist and antiracist discourses in *Brown Girl Magazine*, a multimedia platform founded by and for South Asian womxn. We use the theoretical frameworks of coloniality and decolonialism to situate everyday practices within broader cultural practices—both contemporary and historical. Our analysis concerns how feminist, anti-racist discourses in *Brown Girl Magazine* characterize and challenge inequalities affecting South Asians. Our analysis demonstrates some of the discursive strategies deployed in *Brown Girl Magazine* to construct counter-hegemonic discourses and practices—in particular those used to cultivate a sense of cultural community for South Asian youth.

Keywords

Textual Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Coloniality, Decoloniality, Feminism, Racism, Anti-racism, Epistemic Disobedience, Ontological Insecurity

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Introduction: South Asian Diaspora in the North Atlantic

Over the last five decades South Asian immigrants have left home in search of economic opportunity, political freedom, and western education. They have moved to countries around the world; yet the primary destination countries for the South Asian diaspora have been the European Union (EU), Canada, and the United States—countries of the North Atlantic.³⁹ Historically, South Asians have been among the wealthiest ethnic immigrant groups, however newer generations of immigrants trend toward low skill workers and their families. Despite varying levels of economic success, diasporic South Asians consistently face discrimination in various ways. These include but are not limited to erasures of South Asian culture advanced by racism, colorism, sexism, and islamophobia. If new homes in the North Atlantic seemed to promise hope, it is clear that the epistemic forces that repressed South Asian culture and knowledge under colonialism persist in their new homes through what Quijano (2000) aptly characterized as the coloniality of power.

While South Asians living in diaspora have faced the challenges of assimilation in the European Union, Canada, and the United States, their children born into the cultures of the North Atlantic face distinctive challenges. South Asian youth raised in diaspora must negotiate a liminal state poised between their parents’ often romanticized and conservative traditions that were forged in relation to coloniality and the marginality of their own experiences and identities produced through North Atlantic discourses of whiteness and modernity. In this article, we are most interested in how South Asian youth born into the North Atlantic diaspora resist entanglements of colonial, South Asian, and North Atlantic epistemes (c.f. Pascale, 2016, 2018). For South Asian Youth in Diaspora this means new sites of struggle and resistance.

Brown Girl Magazine (browngirlmagazine.com) offers curated web content that serves as a vibrant resource for understanding how South Asian youth engage in a variety of counter-hegemonic discourses. Brown Girl Magazine is an online forum created by and for South Asian womxn and dedicated to South Asian expression around the globe. The site’s global reach bridges the gap between lifestyles in diaspora and traditional South Asian cultures. It offers representation and voice to those who are immersed in both. Not only is the magazine written for youth growing up in diaspora, its contents are written by young professional and amateur South Asian writers who are concerned with issues of multicultural anti-racist thought and practice. Brown Girl is a multimedia company that advertises itself as curating content directed at community engagement, empowerment, and dialogue that challenges stigma, stereotypes and taboos. Our overarching goal is to understand how feminist and anti-racist discourses in Brown Girl Magazine challenge the effects coloniality in both South Asian and North Atlantic epistemes. We understand South Asian epistemes as having precolonial legacies that are inflected by colonial occupation. Epistemes of coloniality legitimize a Eurocentric perspective of knowledge and knowledge production. Consequently, they extend far beyond occupation. Finally, we understand North Atlantic epistemes as being rooted in notions of modernity and whiteness.

³⁹ At the time of the 2006 Canadian census, there were approximately 1.6 million South Asian immigrants living in Canada. According to Eurostat, the EU was home to about 4.1 million South Asians in 2010. And the United States is home to approximately 5.4 millions South Asians in 2019 and are expected to be the largest immigrant population in the country by 2065 ((South Asians Leading Together, 2019)).

1. Literature Review

The colonial histories of Europe, Canada, and the United States have shaped contemporary considerations of racism and anti-racism. Consequently, racism experienced by children of South Asian immigrants is more likely to be captured in European literature on racism, than in Canadian or U.S. literature on racism. For example, in the United States discourse of racism and anti-racism are typically framed as issues concerning African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos (c.f., Kretsedemas, 2008) whereas issues facing South Asians outside of South Asia are framed in terms of immigration and anti-immigration (c.f., Purkayastha, 2018) or by specific issues, such as homophobia, faced by queer South Asians (c.f., Adur, 2018). Discourse analysis, as a field, often centers on unequal relations of power and offers analyses of anti-immigration discourses (c.f., Cap, 2018; Don and Lee, 2014) as well as racist discourses (c.f., Chiang, 2010; Essed, 1991; van Dijk, 1987, 1993; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Benwell (2012) and Whitehead (2013) are among the ethnomethodologists who have explored anti-racist discourse by examining racial commonsense. Yet very little has been written about the experiences of South Asian diasporic youth in European, Canadian or U.S. literatures—and even less has been written about their efforts to resist various forms of discrimination.

Our article is rooted in multidisciplinary literature that analyzes South Asian experience in diaspora. It's clear that South Asian immigrants value and maintain a cultural connection to their homelands that younger generations don't share (Dwyer, 2000; Rusi Jaspal, 2011; Maira, 2002; Safran, 1991; Sridhar, 1997). Too often diasporic studies do not pursue "diasporic subjectivity" (Anand, 2009). Anand (2009) points us to the need for more accurate and more nuanced representations of immigrants who tend to be forced to the margins by structural erasures in both their new home and in their homeland. For example, South Asian girls and women living in the North Atlantic face convoluted and ingrained forms of sexism from the dominant culture in which they live and from the traditions of their minority ethnic groups. South Asian women find themselves facing complex gendered and raced expectations in both cultures, and these often contradict each other (Durham, 2004; Punwar, 2003). In many families, young women are burdened by expectations that they must reproduce their homeland culture; this often results in women being "monitored" for "appropriate" behavior while men have greater degrees of freedom, particularly to develop their sexuality and confidence (Aujla, 2000; Maira, 2002). Yet the dominant culture of their new home places competing expectations of gendered behavior on women. In interviews with South Asian women in civic organizations, Takhar (2011) found that a progression toward an empowered female collective identity requires some recognition of South Asian women's agency within community organizations. That is to say, women must practice feminism through their South Asian identity rather than against it.

The racialization of South Asians in diaspora is a cultural production that is both gendered and multi-generational (Aujla, 2000; Ghosh, 2013). Research further shows that racialization becomes internalized in everyday life situations (Gosh, 2013). Stereotypes are a central aspect of racialization. Stereotypes produced through cultural misrepresentations of homogeneity erase complex identities and reinforce racial hierarchies (Skrikant, 2015). Among common racial stereotypes of Asians is that of the "model minority," which simultaneously racializes South Asians as "other" and holds them to specific standards of success. Broadly speaking, Asians have sought to advance their socioeconomic status by emulating previous generations of migrants who emigrated with an elite status—a circumstance that has been rarer among immigrants today (Eguchi and Starosta, 2012; Kaufer, 2006; Mudambi, 2019). One

consequence of these efforts has been that South Asian youth engage in systematic erasures of their South Asian identities as they seek social acceptance through performances of class and race (Bailey, 2010).

Through complex performances of class, race, and gender, South Asian diasporic youth struggle to fully “belong” in the dominant culture as well as in the culture of their parents. Across the literature we see that South Asian immigrants, pushed to the cultural margins of the North Atlantic, must carve out a space for their own identities to develop. We look to advance existing analyses by considering the experiences of South Asian diasporic youth and by drawing from theoretical work in the coloniality of power.

2. Ecologies of Power

We draw from the field-defining work of Quijano (2000) and Mignolo (2000, 2002, 2003) to explore the (re)production of the coloniality of power in the lives of diasporic South Asian youth. We understand coloniality as a model of power—a codification of knowledge, hierarchies, and discursive structures—that renders colonized nations including the identities, cultures, institutions, within them as fundamentally and permanently lacking. The coloniality of power legitimizes a Eurocentric perspective of knowledge and knowledge production (Quijano, 2000; Walsh, 2007). It operates through the discursive attribution of modernity and progressive scientific models to European intellect (Chakrabarty, 2008a; Quijano and Ennis, 2000), while relegating the knowledge of colonized cultures to myth and tradition (Mignolo, 2002). Coloniality works to erase the anti-historical collective memories of the colonized (Chakrabarty, 2008b)—those created independently of the colonizer.

Coloniality is maintained well beyond the historical occupation of nations through bureaucratic systems (e.g., governments, economies, criminal justice systems, educational institutions, and media) as well as through cultural expressions, commonsense knowledge, the self-image of peoples, and the aspirations of self. This deep cultural imbrication survives the end of colonialism itself and is one of many reasons why Quijano (2000) argues that it is important to speak of the coloniality of power rather than simply colonialism. The devastation of colonialism goes well beyond any historical era or event, normalizing relations of power, and the forms of knowledge they produce.

Decoloniality then must arise from what Mignolo (2009) calls epistemic disobedience. Epistemic disobedience requires the production of non-Western modernities as well as the rejection of imperial knowledge (Mignolo, 2009). Decolonial strategies embrace the idea that all knowledge is embodied rather than attributed to some objective disembodied truth. For Lugones (2010), decolonial feminism is integral to understanding modernity’s dehumanization of colonized bodies and its mission to “civilize” the colonized. The creation of colonial subjects relied upon strategic use of binaries including those of gender, race and religion (Lugones, 2010). Decolonial feminism rejects these binaries and interrogates the complexity of identity. In particular, Lugone’s decolonial feminism offers insight into the nonbinary complexities of identity. We make the connection here to Chakrabarty’s anti-historical construction of collective memory which resists another fundamental binary—that of modern and primitive.

While young South Asians raised in diaspora have escaped colonial rule, we demonstrate how they have become entangled in three epistemes: coloniality (Mignolo, 2003; Quijano, 2000), South Asian (Chakrabarty, 2008a) and North Atlantic (Pascale, 2016, 2018). In particular, we examine how South Asian youth engage and resist these epistemes in the pages of *Brown Girl*

Magazine. Our analysis borrows from the field of International Relations to consider diasporic ontological security—a group’s sense of order, continuity and coherence as a whole (Giddens, 1991; Kinnvall, 2004; Mitzen, 2006). This is useful to understanding the effects of ongoing epistemic violence that challenges identities and agency among South Asian youth. Additionally, for South Asian youth growing up in the North Atlantic, it is difficult to establish the routinization of cultural identity when South Asian identities and experiences undergo continual erasure.

3. Methods & Methodology

Brown Girl Magazine provides a cultural home for South Asian youth. Its content offers a wide range of topics from essays on race relations to entertainment reviews. We began by selecting all content published in 2019. We then used theoretical sampling to locate essays on topics including racialization, gender discrimination, media representation, and cultural stigmatization. This eliminated all advice columns, health and relationship blogs, recipes, and reviews and provided a dataset of 25 articles.

Using the techniques and logic of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2001, 2006, 2009; Glaser and Strauss, 1967) we began our process by selecting all content published in 2019, approximately 220 articles. We then used theoretical sampling to locate essays on topics including racialization, gender discrimination, media representation, and cultural stigmatization. This eliminated recipes, music reviews and the like and provided a dataset of 25 articles. We coded all 25 articles and conducted a close reading of texts.

We draw from post structural discourse analysis by considering how meaning is enabled through social practices even as it is constrained by cultural discursive formations. Consequently, our analyses take up the discursive production of meaning as both an effect of language (Butler, 1997; Foucault, 1980) and a social practice (Billig, 1997; Pêcheux, 1982; Williams, 1999). In this process we link local practices with cultural discourses to consider the implications for anti-racist discourses in diasporic communities of South Asia.

Across our data, we identified several themes in which South Asian youth in diaspora are caught in epistemic entanglements. In this paper we analyze two: intergenerational conflict and recruitment into whiteness. Our analyses center discourses of agency and the reclamation of ethnic identity in articles about race and gender. We trace the (re)production and circulation of hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses in the contexts of family and culture. Further, we consider the consequences of these constructions for anti-racist, feminist projects.

4. Epistemic Conflicts

4.1. Intergenerational Conflict: There's No Place Like Home

Across the articles in *Brown Girl Magazine* we found discourses of liminality emerging among South Asian youth in diaspora. The youth framed their personal desires for success with competing discourses: one rooted to North Atlantic culture (Canada, Europe or the U.S.) and another rooted to their parents’ cultural expectations. While this may be true to some extent for many youth today, what is distinctive for South Asian youth is that their parental expectations

are formed by the entanglements of coloniality and South Asian tradition. Here is an exemplar of intergenerational conflict regarding the nature of success:

There are so many standards of what it means to be successful, many of which are socially within South Asian culture. The most prominent one being that you need to be a lawyer, engineer, or doctor to be truly successful and happy in life. Not only is this outdated but it is incredibly destructive to South Asian children and leads them to believe that they have little to no agency in making their own decisions. I have seen far too many South Asian children sacrifice their mental health and wellbeing for their parent’s pride and dignity (Silva, 2019).

The very narrow construction of success attributed to South Asian cultures in this exemplar is part of a broader discursive formation in which the professional achievement of children reflects the character of the family. Success is understood in terms of parental pride and dignity. The writer frames parental expectations for success as a burden of the backs of their children. We argue that this discursive framing becomes possible in a North Atlantic episteme rooted in notions of modernity in which personal agency is valued over self-sacrifice. Even considerations of mental health in this exemplar are inflected through a North Atlantic episteme in which therapists, psychologists, and psychiatrists are as much a part of culture as grocers, pharmacies/chemists, and department stores. In diaspora, South Asian youth are challenged by identifications with modernity that offer them a promise of success that is always shadowed by exoticification and marginality.

In diaspora, the very definitions of success, as well as the opportunities for success, have shifted in ways that complicate a generational divide that older immigrating generations have yet to fully recognize and the younger generations struggle to conceptualize. First generation immigrant parents who perceive success through the values of their homeland communities (Rusi Jaspal, 2015) are met with conflict when their children immersed in North Atlantic cultures do not share the same definition. For example, in North Atlantic cultures, youth often encounter the admonition made famous by Steve Jobs to “do what they love” when thinking about a career. Within North Atlantic cultures parental demands that children pursue particular careers, *regardless of their interest*, are often interpreted as remnants of anachronistic cultures. The exemplar gives voice to this sentiment: “Not only is this outdated but it is incredibly destructive to South Asian children.” Colonial, South Asian and North Atlantic epistemes entwine in notions of personal agency.

South Asian youth continue to be called upon to fulfill their parents’ expectations and to (re)produce their parents’ relationship with South Asian culture. All too often their parents’ relationship to South Asian cultures is frozen in time and inaccessible to youth. Youth can be caught by their family’s often romanticized memory of South Asian culture, lured by North Atlantic discourses that marginalize or exoticize their South Asian identities, and disconnected from the South Asian projects of anti-historical collective memory.

Issues of agency and intergenerational differences come into focus in complicated ways for South Asian women who also face the impositions of patriarchy—both at home and in public life (Lugones, 2007). Within South Asian communities, sexism is a potent mix of traditional cultures and colonial impositions. This combination often snares women in traditional forms of sexism as they attempt to resist the even more dehumanizing forms of colonial sexism. In *Brown Girl Magazine*, we found young women refusing misogyny they identified as being rooted in South Asian cultural practice. We get a glimpse of what Anand (2009) referred to as diasporic subjectivity in this exemplar:

To fix a problem, we all have to acknowledge it exists and speak up against it. To all my fellow *desi* women out there, I ask you this: How can you better help a parent, a sibling, a friend, or just another aunty or uncle you know, understand the consequences of sexist remarks and actions? Tell them a story, one that you lived. Tell them how you fought for your right to have a career. Show them how you raised your daughter or supported a sister to be strong and confident. Remind them how you face a battle with sexism every day and it's exhausting, but you will never give up because that's just not what *desi* women do (Hossain, 2019).

This call to action emphasizes change from within the community; sexism is named and challenged through personal interactions, centered around familial contexts. We see decolonial feminism as expressed *within*, rather than against South Asian identity (Lugones, 2010). The exemplar demonstrates epistemic disobedience and reclamation of feminist elements of South Asian cultures. Women's agency is arguably reclaimed through a reinvention of decolonial feminist discourses that might be said to be distinctly *desi*. That is to say, it is not produced through colonial, South Asian, or North Atlantic discourses but is positioned within what may be part of the formation of a *desi* episteme.

4.2 Recruitments into Whiteness: Looking for Ourselves

In this section, we consider how South Asian youth in diaspora experience competing epistemic entanglements outside of familial relationships. The impact of media in the circulation and (re)production of hegemonic discourses is difficult to overstate—both in terms of productions and erasures. Indeed, erasures are themselves a productive force that can enter the most seemingly private of spaces: our thoughts about ourselves and others. This theme reoccurs throughout the 2019 issue of *Brown Girl Magazine*. Here is an exemplar:

For a long time, I didn't realize how important representation was. The closest thing I had to see myself in a story was the Patil twins in Harry Potter. But I was happy to keep reading *The Hunger Games* and watching *Wizards of Waverly Place*. These were American stories, and I was American. I could relate enough to how the characters felt.

And then I started writing my own stories. Years of reading about white characters made that the default in my head. So, when I came up with characters, they tended to be white or have an unspecified race (basically they were still white, but just in your head) (Bansal, 2019).

This exemplar demonstrates one of the ways that discursive productions (in this case media representations) become integral to how one sees the world and finds a meaningful place in it. Representational practices in cultural forms serve both as a claim to belonging and also as an active production of exclusions (c.f., Hall, 1991; Hall, 1997). Coloniality continues to operate in this exemplar through hegemonic binaries of whiteness and other. Unsurprisingly, representational practices in the North Atlantic have long disproportionately privileged white people. Too often it appears that to belong to the North Atlantic is to be white. For South Asian youth, this can cause a fragmentation, or dislocation, of identity (Warren, 2016) when they don't see themselves included in the place they consider home.

This exemplar, also illustrates how the erasure of identities that are not white can serve as an active recruitment into whiteness for youth. The excerpt explains: "Years of reading about white characters made that the default in my head. So, when I came up with characters, they tended to be white or have an unspecified race (basically they were still white, but just in your head)." The recruitment into whiteness not only produces a cultural imaginary, it also produces cultural

practices (e.g., writing only white characters) that align South Asian youth with the perspectives and values of whiteness. The recruitment to whiteness offers a false promise which results in South Asian youth becoming complicit in their own erasure within a racialized order. These representational practices render all racialized identities as both marginal to and contingent upon whiteness. The previous exemplar continues:

Once I became aware of it, I felt responsible for creating diverse characters, especially Indian characters. I put them in my stories, but I feel this pressure to only write about those characters. I'm an Indian-American writer, so I should write what's expected from an Indian-American story...I get so excited when I see representation and I want to be a part of bringing diversity into stories, but I don't want to feel like those are the only stories I'm allowed to tell. I grew up in America, and that's a part of my background too (Bansal, 2019).

In this excerpt, the rejection of whiteness as the only or the most important story is more than a critique, it is a form of epistemic disobedience. Actively resisting erasure by inserting oneself present in public discourse is a reclamation of agency that not only interrupts dominant epistemes, it also creates a space for others to do the same. The coloniality of power emerges—and is resisted—in ways that are both personal and cultural.

Moreover, in this excerpt the author claims the liminal space between opposing epistemes as their own. “I'm an Indian-American writer... but I don't want to feel like those are the only stories I'm allowed to tell. I grew up in America, and that's a part of my background too.” Being South Asian does not contradict being American. Modernity's binary is rejected in favor of more decolonial options that offer nuanced complexity. In diaspora, South Asian youth face continual demands to assimilate into a culture that marginalizes them. At the same time, they are embraced by family that seek to maintain a culture they do not fully know.

A sense of ontological security (Kinnvall, 2004; Mitzen, 2006) for diasporic South Asian youth is undermined by these epistemic entanglements. Consider the rejection of ethnic cultural practices, cuisines, and behaviors in the next exemplar.

...I did my best to hide my Indian culture, often masking myself with foundation that was three shades too light, furiously practicing my English to get rid of remnants of my Indian accent and refusing to discuss anything about my identity. The terror of being ostracized for my cultural and racial backgrounds was debilitating...It was almost easier, not to mention safer, to be culturally invisible to avoid being a victim of bigotry. As a result, I traded plates of buttery *roti* and chili *paneer* for bubble tea and mac & cheese, an exchange which I strongly believed would make me more “American” and less “Indian” (Shah, 2019).

This exemplar demonstrates one way that racism, internalized racism, and the commodification of cuisine are entangled in daily life. The rejection of cultural expressions— traditional food, accents, and religious practices— is a significant source of ontological *insecurity* for South Asian youth. Cultural insecurity manifests in efforts to render one's self culturally invisible through the erasure of embodied cultural markers. This epistemic violence further disconnects youth from their ancestral South Asian homelands. Here again is a recruitment into whiteness. Further, the power of coloniality is evident in self-censorship in the name of ontological security.

The correct pronunciation of personal names is also a site of cultural struggle for South Asians living in the North Atlantic. Yet, names can be markers of unwelcome difference. Consider this exemplar:

...conforming is typically the easier and sometimes safer path to take. Anjali becomes Aanjali, Ramya becomes Rumya, and Revati turns into Revethi, Ravathi, Reveethi, Raven, and the occasional Rachel. I don't blame anyone for going this route, as it's a pain to keep correcting people. Some have even been teased for the actual pronunciations of their names. What I do worry about is what we are losing as a community every time we allow another name to go butchered by our friends, teachers, and bosses (Mahurkar, 2019).

Since names are a primary source of identification, it is no leap from understanding one's name as an inconvenient presence to understanding ones' *self* as an inconvenient presence. It is especially distressing that students become accustomed to the idea that their names are not worth the trouble. To expect and require correct pronunciation of one's name is a disruption to the culture of whiteness, which can be intimidating, especially for youth. South Asian youth find their identities reinscribed by whiteness as mispronunciations become the accepted pronunciation. In diaspora, South Asian names are more than personal—they also indicate a sense of kinship within South Asian communities, and mispronunciations can result in a feeling of “losing as a community.” For South Asians in diaspora, this sense of community is often a life line and linguistic continuity is a form of keeping that life line intact (Sridhar, 1997). Yet here again, South Asian youth are caught in a liminality produced by multiple erasures.

Conclusion

In diaspora, South Asian youth live through the entanglements of colonial, South Asian, and North Atlantic epistemes. These entanglements produce conflicting and often contradictory identities, knowledges, and expectations. As the children of immigrants, they do not share their parents' connection to, or understanding of, South Asia. Yet neither are they entirely at home in the North Atlantic. Consequently, youth work to create their own sense of ethnic identity in order to build ontological security.

This study examined how dominant discourses in *Brown Girl Magazine* challenge coloniality, traditional South Asian, and North Atlantic epistemes through their own discursive mix of feminist anti-racism. The study's narrow focus on articles published in 2019 is both a strength and a limitation. This is a strength which enabled the careful textual analysis essential to grounded theory work. With that said, we are interested to understand how the discourses that we identified develop over time and that would require a larger study. In our analyses the discourses circulating in *Brown Girl Magazine* illustrate how the coloniality of power circulates in commonplace every-day behaviors and how it is resisted and at times subverted through these very same behaviors. The articles we examined also demonstrate how youth recognize their own participation in cultural erasure and their efforts to challenge it (Bansal, 2019; Mahurkar, 2019; Shah, 2019). Epistemic agency emerges in decolonial practices that are as fundamental as they are ordinary—such as correcting the pronunciation of one's name, embracing cultural cuisine and clothing and challenging sexism in their families.

Finally, across our data, there is a rejection of Western modernity as the solution to problems within the South Asian community. Recall the discursive assertion that feminism was to be enacted within South Asian culture rather than something juxtaposed against it. Spaces, like the one provided by *Brown Girl Magazine*, allow for the development of mobilizing discourses that could lead to effective strategies of cultural resistance and development. In this sense, the decolonial practices illustrated in *Brown Girl Magazine* offer an inspired mix of struggle and accomplishment. Importantly, we see traces of another episteme emerging organically in *Brown Girl Magazine*—one that is an expression of embodied knowledges produced in diaspora and

as a result challenges the epistemes of coloniality, South Asia, and the North Atlantic. We close with anticipation of further research into the experiences of diasporic South Asian youth and the everyday practices of epistemic disobedience that enable them to thrive as South Asians living in the North Atlantic.

Discussion

Diasporic movements intended to increase opportunities for a better life often bring encounters with new forms of oppression as people move across epistemic as well as national boundaries. Since all forms of oppression and resistance to oppression arise first in language, sociological studies of language offer an opportunity to examine relations of power as they are constituted by and expressed in everyday experience. In this sense, *Brown Girl Magazine* is an important venue in which South Asian youth explore relations of power that circulate within and across epistemes.

As is evident in the review of literature, current scholarship on South Asian diasporic experience draws primarily from interview and survey data. Textual analysis enabled us to connect the very productive theoretical work on the coloniality of power done by Quijano (2000) and Mignolo (2000, 2002, 2003) and Lugones (2010) to daily practices. The combination of textual analysis, grounded theory, and theories of coloniality enabled us to make an original contribution to existing literature—both in terms of content and methodology. In this sense, it is both an analysis of how epistemes function in daily life and a provocation for further scholarship in sociological analyses of language that can capture the circulation of power in daily practices.

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Discourses of Anticipatory Futures Among Contemporary Japanese Younger Adults

Judit Kroo⁴⁰

Abstract

This paper examines the ways in which younger adults in contemporary Japan discursively articulate possible futures under continuing conditions of socioeconomic precarity and marginalization (Brinton 2010), emphasizing how anticipation (Bryant and Knight, 2019) of *antei* 'stable' and *fuantei* 'unstable' futures organizes younger adults' perceptions of future possibility and of successful futures. Anticipation and anticipatory futures highlight the ways in which individuals' discourses of past and present social conditions delimit future possibilities, rendering the future as a realized present and foreclosing the possibility of imagining futures that diverge from the present. Data includes casual conversations recorded during extended ethnographic fieldwork with students at a public university in Yokohama, Japan; the current paper focuses on casual conversations with students at various stages of *shuushoku katsudoo* 'job hunting activities' and tracks these individuals interactionally conveyed alignments with respect to successful future work life. While describing successful lives as those that can endure (Povinelli, 2011) into the future, younger adults articulate the dangers of desire, which is to say of futures that are based on *yume* 'dreams' and *yaritai koto* 'things I want to do'.

For younger adults such desires are perceived as leading to failure and to the exhaustion of life. This paper demonstrates how younger adults respond to economic neoliberalization through the management of risk.

Keywords

Japan, Anticipation, Precarity, Job Hunting, Youth

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Introduction

This paper examines the ways in which younger adults in contemporary Japan discursively articulate possible futures under continuing conditions of socioeconomic precarity and marginalization (Brinton, 2010), emphasizing how anticipation (Bryant and Knight, 2019) of stable and unstable futures organizes younger adults’ perceptions of future possibility. Analysis of the ways in which anticipatory future orientations are conveyed, characterized and constructed has attracted significant attention in recent years (Adams, Murphy and Clarke, 2009; Bennett, 1976; Bryant, 2016; Choi, 2015; Hastrup, 2005; Hermez, 2012; Mattingly, 2019; Molé, 2010; Poli, 2014; Stephen, 2019; Stephen and Flaherty, 2019), frequently building on philosophies of temporality, durativity, and the characteristics of existence and subjectivity (see for example Heidegger, 1962; Husserl, 1964).

The anticipatory futures that I focus on here can be understood as forms of future-directed orientations that incorporate “the sense of thrusting or pressing forward, where the past is called upon in this movement toward the future” (Bryant and Knight, 2019: 28). Anticipatory futures highlight the ways in which individuals’ discourses of past and present social conditions delimit future possibilities, rendering some futures as realized presents.

The Japanese context that is the focus of this paper offers a unique vantage point for considering these futures since the question of the future and whether a future is at all possible or even desirable is under significant debate. Younger Japanese adults are coming of age in a Japan that is marked by decades of asset deflation and the neoliberalization of employment laws that have made it easier for firms to hire *hiseishain* ‘non-regular, contract workers’, who are doing the same jobs as *seishain* ‘regular salaried workers’ but are denied core benefits including substantial year-end bonuses and retirement funds (Allison, 2013; Brinton, 2010; Genda, 2005; Honda and Tsutsui, 2009; Kosugi, 2007; Toivonen, 2013; Yamada, 2015). These benefits constitute a replacement for the kind of public-funded social services that are seen as the backbone of social welfare states (Suzuki et al., 2010) and without them younger adults are marginalized from once taken for granted social practices such as home ownership, marriage, and family creation (Yamada, 2015).

Related to this rapid shift in core social practice, the subjectivities of younger adults in Japan are also very different to that of their parents, who were the last generation to be hired under conditions of (seemingly boundless) economic growth and began their working lives at the tail end of the so-called Japanese bubble period of the 1980s (McCormack, 1996). Thus, in contrast to their parents’ experiences of inflation in stock and real estate values, younger adults have no memory of Japan prior to the bursting of the asset bubble and its resulting states of continuing asset and wage deflation. This generational gap in expectations regarding what counts as a good life was explored in Furuichi’s (2011) study of the ‘happy young people of an unhappy nation’, and is summed up by the actor Takeru Satoh, one of Furuichi’s interviewees.

(1)

Ima no jidai wa “ippaku futsuka de tomodachi to Chiba ni baabekyuu ni iku shiawase” [...] Betsu ni Sakamoto Ryooma mitai ni Ishin no kaze o fukasetai wake de mo naku, kuni no tame ni shinda eiyuu to agameraretai wake de mo nai. Sonna hiroizumu de wa nakute, [Takeru] Satoo ni totte tasetu na no wa “ippaku futsuka de tomodachi to Chiba ni baabekyuu ni iku to iu chiisana shiawase na no da. Satoo no shoochoo

sareru yoo ni, wakamono ni hiromatteiru no wa, motto mijika na hitobito to no kankee ya, chiisana shiawase o taisetsu ni suru kachikan de aru. “Kyoo yori mo ashita ga yoku naru” nante omowanai. Nihon keezai no saisei nante koto wa onegawanai. Kakumei wo nozomu wake de mo nai. Seijuku shita gendai no shakai ni, fusawashii ikigata to itte mo ii.

The present period is “the happiness of going to Chiba with friends for a one night/two day barbeque.” We don’t really want to be like Sakamoto Ryooma and blow in the wind of the Meiji Restoration and be revered as a hero who died for the nation. Rather than this kind of heroism, according to [Takeru] Satoo what is important is “the happiness of going to Chiba with friends for a one night/two day barbeque.” As symbolized in Takeru Satoo’s words, what is becoming popular with young people are values like the relationships with people close to one and the importance of small happinesses. We don’t think things like “tomorrow will be better than today.” They don’t hope for things like the re-birth of the Japanese economy. They also don’t wish for a revolution. One could say that [for them] this is the appropriate way of life, here in the present developed [Japanese] society.” (Furuichi, 2011: 13, translation my own)

In emphasizing strategies such as *mijika na hitobito to no kankee* ‘relationships with people who are close to one’ and *chiisana shiawase* ‘small happiness(es)’ as possibilities for managing the difficulties of life in contemporary Japanese society, Furuichi adopts a perspective also taken by influential Japanese sociologists such as Shinji Miyadai (1993). Miyadai championed the construct of *owarinaki nichijoo* ‘never-ending everyday life’, which he originally used to describe the alignments and practices of younger Japan women during the deflationary, socially unsettled Lost Decade of the 1990s, when Japanese asset and stock prices were in free fall, unemployment and under employment among younger adults skyrocketed, and horrific acts of violence by younger adults were read as emblematic of a nation in decline and disarray.

What distinguishes Furuichi’s reading of younger adults is his insistence, highlighted in the quote above, on their *koofuku* ‘happiness’—the title of Furuichi’s text is *Zetsuboo no kuni no koofuku na wakamonotachi* ‘The happy young people of a hopeless nation’. For Furuichi, futures grounded in *kakumei* ‘revolution’ and *Nihon keezai no saisei* ‘the re-birth of the Japanese economy’ are not the loci of *nozomu* ‘hop[ing]’ and *negau* ‘desir[ing]/wish[ing]’. Rather, the future is located in the ordinary and quotidian present, as articulated in *ippaku futsuka de tomodachi to Chiba ni baabekyuu ni iku shiawase* ‘the happiness of going to Chiba with friends for a one night/two-day barbeque’.

However, for many younger adults even the *chiisana shiawase* ‘small happiness’ that Furuichi and his interviewee Takeru Satoh describe cannot be taken for granted. For them, the quotidian and ordinary do not articulate futures that contain the possibility of alternatives, but are rather sites of loss of once taken for granted lifeways. Younger adults like Ryusei (2), a second-year university student at the public university that is the field-site of this study, are poised to enter the job market but interpret ordinary life and ordinary practice, which were once understood as paths to ordinary *shiawase* ‘happiness’ as sites of risk, pregnant with the possibility that *umaku ikanai* ‘[things] won’t work out’.

(2)

Context: Ryusei discusses the difference between his parents' generation and his own

Ryusei; *ima made nihon oya no sedai wa ma futsuu ni futsuu ni sureba futsuu ni shiawase ni nareru tte iu kankaku ga moshikashitara atta no kamo shirenai kedo ima wa futsuu ni shitete mo umaku ikanai koto ga aru imeeji*

Until now [in] Japan, well, as for the parents' generation, ordinarily, as long as you did things *futsuu ni* [ordinarily] *futsuu ni* [ordinarily], there was maybe a sense that you would be *futsuu ni* [ordinarily] happy, but as for now, even if you do things *futsuu ni* [ordinarily], there is an image that things won't work out.

Articulating *futsuu* 'ordinar[iness]' as structuring both the desired form of life and the manner of its achievement, Ryusei situates successful futures as those that are in some ways continuations of the present—'ordinary' practice leading to 'ordinary' happiness. At the same time, Ryusei describes the extent to which such ordinariness is increasingly unattainable and in this way is emblematic of societal shift and increased precarity. For younger adults like Ryusei, *futsuu ni shiawase nareru* 'becoming ordinarily happy' is potentially unachievable.

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Looking more closely at the ways in which younger adults like Ryusei discursively project and imagine available futures, this paper uses data from a long-term ethnography of younger Japanese adults at a mid-high academic level university in the suburbs of Yokohama City and focuses on the ways in which the discourses of *antei* 'stability', *funatei* 'instability', and *yaritai koto* 'things I want to do' structure talk of the future, highlighting how younger adults convey narratives of anticipatory futures and locate dreams and desires as potential sites of risk. While the current analysis focuses narrowly on Japan, it is worth noting that conditions in Japan closely resemble those in many other socioeconomic contexts and as such the findings of this paper can contribute to broader understandings of the ways in which contemporary younger adults imagine and project possible futures.

1. Literature Review: Narratives of a future-less future in Japan

In focusing on how younger adults convey and interpret possible futures (both successful and unsuccessful), this paper considers the relationship between the abstract (broad social forces) and the particular (specific interactional moments). In this, it joins a wide body of research that uses natural conversation and attends to and highlights individuals' shifts, stances, and alignments within and across interactions and the ways in which individuals reference, negotiate, contest and/or align with broader social norms and discourses (see for example Bucholtz, 2003, 2010; Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, 2005; Du Bois, 2007; Irvine and Gal, 2000; Matsumoto, 2002, 2004; Ochs, 1991, 1993).

The analysis of this paper is also inspired by Bryant and Knight's (2019) reading of future-oriented imaginings alongside a range of work in the linguistics and anthropology of anticipatory subjectivities, practices and temporalities (Adams, Murphy and Clarke, 2009;

Bennett, 1976; Bryant, 2016; Choi, 2015; Hastrup, 2005; Hermez, 2012; Mattingly, 2019; Molé, 2010; Poli, 2014; Stephen, 2019; Stephen and Flaherty, 2019). Most pertinent for the present analysis, Bryant and Knight locate distinctions between forms of future-thinking as dependent on the ways in which the past becomes the ground for imagining a future horizon. In this matrix, an anticipatory future is one in which the present and past push into the future, restricting the possibility of alternatives to present conditions. Bound by the limitations of the present, anticipatory futures are thus not hope-ful, since hope requires the ability to project positive alternatives to present circumstances, imagining that things might be otherwise.

Such a state of hope-lessness, along with dissolution and unravelling, dominates narratives of life in contemporary Japan, where seemingly stable and unchanging rhythms of daily life obscure structural instabilities and dampen the impetus for social change (Armstrong, 2016). These narratives of futureless disintegration and precarity have been chronicled in contemporary media, such as the novels of Tomoyuki Hoshino, and have also provided inspiration for insightful anthropological accounts (Allison, 2013). Notably, Hoshino's *Ronrii Haatsu Kiraa* 'Lonely Hearts Killer' describes a Japan where ordinary life intermingles with urban horror (Huang, 2020)—Tokyo is covered in yellow sand, individuals fall into inscrutable depressions, children are metaphorically crushed by the weight of the elderly, and suicide is seen as a recognition that the nation is already dead (Hoshino, 2004).

These narratives are rooted in the continuing precarity that has marked contemporary Japan since the collapse of the 1980s asset bubble, with diverse effects rippling across multiple planes of social life. Younger adults are coming of age at a time when more and more individuals are cut off from so-called *seishain* 'regular, full-time worker' jobs and are employed as contract workers (Brinton, 2010). As a result of the relaxation of labor laws and the neoliberalization of the labor market, it is estimated that over 30% of workers are now engaged as contract workers or *hiseishain* 'non-regular, non-fulltime workers' (Yamada, 2015). Economists argue that even recent developments such as the 2018 'Work Style Reform Law' *Hataraki Kaikaku*, which includes language that is meant to ensure that *hiseishain* 'non-regular workers' and *seishain* 'regular workers' earn equal pay for the work that they do, merely allow corporations to cut benefits and pay for permanent *seishain* 'regular workers' (Okutsu and Sugiura, 2018).

Of course, conditions of neoliberal precarity and attendant interpretation of futures as full of risk are not confined to Japan. A range of contemporary accounts (Berlant, 2011; Lorey, 2015; Povinelli, 2011) highlight the potential for future-directed optimism to be a site of cruelty (Berlant, 2011), interrogating the ways in which the quotidian and ordinary can be a form of endurance (Povinelli, 2011) in which once taken for granted future-oriented subjectivities are interpreted as lost (Lear, 2008). For Berlant, optimism is 'cruel' when it consists of "maintaining an attachment to a significantly problematic object" (Berlant, 2011: 24), when the attachment to a dream or imagining is "actually an obstacle to your flourishing" (Berlant, 2011: 1). While Berlant is relatively pessimistic about the possibilities of 'optimism', at one point suggesting that all optimism might be cruel, there are hints at ways of living life that are, in their own way, optimistic. These lifeways are not grand and are marked by a kind of instability—they do not contain easy trajectories towards futures, but a "more sustainable optimism" that foregrounds "politically affective immediacy" (Berlant, 2011: 262). This notion of positive futures also finds some parallels in Povinelli's (2011) account of the forms of endurance that are possible for individuals who are marginalized from standard life practices, for whom the horizons of life are already "detached" (Povinelli, 2011: 263). Considering practices as diverse as augmented reality projects in the Northern Territories of Australia and alternative food movements in the United States, Povinelli tracks the ways in which individuals

endure, where enduring is understood as “striv[ing] [...] to persevere” (Povinelli, 2011: 9). In enduring, these individuals do not engage in fantasies of a good life, of a future dream horizon; their focus on endurance means that rather than “trying to become otherwise we are trying to be same, and this is enough for us” (Povinelli, 2011: 121). For Povinelli, endurance is defined as relational with respect to exhaustion and has a strongly temporal character, the “temporality of continuance, a denotation of continuous action without any reference to its beginning or end” (Povinelli, 2011: 32). In this way, endurance shares characteristics with anticipation, since both project the present into the future. Concurrently, ‘mere endurance’ contains a positive potentiality, allowing ‘at least’ for continuation of the present.

Attending to the ways in which the younger adults in this study consider and describe their futures, this paper asks how they narrate and imagine a good life, and why certain kinds of imaginations, such as those linked to *risoo* ‘ideal’ futures, seem to become loci of ‘cruel optimism’ (Berlant, 2011). The perceived regulation and delimitation of possible options are especially pertinent in the context of neoliberal economic policies since in spite of neoliberalism’s discourses of ‘freedom’—freedom of choice, freedom from regulation, freedom to engage in flexible work etc.—the actual availability of practices and lifeways creates radically imbalanced access to ‘freedom’ and strengthens existing inequalities (Harvey, 2005). Under this socioeconomic regime, which substantially reduces institutional requirements of care and tolerates increasingly stark inequalities and precarious work flexibilities, decisions about the future are often reconfigured in terms of risk. The management of the future is in some ways a management of the risks of failure and the attempt to ‘optimize’ the self and maximize the chances of a successful life. This management and its attendant temporality constitute the primary concern of the current paper.

2. Fieldwork Site: Documenting Precarity and Contemporary Japanese Futures

The Japanese university that constitutes the ethnographic field-site of this paper offers a unique perspective for thinking through ‘ordinary’ younger Japanese adults’ navigation of future possibilities. I use ‘ordinary’ here in the sense of the Japanese *futsuu* ‘ordinary’, where compounds such as *futsuu ningen* ‘ordinary person’ or *futsuu gakkoo* ‘ordinary school’ index alignments towards socially encoded expectations of normativity or standard. In the Japanese context, *futsuu ningen* ‘ordinary people’ are middle class, occupying a position that is neither subaltern nor elite. Ordinarity also involves participation in standard life practice—at the *gakusei* ‘student’ life stage this includes school clubs, part time jobs, and educational practice. Importantly, under conditions of continuing socioeconomic precarity, being *futsuu* ‘ordinary’ is not perceived negatively, but as its own kind of achievement.

Ichi City University (Ichi U.), the field site of this project, is located in the suburbs of Yokohama in the southern part of Tokyo Bay. Although nominally part of Yokohama City, the students of Ichi U. consider their university to be suburban since it takes roughly 30 minutes by express train to reach Yokohama Station and roughly an hour to reach Tokyo. Ichi U. is a mid-high academic level university and as a public university it has greater status than most private universities that rely on student tuition and therefore admit students with lower entrance exam scores. However, Ichi U. is not part of the top-tier of elite public universities and some students described the university as their *suberidome* ‘safety school’, one that they attended because they failed to get into their first choice of university. Others, meanwhile, had been admitted to elite level private universities, but ended up choosing Ichi U. because they could not afford private university tuition.

I began ethnographic research with Ichi U. students in 2014, including a 10-month period from 2017 – 2018. Students first got to know me either through teacher introductions or through flyers posted on the university campus. Over time, students introduced me to their peer networks and allowed me to participate in social gatherings, club practices, and other activities. I spent much of my time with Ichi U.’s nationally ranked cheerleading club and got to know students who had just begun or were planning on beginning the year long process of *shuushoku katsudoo* ‘job hunting activities’. When I returned to Ichi U. in the Summer of 2019, many of the initial cheerleading club members had gone through job-hunting and had either been offered jobs or, after finding themselves unsuccessful on the job market, were considering whether to delay their graduation by a year and try again.

In previous work (Kroo, 2021) I used the term *discourse (re)-framing* to describe younger adults’ apparent alignment with seemingly conservative discourses linked to marriage and work life and the ways in which these alignments concealed complex configurations of ‘making do’ (De Certeau, 1984) that emerged from the space of perceived available options and from the ways in which these options mapped onto differing levels of difficulty, risk, and potential for joy. However, this work was conducted with individuals who were still preparing for or who had just started *shuushoku katsudoo* ‘job hunting practice’, a time when the future was understood as full of diverse possibilities. In contrast, the present study considers what happens as the future horizon of ‘adulthood’ is slowly actualized into present reality and tracks how individuals, when confronted with different possible futures, decide on a particular path. This paper centers on interactions with present or former cheerleading members. I was present for all of these interactions.

The management of the future is important for Ichi U. students’ discursively conveyed interpretations of future life. On the one hand, Ichi U. students attend a public university, one that required them to achieve relatively high scores on their entrance exams. Consonant with this, students claimed that 98% of Ichi U. students would engage in standard *shuushoku katsudoo* ‘job hunting practice’ aimed at getting a white-collar job. At the same time, recent work on *shuushoku katsudoo* ‘job hunting practices’ demonstrates a significant gap between top tier and second tier university students with respect to the number of job offers received as a ratio of total applications submitted, and the timing of students’ first job offer (Kosugi, 2007). Kosugi (2007) describes how top tier university graduates receive on average more job offers total and also receive their first job offer earlier in the year-long job-hunting cycle than second tier university graduates. At the same time, there is less of a difference with respect to when the students accept a job offer. That is to say, top tier university students will be more likely to wait for a highly desirable job offer than their second-tier university peers, who are more likely to accept their first job offer.

All of the participants in the following interactions are young women. While gender is not explicit in these interactions it informs expectations and possibilities of desirable lifeways, including those related to economic sphere participation and marriage (Hidaka, 2014). Research (see for example Brinton, 2010; Hidaka, 2014; Kroo, 2021) has documented the ways in which young men are subject to strict expectations regarding work practice—for the students of Ichi U. this amounts to finding a full-time *sarariiman* ‘salaryman, white collar worker’ job—whereas women may leave full-time work after marriage. At the same time, previous research (Allison, 2013; Suzuki et al., 2010) has articulated the ways in which discourses of precarity cut across social categories (age, gender, geography, and socioeconomic status among them). Thus, while the following analysis focuses on a narrow subset of younger adults and

interactions, the negotiations and pressures depicted refract larger concerns and are in many ways representative of the broader practices and alignments of Ichi U. students including male students. For example, Ryusei, the second-year student from (2), had hoped to be able to work abroad but gave up on this *yume* ‘dream’ and chose a stable teaching career in the university area, an experience shared by other male students including those who had previously participated in study abroad. The findings are also consonant with research on the phenomenon of *uchimukishikoo* ‘inward looking’ Japanese (Burgess, 2015), which describes younger Japanese adults’ lack of interest in studying, working and living outside of Japan. They also shed light on analyses of younger adults’ supposed turn towards conservatism and relative laziness (lack of interest in dreams) compared to previous ‘hardworking’ generations (Yamada, 2015).

3. Analysis

3.1 Background on Precarious Futures

Younger adults in contemporary Japan appear to recognize that the horizons of future possibility that guided their parents are not available to them—they can no longer count on established *futsuu* ‘ordinary’ practices of marriage, full-time regular jobs and family making to structure lifeways. Indeed, even as many Ichi U. students consider that they are well-positioned to navigate the precarities of the contemporary Japanese job market, the sorts of jobs that these individuals aim for demonstrate their keen awareness of the risks that attend aiming for a *risoo* ‘ideal’ job in contrast to a *genjitsu* ‘reality [realistic]’ one. In (3) two female fourth year students, Kimiko and Sara have just discussed the difference between *risoo* ‘ideal’ and *genjitsu* ‘reality [realistic]’ jobs. *Genjitsu* jobs, such as those at CROs (Contract Research Organizations) are described by Kimiko as *ukari yasui* ‘easy to get’ (line 3) and thus she has decided to target those over *risoo* positions at *kagaku meekaa* ‘scientific instrument manufacturers’, which are more well known, but are also considered more competitive *ironna hito ga miru kara* ‘because they look at various people’ (line 4).

(3)

1 Kimiko; *kekko ippai tairyoo ni saiyo shiteru kara*

Because they accept people in large quantities

2 Kimiko; *soko ni ima wa ukari yasui kara*

Because it’s easy to be accepted [for a job] there now

3 Kimiko; *soko ni uketete kagaku meekaa wa kekko*

I am getting [a job] there; scientific instruments are fine [in the sense of ‘I’m fine’ and by implication not what Kimiko is aiming for]

4 Kimiko; *ironna hito ga miru kara chotto*

Because they are looking at various people, it’s a little bit

5 Sara; *bairitsu ga takai kara*

Because the acceptance rate is high

In line 5, Sara sums up Kimiko’s rationale for considering CROs to be a better route for the future—*bairitsu ga takai kara* ‘because the acceptance rate is high’. That is to say, the desirability of a job is defined partially as the extent to which it is understood as achievable. In Kimiko and Sara’s discussion of successful jobs in (3), discourses of precarity, such as *which* jobs are obtainable structure the understanding of the future as well as the practices to which it

is linked, in this case which jobs Kimiko will apply to. Anticipation of precarity in advance of its emergence structures the future.

The following interactions incorporate these diverse threads, including the management of risk, the discursive imagination of and construction of possible futures as anticipatory, and the subsequent understanding of hopes, dreams, and desires as untenable. It is my thesis that the ‘ordinary’ younger adults who are the focus of this paper convey imaginaries of the future that do not misrecognize norms as desirable (Berlant, 2011). At the same time, horizons of the future are anticipatory in that alternatives to quotidian, recognizable presents are understood as dangerous and risky. There is thus neither a suspension of the difficulties of life, nor a cruel attachment to destructive possibilities. In this way, theirs are futures of endurance (Povinelli, 2011), understood as a continuation of existent lifeways.

The cheerleaders whose interactions are discussed below are all fourth-year students and the interactions were recorded in the course of casual excursions: (4) was recorded at a post-practice lunch; (5) at a coffee shop between classes; (6) and (7) during a day trip to the nearby town of Kamakura. Discourses of the future emerged organically as part of everyday talk about romantic life, classes, summer travel plans and so on. The interactions should thus be interpreted in the context of these younger adults’ choices with respect to economic futures, particularly jobs that diverge from previous imaginings of future life, and the ways in which they seemed to have given up on dreams, desires, and imaginings of alternative futures.

Yui, Kimiko, Maya, Sara, Anna and Kira have been friends since their first year of university and form the complete cohort of fourth-year cheerleaders. Anna appears most frequently—she is the captain of the cheerleading team and is an active participant in cheerleading outings and events. While Sara and Kira do not appear directly in the interactions below, their situation animates other interactions, notably (7) where Anna discusses Sara’s failure to get a job.

3.2 Antei and Fuantei

The interactions in (4) and (5) highlight the ways in which anticipatory futures emerge through systems of contrast. *Antei* ‘stability’ and *fuantei* ‘instability’ articulate and crystallize differing potentials for endurance, that is to say the temporal duration of the present into the future. In (4) Yui’s understanding of a successful future is one in which present instabilities are resolved into a future that is marked by certainty—by being able to project into the future. It is this ability to project the future from the present that I describe as ‘anticipatory’ and it is a future that is not ‘hopeful’ in that it does not imagine alternatives to the present, but rather one in which Yui *hayaku kimaritai desu* ‘wants it to be decided quickly’.

The interaction in (4) took place during the summer at a restaurant close to the university campus following a cheerleading practice. The fourth-year cheerleaders had begun *shuushoku katsudoo* the year before and now, with roughly eight months remaining until graduation next April, some of them were already *kimatta* ‘decided’, which is to say that they had received and decided on job offers. However, this was not uniformly the case—some individuals were in the middle of *shuukatsu* ‘job hunting’ and others were finding themselves rejected from all the jobs they had applied to and were contemplating delaying graduation by a year. In this moment, the question of the future acquired particular urgency as they confronted not only their own horizons of possibility but also the ways in which these horizons were mingled with the horizons of their peers.

(4)

1 Yui; *shitai to wa omowanai kedo, hayaku **antei shita** tokoro ni ikitai desu*

I don't think that I want to do it*, but I want to go to a stable [**antei shita**] place quickly

*here it refers to *shuukatsu* 'job hunting'

2 Yui; *nanka ima **fuantei** dakara e nanka futsuu ni daijoobu kana mitai na shinpai? shuukatsu hajimaru kara demo hayaku kimaritai desu moo*

Like because my position is now not stable [**fuantei**] now eh like it's like a worry of will it be ordinarily okay? because job hunting is starting but I want it to be decided quickly

3 Anna; *nanka sa ANNA mo hiki nobashitakatta kedo demo nanka sono nanka minna ga moo dooki ga owatteru no ni*

Like so Anna* also wanted to delay it but, but like that like even though everyone in the same class is already finished

*Use of one's own's name as a first-person marker is common among younger Japanese women

4 Anna; *jibun ga ima kara hajimaru no ga chotto nanka kanashikunai*

Isn't it like a little bit sad that one is starting from now

5 Anna; *nanka soo demo nai minna wa moo kimatte **antei shi tsutsu** aru no ni watashi wa ima kara kimenai to ikenai mitai na*

Like it's not really even though everyone is already in a state of decision and is stable [**antei shi tsutsu**] it's like I have to decide from now

6 Yui; [laugh] *nanka taihen soo da na::tte*

[laugh] Like it seems tough!

Across (4), Yui and Anna contrast two opposing states—present *fuantei* 'uncertainty' and an anticipated future *antei* 'stability'. In lines 1 and 2, Yui suggests that even though she doesn't personally want to do job hunting, she wants to enter into a place of stability, *antei shita tokoro* 'a stable place', *ima fuantei dakara* 'because [her place is] currently not stable', suggesting that *fuantei* is itself a site of risk and danger. In line 3 Anna follows up on Yui's sense of anticipatory *antei* 'stable' futures and adds that even though she (Anna) also wanted to delay job hunting, she couldn't because everyone around her already had finished, *hiki nobashitakatta kedo demo nanka sono nanka minna ga moo dooki ga owatteru no ni* '[Anna] wanted to delay it but, but like that like even though everyone in the same class is already finished'. In other words, she located herself as 'behind' and needed to catch up. In line 5 Anna articulates this further: *minna wa moo kimatte **antei shi tsutsu** aru no ni watashi wa ima kara kimenai to ikenai mitai na* 'everyone is already in a state of decision and is stable [**antei shi tsutsu**] it's like I have to decide from now'. For Anna, then, her peer's present state constructs and anticipates her own future state—everyone's present stability becomes the model for Anna's future. The successful future then is knowable and constructed through considerations of the present of one's peers.

In describing the future that Anna and Yui articulate in (4), I use the term successful rather than desirable. This is because Anna and Yui equivocate about whether this is truly a future that they 'want'. In line 1, Yui notes that *shitai to wa omowanai* 'I don't think that I want to do it', where it refers to *shuukatsu* 'job hunting'. Similarly, in line 3, Anna concurs: *ANNA mo hiki nobashitakatta kedo* 'Anna also wanted to delay it', again referring to *shuukatsu* 'job hunting'.

This equivocation of desire, of ‘wanting for things to be decided quickly’ *hayaku kimaritai desu* but not wanting to actually do job hunting (*shitai to wa omowanai* ‘I don’t think I want to do it’) is echoed in other individuals’ negotiation of the relationship between futures that are desired and those that seem possible.

Notably, while the relational discourses of *antei* ‘stability’ and *fuantei* ‘instability’ create categories that project what counts as a successful future, the risks that are understood as inherent to *fuantei* ‘instability’ itself delimit the horizons of younger adults’ possibilities. The interaction in (5) demonstrates how this takes place. In contrast to her peers, Kimiko spent a year in the United States as an international student. She was regarded by other cheerleaders with some jealousy since she had quickly mastered difficult tumbling combinations even though she had taken two years off from cheerleading (one year as an international student and one year because she couldn’t afford the cost of the cheerleading club). Kimiko stood out in other ways as well—for example, she had been living with her boyfriend, the only university student that I know of at Ichi U. to do so. The following conversation was recorded during a coffee outing with Kimiko, Anna and Maya in between classes and cheerleading practice. Kimiko described her desire to become a *jimu toreena* ‘gym trainer’, and her reasoning for why this desire was incompatible with a successful future. This interaction is quite long and the extracts in (5) were selected to allow the reader to follow the flow of Kimiko’s decision-making process.

(5)

1 Kimiko; *jimu toreenaa de ii*

It would be great to be a gym trainer

[9 lines deleted]

2 Kimiko; *dakara chotto nanka sentaku ga ne nanka semareru janai mirai ga*

So a little bit like choices become like narrow don’t they, the future

[1 line deleted]

3 Kimiko; *kyooshoku mo toreru shi taiiku oshietai kedo u::n demo maa*

I can get an educational job and I want to teach physical education but umm well

[3 lines deleted]

4 Kimiko; *dakara basuke bu no sensei wa imada ni ukattenakute*

Because the basketball teacher still hasn’t gotten a job

5 Anna; *e?*

eh?

6 Maya; *e::*

ehh

7 Kimiko; *juunen ijoo*

For more than ten years

8 Maya; [*hh*] *yabai yabai*

[hh] That’s dangerous, that’s dangerous

9 Kimiko; *fuantei sugiru*

It’s too unstable [fuantei]

10 Anna; *ikiru ki nai jan*

There’s no will to live

In (5), Kimiko’s offers a variety of reasons for setting aside her previous desire to become a gym trainer, where these reasons are linked to delimited and potentially destroyed futures. In line 2, Kimiko suggests that future choices are narrowed, *nanka sentaku ga ne nanka semareru janai mirai ga* ‘choices become like narrow don’t they, the future’. Becoming a gym trainer is reconfigured from the site of the possibility of an alternative future to a site of risk. Similarly, in lines 4 and 7, Kimiko links the possibilities of her own future to the present circumstances of the university’s basketball coach who hasn’t found a permanent job for over ten years: *basuke bu no sensei wa imada ni ukattenakute [...] juunen ijoo* ‘the basketball teacher still hasn’t gotten a job [...] for more than ten years’.

Kimiko’s reasoning in some ways resembles Anna and Yui’s structuring of their future horizons with respect their peers’ present states of *naitei* ‘receiving an unofficial job offer’. However, while Anna and Yui connect their peers’ present to a positively anticipated future, Kimiko’s interpretation of the basketball coach’s anticipatory future is negative—a future of economic adversity that has left the basketball coach without a stable job for *juunen ijoo* ‘more than ten years’. This future is thus *fuantei sugiru* ‘too unstable’ as Kimiko says in line 9. For her friend Anna, the instability is such that life itself is exhausted and *ikiru ki nai jan* ‘there’s no will to live’. Articulating *fuantei* as the loss of endurance suggests a future-less future, one in which even the present state of existing is extinguished. On this paradigm then, endurance might be categorized as a kind of successful future, one in which—regardless of the ways in which desire is understood as unachievable—life itself can continue.

3.3 Dreams of Security

For the younger adults who attend Ichi U. the discourse of *antei* ‘stability’ is also critical with respect to systems of value that are mobilized to distinguish companies and evaluate the possibility of *anzen* ‘safety’ with respect to future-oriented horizons. As in the previous examples, such safety is understood relationally through contrast—in this case, *anzen* ‘safety’ contrasts with *yume* ‘dreams’ or *yaritai koto* ‘things [I] want to do’. Such contrasts emerge particularly strongly in Anna’s talk about her present *shuukatsu* ‘job hunting’ practice during a weekend outing with me to the tourist town of Kamakura, roughly half an hour from the university campus by train. In (6) Anna suggests that futures that break from present circumstances are in a sense un-imaginable, that dreams are understood as the replication or endurance of present circumstances. This expression of the future was how Anna described her decision to forgo her desire at a start-up and focus instead on larger, established firms.

(6)

1 Anna; *soo Nihon watashi toka wa moo nanka shuukatsu yatte iku uchi ni dandan dandan nanka nan daro*

Right, Japan, as for me and stuff well like while I’m in process of doing *shuukatsu* gradually gradually like I wonder.

2 Anna; *ya- yaritai koto tte iu yori wa nanka kore o yaranai to ikenai tte iu kanji ni natte kichatte nanka [...]*

Rather than it being like things I wa- want to do [*yaritai koto*] like it’s totally come to be something like I have to do this like,

3 Anna; *dakara nanka sono nanka moo nanka hontoo no yume wa betsu ni atte mo, nanka shuushoku suru tokoro ga yume mitai na*

So, like, that, like, well, like, even if I particularly had a dream [*yume*], like it’s like my dream [*yume*] is a place where I get a job

4 Anna; *nanka moo kaeta kaeta kanji de un nanka ne gyookai burebure da to shuukatsu choo shizurai da yo ne nanka*

Like well, changing, changing is um like right, if you are inconsistent about the industry then it's extremely hard to do job hunting right, like

[2 lines deleted]

5 Anna; *mukashi kara no kaisha tte nanka sugoi **antei shiteru** shi nanka koo ochitsuite nanka sore nari ni shigoto shitokeba tabun **anzen** janai desuka?*

Longstanding companies are like totally stable [**antei shiteru**] and like in this way it's calm like in its own way if you can prepare a job then maybe it's secure/safe [**anzen**] isn't it

In line 2, Anna describes her present job-hunting as 'something I have to do': *yaritai koto tte iu yori wa nanka kore o yaranai to ikenai tte iu kanji ni natte kichatte nanka* 'Rather than it being like things I wa- want to do like it's totally come to be something like I have to do this like'. Job-hunting for Anna does not include the potential to find meaning through her job and is rather understood as an obligation *yananai to ikenai* 'I have to do'. In line 3 this sense of entering the future as a locus of obligation is expressed by replacement of *yume* 'dream(s)' with the things that 'I have to do': *hontoo no yume wa betsu ni atte mo, nanka shuushoku suru tokoro ga yume mitai na* 'even if I particularly had a dream, like it's like my dream is a place where I get a job'. For Anna, *yume* 'dream(s)', which might be considered as the space of the most desirable futures, are (re)-configured as the successful completion of the things that must be done. Put another way, *shukushoku* 'getting a job' is *yananai to ikenai kanji* 'something I have to do' and Anna's *yume* 'dream' is defined as her *shuushoku suru tokoro* 'the place where I [will] get a job'.

The other ways in which desirable futures are anticipatory is that they emphasize stability and suggest an unbroken continuation from the past. In line 5, Anna notes that *mukashi kara no kaisha tte nanka sugoi **antei shiteru** shi nanka koo ochitsuite nanka sore nari ni shigoto shitokeba tabun **anzen** janai desuka?* 'longstanding companies are like totally stable [**antei shiteru**] and like in this way it's calm like in its own way if you can prepare a job then maybe it's secure/safe [**anzen**] isn't it'. For Anna, stability is understood in much the way that Povinelli (2011) describes endurance—not only as the continuation of the past into the present, but as a projection of the present into the future. For Anna jobs at companies that can be trusted not to fall apart are *anzen* 'safe', where *antei* 'stability' and *anzen* 'safety' become their own form of dream. As noted above, Anna had previously wanted to work at a startup, but here she not only emphasizes stability and security as aspects of a successful future, but also contrasts them with being *burebure* 'blurry, inconsistent'. In line 4, Anna notes that being *burebure* makes job-hunting difficult: *burebure da to shuukatsu choo shizurai da yo ne* 'if you are *burebure* [inconsistent] about the industry then it's extremely hard to do job hunting right'. In this way, lack of consistency, understood here as 'changing' will create the conditions in which successful futures, themselves interpreted as bringing the present into the future, are denied.

3.4 The Risks of Desire

The previous interactions have alluded to younger adults’ interpretation of desire-able futures, *jibun no yaritai koto* ‘the things I want to do’, as full of risks that can lead to an exhaustion of living itself. In this section, I turn to the ways in which these risks are articulated in university students’ talk about and characterization of the failure of one of their peers to get a job. This interaction highlights the ways in which these younger adults perceive non-anticipatory futures, which are marked by the potential for alternatives to present conditions, as exhaustive and prone to failure.

In (7), Anna describes the plight of Sara, who had failed to get a job offer and was frantically applying to smaller companies to avoid having to repeat her senior year. I was surprised by Sara’s lack of success on the job market since I had found Sara to be outgoing, sociable and a very hard-working member of the team. Anna explained why Sara was without a job offer, articulating how it was a result of having ‘strong preferences’ *kodawari ga tsuyoi*.

(7)

1 Anna; *sugoi nandaroo nanka ano:: kodawari ga tsuyoi*

She’s totally what is it like that she has strong preferences [*kodawari ga tsuyoi*]

2 Researcher; *a:::*

Ahhh

3 Anna; *dakara dakara nanka shikamo kekko nanka koo makezu? makezu kirai ja nai kedo, ganko? de*

So so like moreover like losing? it’s not like she hates losing but is stubborn

4 Researcher; *a:::*

Ahhh

5 Anna; *dakara nanka ikitai tokoro ga kekko u::n amefutto toka ragubii toka moo sugoi koo iu tairyoku no arisoo na? otoko no hito bakkari ga atsumaru yoo na kaisha ni*

So like the places she wants to go are to companies where just guys who seem in this way totally to have physical strength are gathered umm American football and Rugby and stuff like that

6 Anna; *SARA wa ikitakute*

As for Sara she wants to go [to these kinds of places]

7 Researcher; *a:::*

Ah

[3 lines deleted]

11 Anna; *kodawari ga tsuyokute moo hokano tokoro zenzen ukenakatta n desu yo*

She has strong preferences [*kodawari ga tsuyokute*] so she wasn’t able to get into other places

12 Researcher; *o:::*

Ohhh

In (7), Anna details Sara’s failure to get a job in terms of not only *kodawari ga tsuyoi* ‘strong preferences’ (line 1) but also being *ganko* ‘stubborn’ (line 3) and of having too specific a desire

for a particular form of job, specifically a company where ‘are gathered only men who seem to have physical strength’ *tairyoku no arisoo na? otoko no hito bakkari ga atsumaru*. Sara, however, is quite physically short and small, and as Anna argues elsewhere, she doesn’t fit these kinds of companies that are full of ex-American football and rugby players. These ‘strong preferences’ also resulted in Sara not being able to receive any other job offers—*hokano tokoro zenzen ukenakatta n desu yo* ‘she wasn’t able to get into other places’ (line 11).

Sara’s desire proved to be risky not only because she wasn’t able to get a job at a company full of *tairyoku no arisoo na otoko no hito* ‘men who seem to have physical strength’ but indeed that she failed to get a job at *hokano tokoro* ‘other places’. That is to say, being desirous of a particular future means that Sara failed to construct and convey the self necessary to get any form of *seishain* ‘regular, full-time’ job. This line of reasoning—where desire is not only unfulfilled but actually precludes the attainment of other forms of socioeconomic practice—is suggestive of the extent to which these cheerleaders operate under a regime of risk management, one in which younger adults are actively required to construct ‘marketable’ selves and make themselves competitive to corporate entities. Students at Ichi U. talk openly about the necessity of *sukiru o migaite* ‘polishing skills’ and of the importance of creating selves that conform to office cultures, of performing a self that ‘is able to be friends’ *issho ni naka yoku irareru* (Kroo, 2021). Anna’s interpretation of Sara’s predicament complements these perceptions, articulating the dangers of desiring a job that does not align with the limits of a marketable self and the *ganko* ‘stubbornness’ of desire itself.

Conclusion

The analysis of this paper has argued for the ways in which younger adults’ understanding and interpretation of the precarities of their daily lives structures their future-oriented alignments and practices. Contemporary Japanese younger adults’ entire experience of life has been marked by asset deflation, population decline, and narratives of national dissolution. Against this bleak backdrop, life practices that were once deemed *futsuu* ‘ordinary’ are being reinterpreted as aspirational, and anticipatory futures that emphasize *antei* ‘stability’, or the guarantee of the endurance and continuation of life itself, are understood as successful. Younger adults are also cognizant of and sensitive to the risks associated with alternative futures based on desires such as *yaritai koto* ‘things I want to do’, and *yume* ‘dreams’. Indeed, these risks situate younger adults’ understanding of their peers’ failures on the job market, which are interpreted as the result of having too many desires.

The results of this paper contribute to the broader theorization of contemporary younger adults’ responses to future oriented precarity and inequality. The conditions found in Japan resemble those in many other global contexts. This paper suggests that these future orientations are multi-directional and relational—younger adults interpret the fields possibilities through comparison with their peers and with the adult lifeways that they see around them. At the same time, these younger adults’ conveyed futures are suggestive of complex alignments towards neoliberal ideologies according to which individuals are made responsible for constructing a market-able self even as the profits of this construction primarily accrue in corporations and thus reinforce younger adults’ socioeconomic marginalization (Yamada, 2015). Younger adults like Kimiko frame work as something that they do *ikiru tame ni* ‘in order to live’, rejecting the link between identity and work. Others like Anna explicitly demarcate work life from dreams and desires, framing successful futures as those that provide *antei* ‘stability’, i.e. the possibility of endurance into the future. These findings offer a new perspective on recent work that has emphasized the ways in which neoliberalism controls individuals through discourses of self-making and

freedom (Han, 2017). While Han (2017) argues that the pressures of neoliberalism render individuals incapable of dissent, the examples considered here suggest potential paths of resistance. Namely, even as they recognize the imperatives to make oneself acceptable to corporate entities and are keenly aware of the risks involved in failing to do so, these younger adults seem to be trying to draw distinctions between their private self (the locus of desires and dreams) and their participation in the working world.

While the cheerleaders’ articulation of successful futures was almost always structured around the management of risk and the assurance that life can endure without exhaustion, two of the cheerleaders Kira and Sara, made the decision to get a job based on *yaritai koto* ‘the things I want to do’. Sara failed, and her failure was used as evidence by other cheerleaders of the dangers of desire. Kira, who never participated in social activities outside of practice, received a job offer from her dream company, but turned it down after considering the lifestyle and work hours associated with this *yume* ‘dream’ job. At the same time, Kira was also one of the few students to receive multiple job offers. It is perhaps the case that exposure to alternative futures—after all Kira must actively choose one future from among several—changes the calculus through which futures are understood as more or less desirable. In this way, the availability of options might create the conditions for imagining alternatives that diverge from the present and help to legitimate desire itself. Further research will consider these forms of future imagining. Notably these younger adults’ structuring of desire also appears to reject ideologies of self-construction through labor, suggesting that desire can co-exist with a rejection of neoliberal imperatives.

In the forgoing I analyzed these future-oriented imaginings in the context of Povinelli’s concepts of exhaustion and endurance, in particular the ways in which they lend focus to how “new possibilities of life are able to maintain their force of existence in specific organizations of social space” (Povinelli, 2011: 9). For the younger Japanese adults that are the focus of this paper, endurance frequently looks like “trying to be the same” (Povinelli, 2011: 121), which is to say trying to find a way to survive and continue into the future.

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“Guys from Egypt” and others. Problematizing narratives about Islam of Polish female romance tourists

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Abstract

Polish female romance tourism is a relatively recent phenomenon linked to mass tourism to Middle East and North Africa with Egypt being one of the top travel destinations. Local exotic, travel and leisure time create conditions to enter a romantic relationship with local Muslim men. In this regard Islam is the source of danger and fascination. On the one hand it is about the essentialized submissive position of women, but on the other hand local context brings in the potential of a racialized sexuality. The paper aims to analyze how Islam is narrated and used in discussions at two Polish Internet forums dedicated to female romance tourism in Egypt and Tunisia. The data corpus indicates that information about Islam is used in order to decode, interpret and predict the behavior and motivation of Muslim men.

Keywords

romance tourism, Egypt, Poland, Internet

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Introduction

The intersection of Orient and sexuality has been fascinating Westerners since their first encounters, but has significantly expanded with the colonial domination. It was the time when European knowledge about the Orient had been produced and imposed on the colonized. The changes introduced by the European colonizers had been wide-reaching, and had left a permanent mark on colonized societies that keeping bringing in a hiccup effect nowadays and has been the source of many miseries (Akbar 2002: 117). Clement and Springborg (2001: 8) believe that in case of the Middle East and North Africa it is the tradition of foreign domination rather than Islam that determines the region.

The Western 18th century interest in the Orient and the following colonial era meant not only militant, economic and political dominance in the Middle East, but also fascination with its culture (even if it sometimes was rather pragmatic – a mean to increase Western power in the region). Sexuality was definitely one of the prevailing themes both in Western science as well as in perception of the Orient (Massad 2007: 9). What is more, many Western travelers and writers combined these two spheres. According to Edward Said the Western approach to the Orient can be defined by two complementary feelings – that of sexual promise and of danger. These fantasies are presented by the means of Oriental clichés – personages (princes and princesses, slaves, dancers), places (harems, slave markets, caravanserais) and items (veils, balms and perfumes). These images were rooted in Western imagination thanks to the writings of travelers, who visited the Arab and Turkish Middle East in the 19th century. As Said (2005: 268–270) suggests, actually no European writer, who wrote about Orient resisted the temptation to experience the exotic Middle Eastern sexuality.

European production of knowledge about sexuality has emerged in the similar time when European colonial powers had been executing their rule in their Asian and African colonies, i.e. in the beginning of 19th century (Foucault 1984: 3). These two processes seem to be interlinked. In fact Orient was, according to Said, juxtaposed to the West and therefore was perceived through dysfunctional elements or aliens: delinquency, insanity, womanhood, poverty. Joseph Massad (2007: 11, 47) points out that Said could have easily added sexual deviations to this list. According to him Orient became a place which absorbed Western sexual imagination and fantasies, which could not be satisfied in Europe at that time. Setting these imaginations in an alien and exotic world of the Orient provided not only new experiences, but also a legitimation to explore topics otherwise (if tackled in European context) unacceptable.

These Oriental clichés have been used and misused in cinema (Naaman 2001), literature (Laroussi 2007), fashion (Geczy 2013), or porn (Górak-Sosnowska 2014). This article adds a new field by bringing in the lens of romantic tourism. Female romance tourism is a much broader term than sex-tourism. It implies emotional relationship that might be (or not) complemented with a sexual one (Pruitt & LaFont 1995: 243). Romance is in fact a fantasy that can only come true in the exotic and exceptional context of travelling abroad. Using the data from two publicly open Internet forums dedicated to romance tourism of Polish women with Egyptian and Tunisian men I will analyze how Oriental clichés are used in narratives about these men. In particular I will focus on the way Islam and Islamic culture are problematized in these narratives. I will start with conceptualizing female romance tourism, paying attention on the intersection of exotic and romantic. Then, basing on a corpus of messages selected according to pre-defined keywords I will deconstruct the way Islam and Islamic culture are presented and used. Three themes emerged from this analysis: the attitude of Muslims towards

women, the role of religion in attribution of Muslim behavior, and comparison of Islam and Christianity.

1. Female romance tourism in MENA context

Geographical proximity, sun and sea, as well as a pinch of exotic make the region of Middle East and North Africa (MENA) the most popular non-European tourist destinations for Polish tourists. In 2011 Egypt was one of the top 10 tourist destinations with 200 thousand visitors, less than 100 thousand arrived to Turkey and Tunisia (Instytut Turystyki 2011: 11). In 2015 the interest in MENA tourist destinations peaked at 300 thousand Polish tourists coming to Egypt and 400 thousand – to Turkey. The refugee crisis in Europe, and later COVID-19 pandemics have significantly limited travel to MENA region – a year later, in 2016 only 90 thousand tourists came to Egypt and 240 thousand to Turkey (Ministerstwo Sportu i Turystyki, 2017: 10).

These destinations are attractive for Polish mass tourists as they are relatively cheap and thus affordable, and they offer a commodified exotic travel package that includes exotic landscapes, hotels, sea and sun, and service by local population who works at these holiday destinations (Illouz 1997: 97). According to Scott and Selwyn (2010: 4) these holiday destinations offer a homogenic product that is located beyond time and space. These exotic spaces set premises for engaging into romantic relationships with local men. In fact as a tourist one has already the two assets crucial for engaging in such a relationship: free time (holidays mean no work) and financial resources (necessary to buy holiday services). MENA exotic represents almost a paradise that offers engaging contact with local nature that is meant to be pure and authentic (Illouz 1997: 140–141). Local men who work at the hotels or provide tourists with local attractions on the beach, or at the sea and seem to be entombed in the nature (Jacobs 2009: 44; Herold, Garcia and DeMoya 2001: 987).

Spending holidays in an exotic destination by no mean means that one will engage in a romantic relationship. However, the setting seems to make it easier to engage in this kind of relationship. Local men seem to fulfil the dream about romantic love by being charming gentle and paying to the female tourists a lot of attention (Herold, Garcia and DeMoya 2001: 986). Many of females who engage in romance relationship with local man while being on holidays follows a narrative about romantic love produced in Western popular culture. The local man is the one and only, and the emotional bond is even more precious than the physical one (Giddens 1992: 45, 61). Yet, different ethnicity and culture plays a significant role, and racialised sexuality brings in a significant erotic load (Williams 2004: 275).

There are several Internet forums where females exchange information about local males from tourist destinations. The biggest ones are in Russian (e.g. *dezy-house.ru*, *kunstkammera.net*), but also in English (*tunisianloverats.com*, *againstbezness.ch*) and German (*1001-geschichte.de*). At least three such Internet forums are in Polish, including two public ones: *Faceci z Egiptu* ('Guys from Egypt'; FE) and *Tunezja – faceci z wakacji* ('Tunisia – guys from holidays'; TFW), and one closed to the outsiders – *Salam* (at *salam.gromader.org*). The last forum is definitely the biggest in terms of the number of postings (over 516 thousand), threats (over 9,4 thousand) and members (around 2,5 thousand). It was established in 2005, in the beginning on a public domain which hosts a variety of forums at *gazeta.pl*, but in 2006 it moved to the *gromader.org* platform. In order to get access to the forum one has to register and be positively verified by the administrators. *Salam* provides its users with a safe space to discuss

problems related to their relations and daily life. The forum has a very strict privacy policy and no member is allowed to reveal anytime and anywhere its content.

The two other Polish forums are located on the biggest Polish forum platform at gazeta.pl portal. It is the portal of “Gazeta Wyborcza” one of the biggest Polish dailies. Gazeta.pl ranks on 16th place among most popular websites visited by Polish Internet users, according to Alexa. Around 24% of the whole traffic goes to the subpage forum.gazeta.pl, on which all the forums are located. As of March 2021 there were over 2 thousand forums registered with 167 million messages. The data corpus comes from the two open forums, FE and TFW. Both were created around 2004/2005, and had their peak around 2009, when Egypt and Tunisia started to become major tourist destinations for Poles. With almost 25 thousand messages FE is much bigger than TFW, which comprises only 8,1 thousand messages. Both forums targeted females who entered (or consider entering) a relationship with an Arab man (Egyptian or Tunisian). FE is for “exchanging information on guys from Egypt (as in the title), but also about Egypt and its customs”⁴², while TFW is for “girls who, during their holidays in Tunisia, have met a guy, would like to talk about him, check if he is serious, but also for those who treat holiday relations as an adventure”⁴³.

Both forums were closed by the administrators, and their content is no longer accessible from the Internet. While active, they were both open – i.e. everyone could read the messages. These two factors – public accessibility back then and unavailability of this data at the time being make it possible to study the data and use it in this study. This way, even if I use some quotations the authors will not be trackable. As the nicknames can be also used by the forum members in other forums, I have decided to quote only the threads without mentioning the author.

My interest in these forums was related to how Islam – the religion of most of the local men – has been problematized in these messages. On the one hand there is the image women in Islam that are subordinated to Muslim males and have to submit themselves not only to Islam, but also to their male family members. They have to cover their whole body, including their faces (Piela 2021), and ought to be liberated (Abu-Lughod 2002). Moreover, the image seems to be homogenous as if there was one kind of a ‘Muslimwoman’ (cooke 2008). On the other hand, there is the image of an exotic lover who fits well into a holiday romance narrative (Górak-Sosnowska 2016). If combined together, these two images result in a cognitive dissonance – i.e. conflicting opinions which can result in a mental discomfort. Internet forums could become a vital place for information exchange about local men and a guidance for understanding their religion and culture.

In order to analyze the narratives on Islam a sample from all messages was drawn. Since forum.gazeta.pl platform included a search engine, it was possible to pick up messages which contained one of several keywords related to religion. The summarized frequencies from both forums are as follows:

- Islam – 927,
- religion – 627,
- Quran – 352,
- religious – 252.

⁴² *Faceci z Egiptu – forum dyskusyjne*, http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/f,24864,Faceci_z_Egiptu.html.

⁴³ *Tunezja – faceci z wakacji*, http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/f,30397,Tunezja_faceci_z_wakacji.html.

The keywords provided a final sample of around 1,5 thousand messages. Having coded the final data corpus I developed a coding schema through which I was able to identify three key themes that emerged from the data – i.e. the status of women in Islam; the role of Islam in socialization of Muslim men; and Islam in relation to Polish national identity.

2. Islam vs. women

Women in Islam, or wider – an “Oriental women” – are one of the most essential components of Orientalism, and thus byproducts of European colonial history (Dobie 2001: xi). The status of woman in Islam has been elaborated through all possible lens and perspectives in Islamic theology, and well beyond – in social and political sciences, as well as in the mainstream discourse. The number of women in Islam (Islam is the second biggest religion and half of the believers are women) and the variety of their experiences, as well as strong interest in their live and representations result in a plethora of approaches to this core issue being their status and rights in Islamic religion and mainstream Islamic societies. Women in Islam are considered to be liberated equals or protected dependent (Freyer Stowasser 1987), they need to be liberated or saved by Westerners (Freedman 2007), or are just deemed to be oppressed through their religion – including their legal status according to the Islamic law, or the way they dress (Piela 2021).

Yet, the status of women in Islamic societies is far from unambiguous, and the way it is narrated and constructed is sometimes used in local political agenda, let it be in order to control women (Nader 1989). Some images of women in Islam are particularly uneasy for Western public and scholarship, including the harems (Ahmed 1982), or belly dancing. These both phenomena bear opposite and conflicting images of Muslim women. On one side women are subjective to male desires, but on the other side they are embodying sexual attractiveness and lure of pleasure – as illustrated with European paintings (Thornton 1994). Moreover, belly dancing – as used in the West – is a celebratory form of women’s empowerment (Dox 2006).

The status of women in Islam has been discussed and disputed in both Internet forums. These discussions refer to the main source of Islamic law – the Qur’an – and its interpretation. In none of the messages collected within the corpus there has been a quotation from the Qur’an, but rather statements referring to what has been written in there. The two statements below illustrate it:

The Quran says that husband can beat his wife and here the offences are enumerated... (FE₁)

In our culture it is prohibited to beat women, but be careful with the Arabs, because even the Quran says something about it (FE₂).

Both quotations seem to refer to the disputed Quranic verse 4:34, in which the Arabic word *daraba* was used, which might be translated as beating or whipping. Theological interpretations of the verse and so wife beating are varying depending on the school of Islamic jurisprudence (Ammar 2007). For this article the ease with which the authors interpret and use the Islamic source is telling. They namely use what they claim Qur’an is saying in order to discredit Muslim men, or to predict their behaviour. Regardless of the factual side, they offer a literal interpretation of Islamic source – just like Islamic fundamentalists (Freyer Stowasser 1994: 6). Moreover, it seems that Qur’an rather than observation, or hard data – e.g. on home violence – is the key to understanding how a Muslim acts and behaves. This brings in the identity

essentialism that has become a significant part of Western Muslims’ identity crisis as they try to meet the expectations related to this essentialist identity that has been imposed on them (Gest 2011). However, in this case the essentialism seems to be used on its own – as an ultimate source of information about Muslim men.

Not always is the status of women in Islam brought up in a negative way. In fact when it comes to differentiating between Muslim and non-Muslim women, the first category seems to have much more rights than the latter. Moreover, the rights stem from being religious Muslim – i.e. from Islam:

If he really loved you he would propose a real Muslim wedding. (FE₃)

A Muslim who respects his woman and considers her a potential wife will never lower himself to ask her for money. (FE₄)

If he really loves, he will do everything in order to prevent “zina” – pre-marital sex, the greatest sin in Islam (FE₅).

In these narratives Muslim men are described as having positive features such as being able to love, show respect to a woman, or doing everything to prevent her from sin. Moreover, Islamic marriage is considered to be one that gives women certain rights (Zyzik 2003). This is however not in order to praise or show a more diverse image of Muslim men, but rather to discredit Polish females who are willing to engage in a romantic relationship. This is enhanced further by comparing virtuous Muslim women who engage in a relationship only if it is really serious, and Polish females eager to experience love from the first sight.

Regardless if Islam is presented as a religion that protects or suppresses women, in both kinds of narratives it is essentialized and imposed on Muslim men, who are believed to act only according to the normative teachings of Islam.

3. It is all about Islam

The role of Islam as the determinant of Muslim behaviour is present also in the second type of narrative. However, this time the narratives are more imposed onto Muslim men – i.e. actions and behaviour of Muslims is explicitly interpreted in terms of Islam. As van Liere (2012: 187) claims, it is “not at all about Islam as a living religion, but about ‘Islam’ as a cultural menace to, or negative projection”. While his analysis regards political disputes in the Netherlands, the same pattern can be observed in case of the two forums dedicated to female romance tourism.

In this case the discussions were usually started by the female romance tourists, who posed questions whether they will be able to understand and interpret their partners by referring to their religion. While intercultural competences are a useful skill in the globalized world, it seems that in this case it is a part of the ‘all about Islam’ narrative. Moreover, the answers they receive also stay in the same tone:

Quran answers all the questions, autonomous thinking and seeking truth is not advisable – i.e. prohibited (FE₆)

Muslim hate of others is enhanced by the Quran, which clearly states how a proper Muslim should behave in order to be saved... (FE₇)

I think all depends on the branch of Islam. You work in Egypt, there are Sunnis (these are more gentle), while in Iran or in Lebanon there is Shia – and they are completely screwed. But regardless of whether they are Sunni or Shia it is hard for me to understand them (FE₈).

Looking at other answers of FE₆–FE₈ users, one could classify them as ‘haters’ or ‘trolls’ as they kept pointing on how violent Islam is, and how foolish Polish female romance tourists are in many other postings. These statements resemble the classical cultural determinism as exemplified by Patai (1973), or Hamady (1960), that build up the core of neo-orientalism (Tuastad 2003).

Sometimes the commentators are willing to overcome this religious determinism discourse, but they seem to be unable to get beyond it as the two examples illustrate:

There are such Muslims who drink alcohol and don't care that the Quran prohibits it. (FE₉)

I thought, maybe if they don't respect the Quran (sex, cigarettes, clubs, hashish, alcohol) holding hands or a hug is not really a sin? (FE₁₀)

In both cases the perceived lack of religiosity is to be proved by references to drinking alcohol by Muslims. It is use of substances rather than belief what determines Muslim's religiosity. Alcohol seems here to be the obvious pick, since its prohibition in Islam is relatively well known, and is perceived as a significant lifestyle difference comparing to non-Muslims, even if the role of Islam in alcohol consumption seems to be overestimated (Michalak and Trocki 2006).

Another strategy to explain actions of Muslims which seem to be inconsistent with the essentialized idea of Islam is by turning to other aspects of Islam that provide an explanation, for example:

A young Muslim doesn't seem to care about the rules of the Quran – from 5 daily prayers to fasting. But a pilgrimage to Mecca “absolves” all their sins. (FE₁₁)

I don't know any Muslim who would dare to criticize his religion (...). If he says so, he is lying (FE₁₂)

In other words, if a Muslim does not fit to the essentialized stereotype it is because of other religiously motivated rules that allow it. This way he stays within the religious framework. Moreover, FE₁₁ claimed that many Muslims travel for the pilgrimage purposely when they are old, so that all their sins are absolved. FE₁₂ referred to the concept of *taqiyya* – a term used in Islamic jurisprudence which stipulates under which circumstances a Muslim can lie. While the scope, meaning and usage of this concept varies, it has been used in order to discredit Muslims (Mariuma 2014).

In all these statements and explanations essentialized views of Islam are taken as the major source of information about Muslim men. Other kinds of attribution that would base on dispositional or situational factors are completely absent. Islam becomes a label and sort of stigma. In case of Egyptian men, there are also some references to the Coptic Christians.

Sometimes their Christian religion makes them more modern or liberal – according to the commentators from the forum – sometimes they are put into the same box with Muslim Arabs.

While the majority of references to Islam seem to be negative, and are used in order to discredit Muslim men, there is at least one sphere which is perceived in a positive manner, namely hygiene:

One of Islamic doctrines says that it is diligent to keeping hygiene (FE₁₃).

Imagine that they depilate their underarms daily and don't consider it gay (what unfortunately many Poles do). And, moreover (if this is the case) they depilate THERE, because Quran orders men and women to get rid of unnecessary hair (FE₁₄).

Religion makes them shave at least every 40 days. I am curious if they keep this rule. And if they do, do they expect the same from their partners? (FE₁₅)

Personal hygiene has been extensively elaborated in Islamic sources. Before starting praying a Muslim should perform *wudu* (ablution). There are also rules for hygiene of different parts of the body, including removal of unnecessary body hair, toilet hygiene, or oral hygiene. When it comes to shaving pubic hair there is a hadith of prophet Muhammad reported by Al-Bukhari (Bajirova 2017: 46). Some of the discussions in the Internet forum had also a practical dimension – as in the case of FE₁₅ – who was wondering whether she should also get rid of her public hair before going for a date with a Muslim man. Similar questions are raised on the issue of circumcision – its prevalence, hygienic meaning, and role in a sexual intercourse.

Another practical explanation was offered to a woman who was considered with taking shower by her Muslim lover after having sexual intercourse:

I think you overreact this Egyptian shower paranoia! It is not that they are disgusted by their sperm, but due to the Quran, or their cultural tradition, one shall wash after having sex, and I consider it quite reasonable and hygienic. (FE₁₆)

Cultural determinism is also visible in the statements referring to hygiene. However in this case they are often backed up by personal observations of the disputants. Thus the case begins with personal experience or observation to which a cultural explanation is pursued.

Essentialized image of Muslims seems to fulfill a significant role to female romance tourists. It offers them a reliable and easy way to decode behavior and actions of their Muslim partners. By assigning them to the “Muslim category” they are supposed to become more predictable and understandable. It is an imagined, literal Islam, rather than lived Islam that preoccupies the disputants on both Internet forums.

4. Islam as a fun-mirror for Polish national identity

Orient, and in particular Islam has been positioned in Europe as an absolute Other (Delanty 1995: 88–89). The first one was effeminate, savage and barbaric, whereas the second –

masculine, modern and civilized. Just as in the case of any dichotomy one cannot exist without the other that defines what the first one is not.

Also in the case of discussions about female romance tourism the world of Islam is used to define what Poland is and stands for:

I can't understand women marrying Muslim men, even the biggest love doesn't explain giving up civilization, culture and social relations in which a woman is a respected rightful citizen. (FE₁₇)

It is funny, how they are engaged with them and seriously jabber about some orfi and disavow their European culture in the name of (...) the wild Islamic civilization (FE₄).

Positioned at European semi-periphery and having joined the EU club relatively recently – comparing to the so called old EU member states – places Poland in-between. Just as other countries of Central and Eastern Europe it is positioned as a region in permanent post-communist transition, which limits their chances to become ever a part of the West (Kulpa 2014). By referring to Islam as the absolute Other Poland becomes a part of the European culture, civilization and respect for women (and that despite the ongoing struggle of Polish women's rights movement; Kostrzewska 2020).

An important point is some of these statements refers to the threat of “Islamization by love” – as FE₁₈ called it. By engaging into a relationship with Muslim men Polish women betray their own roots and contribute to a secret plan of Islamization:

It is enough that she bears new Muslims and this way adherents to Islam colonize further regions. (FE₁₉)

Do you know why Muslims marry women of different faiths? It is their holy war – children from such relationship will be Muslim. (FE₂₀)

According to Narkowicz and Pędziwiatr (2017: 394) women are perceived as reproducers of faith, and the essence of womanhood is motherhood. Polish national identity has been framed around the figure of Virgin Mary, who had been crowned the Queen of Poland. Women are thus the custodians of the continuity of Polish nation. In case of entering into a relationship with a Muslim man they do not contribute to this continuity, but in fact reinforce the Muslim enemy.

Entering the West vs. Islam dichotomy adds one more element to the puzzle – namely the position of Poland within this dichotomy. According to Jackson (2018: 145–146) the West perceives Islam and Muslims as an obstacle to Western identity and core values of freedom, equality and liberalism. Islam and Muslims are ascribed to submission to God and pre-modern, traditional values. A closer look at contemporary Poland reveals that the attributes of Muslims can be easily assigned to Poland and the dominant notion of turbo-patriotism that is coined around ethnicity, religion and tradition (Napiórkowski 2019). This is a double-edged sword for the way Catholic religion is situated in a relation to Islam. Some disputants praise Catholic religion over Islam, while others criticize it as in these two statements:

Why do you need Islam? (...) Why do you disavow gentle Christianity for strict, cruel Islam, in which Allah recommends man to beat “disobedient” wives? (FE₂₁)

What I like about Islam? That e.g. in Turkey mosques are built and maintained only and exclusively by believers. The attitude towards prayer – do you know a Christian who prays 5 times a day? (FE22)

For Casanova (2004) joining the post-Christian Europe positions it between secular normalization and great apostolic assignment, i.e. restoring Christianity in Europe, or maybe just proving the secularization wrong.

Conclusion

Orient has been constructed as a paradox by being both a source of fascination and horror (Delanty 1995: 89). The same pattern is visible in case of the Polish female romance tourists. While they are being told by other disputants about the evils that Muslim men can do to women according to their religion, they are still tempted by the Oriental Other. It is the mix of exotic nature, holiday time and racialized sexuality that becomes an object of erotic fascination (Cervulle 2008: 175).

Discussions about Islam seem not to preoccupy Polish female romance tourists in Egypt and Tunisia. From total over 30 thousand posted messages less than every 10th was devoted to religion. It is rather the haters who tried to infiltrate the forums and flood them with critical information about Islam and Muslims. At the same time Islam is problematized in these discussions as an absolute being that frames actions and behavior of Muslim men. Female romance tourists themselves also use Islam as sort of a codebook which helps them to understand and decode the thoughts and motivations of their partners. Even if they refer to a real life situation they tend to twig to Islam as the ultimate source of knowledge about Muslim men.

The two Internet forums expose the need of and surveillance of sexuality of Polish women by Polish males who try to persuade them to leave their Muslim partners, or insult them in many different ways. It reproduces the socio-biologically-founded pattern of asymmetrical permissibility of engaging in sexual relations with individuals from out-group. Women engaging in such relations with men of different ethnicity, religion, or race have been more prone to be condemned and excluded from the community than men. This results from the perception of womanhood with woman being the mothers of future generations, and patriarchal power relations. At the same time men are more likely to react negatively towards potential outgroup same-sex members – and this is not only in Poland, but also in other European societies (Klavina and Buunk 2013).

In some cases the discussions serve to position Poland and Catholic religion not only in relation to Islam, but also to the West. In this case Islam seems to be a proxy which helps the disputants to position Poland as a part of Europe, and not an entity located at its peripheries and undergoing constant post-communist transition.

In all these instances the essentialized Islam is used instrumentally as a mean to achieve a goal – either to explain behavior of Muslim men, to limit sexuality of Polish women, or to include Poland into Europe. Many of these statements are completely detached from concrete persons and refer to general abstract notions or statements. Simultaneously plenty of these references were written by Polish men who held negative attitudes towards Islam and reproduced Islamophobic narratives. Thus narrating Islam in these two forums is a clear example of Polish fun-mirror of Islamophobic discourse that cannot be substantiated with anything but essentialized Islamic glitches.

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A Move Analysis of the Concluding Sections of Televised Sports News Presentations in Ghana

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Abstract

The study presents an analysis of the concluding sections of televised sports news (TSN), an aspect of a stand-alone sports news broadcast, of selected Ghanaian television stations aimed at exploring their schematic structure. The study uses the genre-based theory from the perspectives of Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) to analyze 50 televised sports news from Ghana Television (GTV), Metropolitan Entertainment Television (Metro TV) and TV3 Network Limited (TV3). The findings reveal that this unique genre has five rhetorical moves and the move sequence is characterized by irregular patterns. The results further reveal that the choice of words (language use) in the concluding sections of the TSN is influenced by the distinct communicative purposes of the five moves. Also, *Move 4 (Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities)* has the largest space in the concluding sections of TSN whilst *Move 5 (Well Wishes)* occupies the least space. The study has implications for media and communication studies serving as a model to assist novice radio and television sports presenters by facilitating their successful acculturation into the discourse community of sports journalism. The study also has implications for the genre theory in general and sports discourse in particular.

Keywords

Genre, Move, Discourse Community, Televised Sports News

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Introduction

Language, undoubtedly, has proven to have a magical property (Gee, 1999) because, when we communicate by speaking or writing, we situate our communication to suit the conventions of usage of the discourse community and the context we find ourselves. This presupposes that “how we speak or write creates that very situation or context” (Gee, 1999:11). Therefore, for communicators to effectively make their ideas clearer and more appropriate to their target audience, they (communicators) need to be aware of the conventions of language use within different genre types.

The applied linguistic literature shows that various text analysis theories abound for the analysis of different discourse types, specifically sports. Dominant among these text analysis theories are critical discourse analysis (CDA), discourse analysis (DA), systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and genre analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) does not prioritize the investigation of linguistic units within a text like the other text analysis theories but focuses on the study of complex social phenomena which require multidisciplinary and multi-methodological approaches (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). Wodak and Meyer (2008) further stress that the complex social phenomena that CDA normally focuses on include ways discourse produces and reproduces social domination in terms of the abuse of power by one group over others and how these dominated groups resist such abuse.

Unlike CDA, discourse analysis, from a broader perspective, caters for the “study of language viewed communicatively and/or of communication viewed linguistically” (Trappes-Lomax, 2008:134). Any detailed explanation of the definition of discourse analysis given above may include the study of language in use, the study of language above or beyond the sentence level, the study of language as a meaning in interaction as well as the study of language in situational and cultural contexts (Trappes-Lomax, 2008). Trappes-Lomax (2008) further argues that linguists may explore either of the above-mentioned focuses of discourse analysis depending on their (linguists) convictions and affiliations to either functionalism, structuralism, or social interactionism. It might also be based on the researcher’s affiliation to and conviction of other linguistic schools of thought.

On the other hand, the SFL approach to text analysis connects language, texts and contexts within which a given discourse is generated. SFL prioritizes the analysis of authentic outcomes of social interactions and aids language researchers to comprehend and appreciate the quality of a text in terms of what the text means, what it does, and why it is valued as it is (Halliday, 1994). It also provides linguists and language teachers with the pluri-semantic model for analyzing texts. This pluri-semantic model foregrounds the view that in the analysis of a text, linguists can focus on the ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings simultaneously.

As a type of discourse analysis, genre analysis prioritizes the study of the conventions of situated language use in terms of how a text is structured into rhetorical units or moves. In exploring the rhetorical moves within specific genre types, genre analysts also account for the textual space and move sequencing. They further explore the unique lexico-grammatical resources that dominate each of the moves identified. Genre Analysis therefore has as its main focus to describe and prescribe models for language use for specific purposes. Since the focus of this research – accounting for the move structure of the concluding sections of televised sports news – is broadly in line with the focus of genre studies, we found it worthwhile to adopt the genre theory as its framework. The genre theory, unlike the other text analysis theories, has distinguished itself as an effective linguistic tool noted for unravelling the rhetorical moves,

textual space, sequence of moves and lexico-grammatical resources that characterize different genre types.

1. Genre Studies

The use of the genre-centered approach in text analysis has become dominant in recent times as a result of the effectiveness of the genre theory as a framework for describing situated language use within varying domains of discourse. Though genre analysis was derived from the need to teach students how to organize texts that they need to write (Igou & Bless, 2003), evidence from pioneering studies reveals that the significance of genre analysis is not only limited to the classroom context but extends to other professional settings. The increasing interest in genre analysis is motivated by the need to supply models of academic, scientific and professional texts for students so that they can produce those texts appropriately (Marefat & Mohammadzadeh, 2013).

The argument by Marefat and Mohammadzadeh (2013) is in line with Hyland's (1992) view that genre analysis involves the study of how language is used within specific contexts. This, therefore, suggests that the genre-centered approach in text analysis can be used outside the classroom context to analyze discourse types within other professional settings. In other words, Genre Analysts do not only focus on the utilizable form-function correlations but also contribute significantly to our understanding of the cognitive structuring of information in specific areas of language use which may help English for Specific Purposes (ESP) practitioners to devise appropriate activities potentially significant for the achievement of desired communicative outcomes in specialized academic or occupational areas (Bhatia, 1991).

The approaches of genre analysis as an effective means of analyzing texts were popularized by Swales (1981) after his pioneering work on research article introductions. Though the works of Maher (1986) and Bhatia (1997) are considered among the earliest research works in genre studies, it is Swales' (1981, 1990) pioneering research work on research article introductions that made the genre theory popular within the applied linguistics literature. Defining what constitutes *genre* is considered as a daunting task (Tiainen, 2012). As such, its definition has widely been noted in the literature as *fuzzy* (Swales, 1990). This emanates from the fact that the term "genre" ultimately is an abstract concept rather than something that exists empirically in the world. Therefore, one theorist's genre may be another's sub-genre (Chandler, 1997). Chandler (1997: 1) further postulates that "defining genre may not initially seem particularly problematic but it should be apparent that it is theoretically a minefield". He further argues that the difficulty associated with the definition of genre stems from the fact that the categorization of genres and their "hierarchical taxonomy" by scholars are not done in a neutral and objective manner.

From the North American perspective, Miller (1984:163) defines genre as "a conventional category of discourse based on large scale typification of rhetorical action, which acquires meaning from situation and from social context in which situation arose". Swales (1990: 58), from the English for Specific Purposes perspective, sees genre as "a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes". According to Swales (1990), each genre is typified by moves and these moves are noted as distinct units of a text that perform a specific communicative function. However, each move does not only have its own purpose but also contributes to the realization of the overall communicative purposes of the genre. A move therefore can be conceptualized as a shift in focus within a text and this shift serves as a key element that aids easy analysis of a text (Biber, 2010). To a large extent,

genres are defined by specific communicative function(s) that they serve and can be analyzed into what Flowerdew and Dudley-Evans (2002) refer to as *generic structures* or *obligatory* and *optional* elements.

2. Selected Studies on Sports Discourse

It is evident from the applied linguistics literature that numerous research works have been done on sports related discourses by the use of different analytical frameworks. Prominent among these studies is the work of Mathieson (2016) which examined the extent to which alternative football commentary shares similarity with standard football commentary. Mathieson’s study has its data source from a group stage match of the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Making use of Biber and Conrad’s (2009) three-stage register analysis, Mathieson (2016) analyzed the two – alternative and standard – sub-genres of sports discourse.

The findings revealed that although alternative football and standard football commentaries shared a lot of situational features, there were some differences between the two sub-genres. Alternative football commentary directly involved viewers in the commentary proceedings through numerous social media platforms as against the standard football commentary which did not involve viewers. Another finding was that although both forms of commentaries used the present tense and simplified constructions, the alternative football commentary predominantly used ellipses because of its conversational nature.

From a critical discourse analysis perspective, Hearle (1995) explored ten randomly selected sports commentaries that were published in the United States of America during the 1994 Soccer World Cup. The findings showed that sports commentators of the ten sampled commentaries predominantly used words that projected the United States of America in a positive light. This projection was purposely done to respond to the marginalization of the United States of America in major soccer events. The commentators therefore employed various discursive strategies in the form of catchy headlines, the consistent use of metaphors, stereotypical images as well as the use of contrasts and exclusion to effectively project the cultural values and assumptions of the United States of America.

Messner, Duncan and Jensen (1993) also analyzed the verbal commentary of televised broadcasts of two women’s and men’s athletic events. Despite the less overtly sexist commentary that was found in the data, the analysis spotlighted two major categories of differences between the two commentaries which related to gender marking and a hierarchy of naming by gender and race. Based on the findings of the study, Messner, Duncan and Jensen (1993) postulated that the language of televised sports commentary contributes to the construction of gender and racial hierarchies. Thus, televised sports commentaries tend to marginalize women's sports and women athletes because commentators consider women’s sports as not belonging to mainstream sports. Women’s sports and women athletes were therefore infantilized to the extent that their accomplishments were framed ambivalently.

Reaser (2003), on the other hand, did a register analysis of sports announcer talks of collegiate basketball games offered via two media platforms – radio and television – using Ferguson’s (1983) qualitative description of register as the analytical framework for the study. The analysis was based on 681 utterances (378 from the radio commentary and 303 from television) taken from the entire broadcasting of the match via television and radio. It confirmed four main linguistic features that give uniqueness to sports announcer talk as a sub-genre of sports discourse as the use of subject deletion, copula absence, subject action inversion and the use of

heavy modifiers. Despite the existence of these linguistic features in both the radio and television sports announcer talk, the radio broadcasts of the basketball games more significantly made use of subject deletion and heavy modifiers than the televised broadcast.

Balzer-Siber (2015) also explored the functional and stylistic features of televised broadcasts of the Major League Soccer (MLS). Using 20-minute excerpts of six MLS Soccer games, Balzer-Siber (2015) analyzed the stylistic features that dominated the six sampled televised broadcasts. Similar to the research work of Reaser (2003), Balzer-Siber (2015) adopted Ferguson's (1983) qualitative description of register to explore stylistic features. The findings showed that the televised broadcasts of the MLS were characterized by the use of deletions in terms of copulas, nouns, conjunctions and articles. Balzer-Siber (2015) concluded that these deletions were stylistic approaches used by the commentators to ensure rapid spontaneous reporting.

Making use of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) Systemic Functional Linguistics, Prakosa and Mulatsih (2016) studied the register of televised football commentary of the final match of the UEFA Champions League between Juventus and Barcelona in 2015. The authors had as their focus to uncover the three metafunctions of meanings embedded in the 1,841 clauses that were transcribed from the televised sports commentary. The findings, with regard to the experiential meaning, proved that the material process was dominant in the commentary because the commentators retold the events on the field without changing the process. As regard the interpersonal meaning, it was noted to be dominated by declaratives since the main communicative purpose of football commentary was to give information. On the other hand, the textual meaning was noted to be dominated by the topical theme mostly related to the players.

Amoakohene (2017) used the genre-based theory from the perspectives of Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) to explore the move structure of the introduction sections of sports news presentations from selected television stations in Ghana. Based on 50 transcribed episodes of sports news presentations, Amoakohene (2017) argued that the introduction sections of sports news from the three television stations studied – Ghana Television, Metropolitan Entertainment Television and TV3 – were made up of two obligatory moves (*Opening* and *Outline of Presentation*), two core moves (*Advertising* and *Assurance*) and two optional moves (*Invitation to Viewers to Join the Program* and *Quote of the Day*). He also argued that the move labeled *Outline of Presentation* occupied the most space whilst the fifth Move (*Well Wishes*) used the least space.

A close analysis of the literature review shows that despite the array of research works on sports-related discourse, few studies have explored televised sports news presentations, especially within the Ghanaian context, by using the genre-based theory. The researchers are yet to find any study that has applied the genre theory to analyze televised sports news presentations, especially within the Ghanaian context. The only exception is the work of Amoakohene (2017) who applied Swales' (1990) and Bhatia's (1997) move analysis to harness the rhetorical structure of the introduction sections of televised sports news presentations in Ghana. However, his study was restricted to the introduction sections. It is the quest to fill this gap that this study seeks to use the genre-based theory from the English for Specific Purposes perspective to analyze the rhetorical moves in the concluding sections of televised sports news presentations on selected Ghanaian television stations.

3. Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the schematic structure of the concluding sections of televised Ghanaian sports news?
2. What lexico-grammatical features dominate the moves that make up the concluding sections of the televised Ghanaian sports news?
3. What are the move patterns and textual space of the moves in the concluding sections of the televised Ghanaian sports news?

4. Method

4.1. Research Design

The research uses the qualitative research approach as its research design mainly because the analysis is purely descriptive in nature. As posited by Priest (1996), the qualitative research design prioritizes in-depth analysis and interpretation of verbal behavior as against the use of numerical data. That is, whereas quantitative research gives much space for numerical data which is analyzed statistically, qualitative research is skewed towards the descriptive approach whereby in-depth analysis, description and interpretation of verbal behavior dominate a research work (Afful & Tekpetey, 2011). Therefore, because the current study is skewed towards the descriptive approach, the qualitative research design is deemed the most appropriate research paradigm.

4.2. The Data Set

The data for this study comprises 50 transcribed episodes of the concluding sections of televised sports news presentations. Specifically, the study used 16 episodes of the concluding sections of the televised sports news presentations from Ghana Television, 16 episodes from TV3 whilst 18 were taken from Metro TV. The rationale for the variation in the data set from the three stations stemmed from the number of recorded televised sports news that each station was willing to provide to the researchers.

The selection of the three television stations was based on three parameters – (1) television stations that have more than 50% nationwide coverage, (2) television stations that use English language as a medium of presenting their sports news and (3) those that fall within the category of free-to-air television stations in Ghana. Out of the numerous television stations in Ghana, it was GTV, Metro TV and TV3 that satisfied the aforementioned three parameters and as such, constituted the sample size for the study.

4.3. Analytical Framework

In this study, Swales' (1990) and Bhatia's (1993) move/step analysis is adopted in the analysis of the data. The framework brings to the fore the fact that genres are defined by similarities in communicative purpose which influences the overall structure of the genre. This framework, from the perspectives of Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993), highlights that genre are typified by rhetorical units or moves that help in the overall realization of their (genres) communicative purpose(s). They further stress that these rhetorical units are sometimes made up of steps that help to communicate the unique communicative purpose of the move(s). Instances where

scholars have applied this framework in the analysis of texts reveal four main analytical stages – accounting for the rhetorical stages in the data, the move sequence, the textual space of the moves and the lexico-grammatical resources in each move identified. These four analytical stages constitute the main focus for this study.

4.4. Mode of Analysis

In analyzing the data, first we transcribed all the concluding sections of the televised sports news. We then analyzed their rhetorical structure, their textual space, sequence of moves and further accounted for the lexico-grammatical resources in each of the moves identified. The analysis of the moves was based on the semantic functional criterion where moves are linked to different aspects of the texts, be it a phrase, sentence or a clause that depicts a unique communicative purpose.

The identification of the status of each move was based on Huttner’s (2010) model which recognizes rhetorical units in a text with 90-100 % frequency of occurrence as obligatory move, 50%-89% as core move, 30%-49% as ambiguous and as such their status can only be decided with further expert information as to whether they are core or optional moves, and 1%- 29% as optional moves. The number of words of each move was calculated by using word count. In accounting for the textual space of the moves, we divided the number of words in each move over the entire number of words in the data and the result was then multiplied by 100%.

5. Analysis and discussion

5.1. Schematic Structure and Lexico-Grammatical Resources in the Concluding Sections of the TSN

This sub-section of the research accounts for the rhetorical moves and their lexico-grammatical features in the concluding sections of the televised sports news.

Table 1: The Rhetorical Moves in the Concluding Sections of the TSN

Moves	Rhetorical Names	Frequency	Percentage
Move 1	Thanking Move	41	82%
Move 2	Advertising	26	52%
Step 1	Highlighting the Program	7	27%
Step 2	Highlighting the Identity of the Presenters	4	15%
Step 3	Highlighting the Sponsors of the Program	15	58%
Move 3	Providing Assurance	41	82%
Move 4	Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities	28	56%
Move 5	Well Wishes	27	55%

The results confirm that the concluding sections of televised sports news in Ghana have five moves: *Move 1 (Thanking Move)*, *Move 2 (Advertising)*, *Move 3 (Providing Assurance)*, *Move 4 (Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities)* and *Move 5 (Well Wishes)*. Out of these five moves, it is only *Move 2 (Advertising)* that has three sub-moves (steps): *Step 1 (Highlighting the Program)*, *Step 2 (Highlighting the Sponsors of the Program)* and *Step 3 (Highlighting the Identity of the Presenter)*.

Move 1: Thanking Move

The first rhetorical unit that is identified in the data is *Thanking Move*. In speech act theory, the act of thanking is defined as an expression of gratitude and appreciation in response to compliments (Searle, 1969). It is an expressive speech act as evident in Searle’s (1969) terminology. In most situations, the person expressing gratitude or thanking, has to get a valid reason for doing so in the preceding context (Jung, 1994). Jung (1994) further stresses that the act of expressing thanks or gratitude is done in a number of ways ranging from simple thank you or thanks, to some more extensive expressions such as *I appreciate...*, *I am thankful for x*, *I am grateful for x*, *please accept my thanks* etc. He further specifies four pragmatic functions of giving thanks: (1) serving the function of appreciative benefit, (2) functioning as conversational opening, changing and closing, (3) functioning as leave-taking and positive answer and (4) functioning as emotional dissatisfaction.

This rhetorical unit, *Thanking Move*, is considered as a core move because it occurs 11 times in the TSN of TV3, 17 times in the TSN of Metro TV and 13 times in that of GTV. Out of the 50 data set, *Move 1 (Thanking Move)* occurs 41 (82%) times. Excerpt 1 shows some instances of the realization of this move in the data.

Excerpt 1

1. ...thanks for being part of the show today (Metro TV).
2. Thanks for being a part of the show. Liverpool in great shape I can see Felix Abayete smiling over. I really really appreciate your time and to my good friend Kennedy Agyapong and to all of you who have made this program worthwhile (GTV).
3. Thanks to our production team and thanks to you too for watching (TV3).

The *Thanking Move*, as evident in the data, performs two main communicative purposes which are linked to two of Jung’s (1994) pragmatic functions of thanking: (1) function of appreciative benefits and (2) functioning as a closure to the entire sports news presentation. In expressing appreciation, the presenter acknowledges both close friends and the entire viewers for watching the sports news. The presenter also thanks the viewers for making the sports news their preferred choice (See example 2 of Excerpt 1).

Move 2: Advertising

Move 2 (Advertising) is predominantly used in the concluding sections of televised sports news in Ghana. Advertisement relates to all the activities undertaken to increase sales or enhance and promote the image of a product or business (Dunn, 1985). The results show that this rhetorical move is frequently used in the concluding part of televised sports news of Metro TV and TV3 but has no space in GTV’s televised sports news concluding sections. *Move 2 (Advertising)* occurs 13 times out of the total 16 data set gathered from TV3 and 13 times out of the 18 data set gathered from Metro TV.

Across the 50 data set, *Move 2* occurs 26 (52%) times and this makes it one of the core moves in the concluding sections of the sports genre under study. It has three main sub-moves/steps – *Step 1 (Highlighting the Program)*, *Step 2 (Highlighting the Identity of the Presenters)* and *Step 3 (Highlighting the Sponsors of the Program)*.

Step 1: Highlighting the Program

The first step of *Move 2 (Highlighting the Program)* popularizes the sports program. As far as this step is concerned, the presenter consistently mentions and emphasizes the name of the sports program. This sub-rhetorical unit does not occur in the concluding parts of the sports news of GTV and Metro TV but manifests in TV3 corpus. Instances in the concluding sections that indicate how this sub-move is realized are indicated in Excerpt 2:

Excerpt 2

1. *This has been the sports station here on TV3 (TV3).*
2. *Well, this has been the sports station.... (TV3).*

The examples in Excerpt 2 show that in the realization of this move, presenters use simple sentences. The constituents of these simple sentences are *subject + verb + object*. The verb phrase and the object typically appear as *has been* and *the sports station* respectively. The subject position on the other hand, is usually occupied by the demonstrative pronoun *this*, which makes reference to the sports news program. Zaki (2011) opines that demonstratives play a crucial role to instruct the interlocutors to maintain or create attention to the focus of their interaction. The results further show that in all cases where the demonstrative pronoun *this* is used, it is not immediately followed by a noun or a noun phrase. Thus, the presenter uses the unattended *this* as a cohesive agent to draw the listeners attention to the intended referent – *sports station*, which is the name of the sports program.

Step 2: Highlighting the Identity of the Presenters

This step features in the televised sports news of Metro TV and TV3 but was not found in the GTV corpus. The results further show that the frequency of this move is higher in the Metro TV corpus (occurring 12 times) than in the TV3 corpus (occurring 8 times). This finding is not surprising as the presenter – Michael Kofi Oduro – was a new sports presenter at Metro TV. He therefore used this move to make himself well known to the viewers of his show and within the discourse community of sports journalists.

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The absence of this sub-move in the sports news of GTV as well as its less usage in the TV3 corpus is as a result of the numerous years that the sports presenters have been at post to present sports to their viewers. A personal interaction with the Heads of Sports of these television stations revealed that the presenter from TV3 had been at post for more than eight years whilst that of GTV had been presenting sports news for almost 30 years. As a result, they do not find it necessary to consistently advertise themselves to their viewers because these presenters have already made their names in the world of sports. Sampled instances of the realization of this sub-rhetorical unit are listed below:

Excerpt 3

1. *...that is, it is by way of sports cafe with me Michael Kofi Oduro (Metro TV).*
2. *.... a big show has come to an end. My name is Elloy Amandey (TV3).*
3. *You've been with Michael Kofi Oduro, your host for the sports Café every week on Metro TV (Metro TV).*
4. *My name is Elloy Amandey, your number one host as usual on sports station every Monday at exactly 8:00p.m. (TV3).*

The highlighted parts, of the examples above, are ways that the sub-rhetorical move *Highlighting the Presenters of the Program* is realized in the concluding sections of the

televised sports news. The identity of the presenters is highlighted as they mention their names in the course of the presentation. In the realization of this rhetorical move, the presenters largely follow the African way of naming – *English name + day name + family name* (Refer to the first example of Excerpt 3) and *English name + family name* (Refer to the second example of Excerpt 3). Another linguistic feature that is dominant in this sub-rhetorical move is the use of heavy modifications. The presenters use heavy modifications to modify their names so as to make themselves well known to their respective viewers. This finding confirms that of Balzer-Siber (2015) who considers heavy modification as a unique linguistic feature of sports announcer talks. Examples 3 and 4 of Excerpt 3 indicate instances of the use of heavy modification. In example 3, the expression *your host for the sports Café every week on Metro TV* is immediately introduced after the name of the sports presenter, *Michael Kofi Oduro*, is pronounced.

Step 3: Highlighting the Sponsors of the Program

The results show that the two private television stations – TV3 and Metro TV – gave much space to *Step 3* purposely because they are privately owned and get most of their sources of funding from advertisements. Indeed, private stations survive on ad revenue and must, therefore, promote their advertisers and sponsors. This is unlike GTV which receives substantial financial support from the government because it is state-owned.

Excerpt 4

1. *The program has been brought to you by L79 Tomato paste, Cowbell, get something for everyone and Tigo smile because you've got Tigo (TV3).*

2. *The program is brought to you by the kind courtesy of Cowbell ... erm ...there is something for everyone. Also brought to you by Tigo, smile you've got Tigo and also brought to you by Omo. (TV3)*

3. *...this edition of the sports café show is proudly sponsored by Omo and powered by Metro Sports (Metro TV).*

4. *...the show was proudly sponsored by Omo (Metro TV).*

In example 1 of Excerpt 4, the presenter advertises the products of the sponsors of the sports program. These sponsors are *L79 tomato paste, Tigo Communication Network* and *Cowbell*. *Omo* is also advertised in example 4 of Excerpt 4. Most instances of this sub-move are realized in the form of passive constructions and with this, the names of the sponsors of the program are strategically shifted to the end of the sentences for emphasis. The reason for this is that with the given/new principle (principle of end focus), new information is typically the most important aspect of the message and it is usually placed towards the end of the clause in order to draw attention to it (Rafajlovičová, 2002).

Move 3: Providing Assurance

Move 3 (Providing Assurance) is identified across the three sub-corpora for this study. This rhetorical move is presented as a kind of promise for the live telecast of the program in subsequent weeks. From the point of view of Kurji (2012), to promise someone to do something is to commit oneself to that person to do that thing. A promise therefore is not merely a descriptive utterance but rather one that imposes a moral obligation on the one making the promise. Thus, a promise is an utterance which describes an obligated future action on behalf of the promisor to the promised (Searle, 1969).

Therefore, in the realization of the communicative purpose of *Move 3*, presenters highlight their obligated future action of bringing another live telecast of the same program to the viewers. Although Kurji (2012) argues that the prototypical form of promise is an utterance from one person to another wherein the expression *I promise* occurs, it does not exhaust the promissory act. Thus, the speech act of promising can be expressed in other forms. Within the context of the concluding sections of the televised sports news, expressions such as *we are back same time tomorrow*, *we will surely be back same time tomorrow* and *we will see you next week Monday* are all instances where the presenters promise viewers of the live telecast of the same program in subsequent weeks.

Although these forms of assurance, as evident in the data, do not make use of the performative verb *promise*, they connote the semantic aspect of promising which confirms Kurji's (2012) assertion that the use of the performative verb *promise* does not exhaust the promissory act. The results further show that the presenters excessively use time adverbials such as *same time next week*, *at half past 6pm*, *next week Monday* and *same time tomorrow* in this move. The predominant use of time adverbials makes viewers aware of the specified time that the next episodes of the sports news will take place so that they (the viewers) do not miss them. Additionally, the presenters predominantly use the personal pronoun *we* in this move in order to establish the fact that the live broadcast of the sports news is not the sole responsibility of the sports presenters but that they are assisted by other crew members who do not appear live on the program.

Move 3 also gives instances of the deletion of auxiliary verbs as evident from the data. Example 5 of Excerpt 5 shows an instance of the deletion of the modal auxiliary verb *will*. For instance, in example 5 of Excerpt 5, the utterance should have manifested in the form of *We will see you next week Monday as always with the highlights that matter from the world of sports*. However, the presenter omits the modal auxiliary *will* as in *We [] see you next week Monday as always with the highlights that matter from the world of sports*. This finding confirms that of Balzer-Siber (2015) that deletion serves a typical feature of televised sports broadcast mainly because of the time constraints imposed on presenters.

As a core move, *Move 3 (Providing Assurance)* occurs 15 times out of the 16 episodes gathered from TV3, 14 times out of the total 16 transcripts gathered from GTV and 12 times out of the 18 recorded televised sports news gathered from Metro TV. Across the entire data, this rhetorical move appears 41 (82%) times. Its communicative purpose is to remind viewers about the live telecast of the program at the assigned time and date. See Excerpt 5 for some instances of this rhetorical move.

Excerpt 5

1. *Until we come your way same time next week... (GTV)*
2. *... and until same time next week... (GTV)*
3. *...we are back same time tomorrow with more on sports cafe (Metro TV)*
4. *...same time tomorrow at half past 6 pm, we come your way with another edition of sports news (Metro TV)*
5. *We see you next week Monday as always with the highlights that matter from the world of sports (TV3)*

Move 4: Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities

The fourth move identified in the data is *Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities*. In terms of its communicative purpose, this move reminds viewers about some sporting events yet to take place within the sporting arena. It occurs more frequently in the sports presentation of Metro TV than in the sub-corpora of GTV and TV3. Specifically, *Move 4* occurs 14 times in the Metro TV corpus, 4 times in the GTV corpus and 10 times in the TV3 corpus. Across the three sub-corpora, *Move 4* appears 28 (56%) times. Samples from the data set that denote how this move was realized in the concluding sections of the televised sports news are presented in Excerpt 6.

Excerpt 6

1. ...and don't forget that on 31st of May GTV Sports Plus will bring you live coverage of the Black Stars and the Netherlands friendly match. (GTV)
- 2....remember Sports File is tomorrow at exactly 10:00 p.m. so you shouldn't forget that we bring you more sporting activities (Metro TV).
- 3....remember that on Wednesday night, join us at 7: p.m. as we start building up to Schalke 04 against Real Madrid (TV3).

In example 3, the presenter reminds viewers of an impending Champions' League match yet to take place. For viewers not to miss this match, the presenter further indicates the time and date of that Champions' League match.

To a large extent, the speech act of reminding is realized in *Move 4* as confirmed from the findings through words like *don't forget* and *remember* which semantically connote a sense of prompting. Also, the pronouns *we* and *us* are frequently used in the sentences to connote awareness creation in the concluding sections of the televised sports news. The sports presenters frequently make use of *we* and *us* in this move to acknowledge the efforts of other crew members who contribute to make the live telecast of the sports news possible.

Move 5: Well Wishes

The last move identified in the data is *Well wishes*. This move is a core move as it appears 4 times in the TV3 sub-corpora, 7 times in the Metro TV sub-corpora and 16 times in the GTV sub-corpora. The results also confirm that *Move 5* has a frequency of 27 (55%) across the three sub-corpora. Similar to *Moves 1* (*Thanking Move*), *3* (*Providing Assurance*), and *4* (*Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities*), *Move 5* has no sub-moves. Its main communicative purpose is to establish rapport between the viewers of the program and the sports presenters of the respective television stations. Through this rhetorical move, presenters show care and concern for their viewers so as to establish friendly relations between them as shown in Excerpt 7.

Excerpt 7

1. ...have a lovely evening. (Metro TV).
2. ...have a lovely weekend (Metro TV).
3. ... may the Almighty God be with us all (GTV).
4. I will like to say a big happy birthday in advance to my man Robert Coleman of Zoomlion. He is the communication manager.... happy birthday to Yaw (TV3).

In all the examples in Excerpt 7, the presenters strategically make use of language to establish a good sense of relationship with their viewers. From a linguistic point of view, expressions

such as *lovely evening*, *lovely weekend*, *God be with us all* and *happy birthday* all connote a sense of good will and well wishes to viewers.

5.2. Sequence of Moves and their Respective Textual Space in the TSN

This section of the analysis has a dual purpose. It specifically caters for the sequence of moves in the concluding section of the TSN. It further discusses the textual space of the five moves that were identified in the concluding sections of the TSN.

Table 2: Sequence of Moves in the Concluding Sections of the TSN

PATTERNS	TV3	GTV	Metro TV
6-move sequence			
2>3>2>3>2>3	1	-	-
5- move sequence			
4>1>2>3>5	-	-	1
2>1>3>4>1			1
3>4>2>1>3	2	-	-
4- move sequence			
5>4>3>5	-	1	
1>5>3>5	-	1	
5>2>3>5	-	-	1
4>1>2>5	-	-	1
4>3>5>1	-	-	1
2>3>1>5	-	-	1
1>4>2>3	-	-	2
2>3>4>1	-	-	2
4>1>5>3	1	-	-
2>4>3>1	1	-	-
1>2>3>2	3	-	-
1>2>4>3	2	-	-
3 move sequence			
5>4>5	-	1	-
1>3>5	-	10	-
1>5>3	1	1	-
1>5>4	-	1	-
5>4>3	-	1	-
1>3>2	-	-	1
4>5>1	-	-	1
4>2>1	-	-	2
4>3>1	-	-	1
4>1>3	-	-	1
4>1>5	-	-	1
2>3>1	1	-	-
2>4>3	2	-	-
4>2>5	1	-	-
3>4>5	1	-	-
2-move sequence			
2>1	-	-	1

Table 2 projects that the concluding sections of the televised sports news presentations have irregular patterns. Across the 50 data set, 32 different sequential patterns were identified. This presupposes that the presenters do not have a rigid structure that they follow as far as the delivery of the concluding section of their televised sports news is concerned. This was not

surprising because the televised sports news of the selected television stations was not scripted. The sports presenters only have the outline of the program without the details and this might have accounted for the inconsistency in the order in which they presented the concluding sections of televised sports news.

With regard to the textual space of the moves, the results show that *Move 4 (Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities)* has the largest space whilst less space was given to the fifth rhetorical move (*Well Wishes*). Out of the 5,316 words in the concluding sections of the TSN, 1,902 (35.08%) constituted *Move 4 (Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities)*. *Move 2 (Advertising)* appeared as the move with the second largest space as it took 1,514 (28.05%) words whilst *Move 3 (Providing Assurance)* had the third largest space with 890 (16.07%) words out of the 5,316.

The move with the fourth largest space in the data was *Move 1 (Thanking Move)*, which had 569 (10.07%). With a total number of 441 (8.03%) words, *Move 5 (Well Wishes)* appeared as the move with the least space. The textual space of the moves indicates that in the concluding section of televised sports news, sports presenters give prominence to the fourth rhetorical move (*Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities*). This stems from the fact that the presenters consider their sports programs as not only avenues for entertainment but as means of education and information dissemination.

Conclusion

This study explored the rhetorical structure of the concluding sections of sports news presentations from three selected Ghanaian television stations. The results disclosed that the concluding sections consisted of a five-move structure - *Thanking Move, Advertising, Providing Assurance, Creating Awareness of Impending Sporting Activities* and *Well Wishes*. The results further revealed that sports presenters, in the concluding sections of their sports news delivery, spent a lot of time to inform viewers about impending sporting activities. The sequential arrangement of moves across the three television stations studied was noted to be characterized by irregular patterns suggesting that sports news presenters have no standardized formats for structuring the moves in the concluding sections of their sports news delivery. Also, the choice of words was noted to be influenced by the distinct communicative purpose of the five identified moves.

The findings of the study have both theoretical and pedagogical implications. Theoretically, the findings show the effectiveness of the genre-based theory in analyzing discourse types in academia and other professional settings like the media. The study also has pedagogical significance in Media and Communication Studies as a valuable reference point for new sports journalists who may wish to conform to the practices of the discourse community of sports journalism. Moreover, the results have implications for raising Media and Communication Studies students' and instructors' awareness of the structure of the concluding sections of televised sports news presentations. This will help them comprehend, articulate and reflect on sports news presentations from their own experiences.

It is recommended that further studies be conducted to ascertain whether the concluding sections of Ghanaian sports news presentations that are delivered in English have the same patterns as those delivered in the local Ghanaian languages. Furthermore, a cross-cultural study could be conducted to explore the differences and similarities of the rhetorical moves of the

concluding sections of sports news presentations of Ghanaian television stations and the television stations of other West African countries.

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Concluding Sections of Televised Sports News
Presentations in Ghana”

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Book reviews

Pascale, C.-M. (2021). *Living on the Edge. When Hard Times Become a Way of Life*. USA: Polity. 280 pages. ISBN: 9781509548231

Joanna Pawłowska⁴⁶

Abstract

Book review of Celine-Marie Pascale (2021). *Living on the Edge. When Hard Times became a Way of Life*, Polity, pp. 256, price approx. USD. Book reviewed ahead of print.

Keywords

Social inequality, exclusion, narratives, poverty, CDA, USA, COVID-19, institutional ethnography.

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Book Review: Pascale, C.-M. (2021). *Living on the Edge. When Hard Times Become a Way of Life*. USA: Polity. 280 pages. ISBN: 9781509548231

This is a Book Review: Pascale, C. M. (2021). *Living on the Edge: When Hard Times Become a Way of Life*. Pp. 280 Forthcoming from Polity. Release date September 24 in the UK; October 22 in North America. E-book September 24th.

“*Living on the Edge: When Hard Times Become a Way of Life* is a book written by Celine-Marie Pascale, Professor of Sociology at American University, leading scholar in the field of language, society, inequality and the author of two award-winning books *Making Sense of Race, Gender and Class: Commonsense, Power and Privilege in the United States* (Routledge, 2007) and *Cartographies of Knowledge: Exploring Qualitative Epistemologies* (Sage, 2011). Pascale’s third book *Social Inequalities & The Politics of Representation: A Global Landscape* (Sage, 2013) has been found as a field defining international collection of original scholarship. Celine-Marie Pascale specializes in qualitative methods, especially in forms of textual analysis and interview techniques which is also reflected in her latest book - the subject of this review.

Is the American Dream achievable for everyone? How is it possible that people who are working two or even more jobs are not able to pay their rent, basic bills, obtain decent housing and sometimes they are not able to provide (adequate) food for the family? Is it a consequence of their individual features like for example laziness, ineptitude, lower intelligence, or maybe is it connected to making bad life choices by them? If so, why this situation affects not only individuals, but entire communities in many parts of the country, and has lasted for many years? Pascale claims that it is the result of decades of collusion between business and government to maximize corporate profits at the expense of workers. To support this thesis, author conducted research using institutional ethnography, so the method that, unlike classical ethnography, does not only focus on explaining the behavior and attitudes of a group of people, but examines how people's daily lives are organized by institutional forces (Smith, 1990). The choice of this method in view of the posed thesis seems to be the most justified.

In order to obtain research material, the author traveled to places in America that were characterized by deep and long-lasting levels of economic poverty in various parts of the country: economically distressed counties in Appalachia, the Standing Rock and Wind River Reservations in the Midwest, and poor neighborhoods in Oakland, California. She has talked with over a hundred people in total and conducted 27 in-depth interviews with people of different race, age, gender, ability, and sexual orientation. What these people had in common was some sort of economic distress. The diversity among the interviewees can be perceived as a strength of the book. What also deserves recognition is the conduct of interviews in such distant places, which strengthens the author's thesis about the lack of randomness of the difficulties experienced by the interlocutors.

The result of mentioned activities is an extensive, reliable analysis of the problem contained in 11 chapters of the book, which are ordered thematically. At the very beginning, the author acquaints the reader with the concepts and facts needed to better understand the discussed content, e.g., “struggling class” (which is the synonym of the “working class”, used in further analyses in the book), “underemployment”, “unemployment rate”, “EPI self-sufficiency budget” etc.

Surprisingly, in the first chapter, it can be found that the author of the book herself belonged to the struggling-class, and her family faced many difficulties resulting from it, which were shown. This personal experience shaped the research for the book, from the questions that were asked to the ability to be a reliable partner in the conducted interviews.

However, the book mainly concerns the stories of the respondents who are currently experiencing (the study was conducted during the year in 2017-2018, and then partially repeated after the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic) difficulties in make ends meet. In the following chapters, we get acquainted with the stories of people depending on the topic that is taken up in each chapter. These stories are intertwined with reliable statistical data that confirm and supplement the statements of the respondents (who use pseudonyms to remain anonymity), as it can be seen on the following example:

In Athens, Ohio, Rose Taylor tells me “Being a collage town, sexual assault is prevalent here. I think a lot of it is tied with the drinking culture.” Ohio University records show there were ninety-three rapes in 2018. Local news covered police reports of sixteen sexual assaults in the first month of the fall semester in 2019 (...) (Pascale, 2021, p. 141).

The stories we get to know start with details about the places in which they happen. As the author rightly notices these places affect us: “Where we live shapes our opportunities, our troubles, our aspirations, and our fears. The places we call home can give us a tremendous sense of identity and belonging and sometimes a depth of sorrow that escapes words.” (Pascale, 2021, p. 17). In this regard it is also shown how predatory practices have polluted these environments (air, land and even water), which are homes for interviewees from this book. Some of the stories included in the book are shocking, terrifying, heart-breaking, and at the same time are the ordinary, everyday reality for people from struggling class. The author points out that the presented problems in a particular way affect women and people of color, devoting one chapter to issues of class and race, and then another one to gender issues. This broad study also includes drawing attention to political issues, explaining for example Trump's relationship with people from struggling communities and deals with myths about being served to all of us in order to maintain the prevailing order.

The undoubted advantage of the book is reaction to the current situation and repeating the research at the time of a pandemic, the results of which are presented in the penultimate chapter of the book. The book also includes the author's proposal for solving the discussed problems, supported by the respondents' statements. This vision highlights an ambitious plan of change that every interested person should get familiar with it on their own. At the very end of the book, in appendix, a short, several-page methodological description can be found.

It should be noticed that the book doesn't include some very important aspects of how poverty is lived, for instance it doesn't describe a situation when, if a person cannot afford bail and is kept in custody until the end of the trial (which may take months) may quickly lose their job, home, family, etc. As none of the respondents had this experience, no description was provided concerning the justice system. It should be noted, however, that it is not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of poverty. As the author says “It is an illustration of lived experience and a strategic consideration of how the conditions of economic struggle are created and maintained by broader social structures.” (Pascale, 2021, p. 236). With that all being said, if there are any potential shortcomings in this book, they have been overshadowed by a number of the book's strengths, mentioned previously.

The book might be and should be recommended to all groups of recipients, not only to scholars, but to anyone who wants to know mechanisms responsible for inclusion/exclusion of diverse social groups. The research is set in American reality, but the socio-structural mechanisms presented in the book can be also observed in other socio-cultural contexts.

Book Review: Pascale, C.-M. (2021). *Living on the Edge. When Hard Times Become a Way of Life*. USA: Polity. 280 pages. ISBN: 9781509548231

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Zbigniew L. S. (2019). SHE, Intimate Questions. Poland: Wydawnictwo Czarne i Czerwone. 256 pages. ISBN: 9788366219014

Paulina Gano⁴⁷

Abstract

Book review of Zbigniew Lew Starowicz (2019). *She, Intimate Questions*, Warsaw, Wydawnictwo Czarne i Czerwone, pp. 256, price approx. 8 USD. Book published in Polish. Discussion on female sexuality and the discursive, and linguistic sexual taboos in Poland. Original Title: ONA, Pytania Intymne.

Keywords

Sexuality, Taboo, Women, Erotic, Society, Culture, Customs, Body Politics, Sociology, Poland.

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Book Review: Zbigniew L. S. (2019). SHE, Intimate Questions. Poland: Wydawnictwo Czarne i Czerwone. 256 pages. ISBN: 9788366219014

Professor Zbigniew Lew - Starowicz is a Polish psychiatrist and psychotherapist, an expert in the field of sexology. He is also a national consultant in this field, a professor of medical sciences.

Since 1994, he has been the National Consultant in the field of sexology. Member of the European Society of Sexual Medicine. In the years 1996–1998, he was the leader of the United Nations sex education program, and in the years 1995–1996, an expert of the Ministry of National Education in the field of sex education. He is the President of the Polish Sexological Society. Author of numerous works in the field of sexology and psychiatry, including popular science.

An interesting popular science book by this author, “*She, Intimate Questions*”, appeared on the horizon of social sciences in 2019. It concerns aspects of the sexuality of Polish women. Professor Lew-Starowicz discusses his research outcomes and speaks on the topics of:

- ✓ Women's excitement and desire,
- ✓ Erotic fantasies,
- ✓ Erogenous places,
- ✓ Describes how the approach of Polish women to sex and their sexuality has changed over the years,
- ✓ How they rate their vagina and how this rating affects their satisfaction with intercourse,
- ✓ Tells you how to reach orgasm and be satisfied with sex,
- ✓ Writes about female masturbation,
- ✓ Mentions the sex of single women - why single women need sex, masturbation, and how the failure to meet their physiological needs affects the health of patients. These problems are largely immersed in the discursive practices of society, which are constantly and gradually changing.

In recent years, we have been dealing with particular changes in social life. Women are becoming more and more liberated, and men are becoming confused and helpless. Their manhood is weakening. Women are open to various ideas, they know what they want, they can take the initiative and propose a relationship. Such an approach was unthinkable several years ago. Men who only care about sex are eager to enter into this type of relationship. The problem arises when casual relationships are to change to more formal. The vision of living with such a woman for many men is controversial.

The period of intense sexual experiences in a woman's life is over. After some time, he looks for stability and a lasting relationship. An extraordinary thing is happening in her consciousness. She forgets or blurs the memories of the period of sexual liberation, defined by Professor Lew-Starowicz as the period of humming. She can act like a virgin to her partner. She forgets her lush sexual past. The professor believes that these behaviors are not fake. Women act as if everything is happening for the first time in their lives. They create a new world in their consciousness. The "liberated me" ceases to exist.

Women began to talk more openly about their sexuality. When asked about masturbation, they no longer feel embarrassed or denied. When asked about the number of sexual partners, they do not understate the number. Greater openness results from the growing social consent to the emancipation of women and the increasingly equal discourse in the field of human sexuality.

According to the cited research by Professor Lew-Starowicz, the number of women with one sexual partner decreased - 31%, and the number of women with 2.3 partners increased. 11% of

women use erotic gadgets. 9% of women watch pornographic films regularly. 24% of women find sex in unusual places enjoyable. Only 7.5% of women find sex irrelevant.

Alkalizing the presented research, the professor notices that over the years, female sexuality has come closer to male sexuality. He takes to account not only the narratives of his patients but also extensive scientific research.

Contraception is still an underestimated problem in Polish consciousness. According to the professor, it is disturbing in the attitude for Polish women. There is still a myth about the effectiveness of intermittent intercourse. Every fifth couple in Poland believes in its effectiveness. Where is it coming from? Insufficient sex education? Discourse. Only 23% of Polish women take hormonal contraception. They are informed that by taking hormonal contraception they will suffer from vaginal dryness, decreased libido, and gain weight. There is a great deal of scope for sex educators in this matter. Access to reliable knowledge is essential.

Zbigniew Lew-Starowicz in his book debunks the discursive myth about the monogamous nature of women. Women, like men, may cheat. The most common reasons for cheating are the monotony of sexual life with a steady partner, curiosity, and the absence of a partner daily.

27% of women believe that situational factors had a little significant impact on the occurrence of betrayal - business trip, integration event. What was surprising to me, cheating women declare that they are satisfied with the emotional bond between her and their regular partner. Despite this bond, romance is not a problem. It was once believed that only a man could live in a triangle. Over the years, it has also turned out to be women. In the office, they often declare, "Doctor, I love their both husband and lover." This is a novelty in the sexual awareness of Polish women. They admit to themselves that betrayal is also about affection. The fact that more and more women can talk about it is associated with social change and breaking the taboo.

In his book, Professor Zbigniew Lew-Starowicz describes the most common types of lovers. He divides women into 4 types, gives them categories, creates a discourse that can accompany the recognition of what type a woman is.

1. Princess type - a woman who draws strength from a man's infatuation or love. Man, he can do a lot for her. He's more in love. Such relationships last a long time. The woman manipulates sex to keep it attached to herself.
2. Amazon type - a woman showing her strength and independence. In sex, it shows that it is not used to support the partner. Amazons consider themselves victims of the opposite sex.
3. The type of Alice in Wonderland - a dreamer, floating in the clouds.
4. Penelope type - available, subordinate, submissive, faithful, waiting.

In the book *She, Intimate Questions*, it is quite important to separate desire from excitement. Both of these states may or may not be compatible. There may be desire but no excitement in the woman. It may also be the other way around. Nevertheless, the awareness of this may be low, due to the absence of social dialogue, the absence of open discourse on this subject in social relations.

Book Review: Zbigniew L. S. (2019). SHE, Intimate Questions. Poland: Wydawnictwo Czarne i Czerwone. 256 pages. ISBN: 9788366219014

The taboo subject among women is their erotic fantasies. We can speak of a discourse of silence or the lack of open public discourse in this area. "Fantasizing is not a sin, but a bit of a shame." Women are afraid of judging public opinion when their erotic fantasies are revealed. "What people say, what people think." In an office situation - a visit to a sexologist has a sense of security and a guarantee that their secrets will remain in the office. The experience of the sexologist/psychologist also has an impact. They feel that few things can surprise this specialist.

What do women fantasize about and how much they can talk about it openly, to what extent they see social consent to put these fantasies into words.

Why do Polish women not reveal their fantasies to their partners? Perhaps for fear of destroying the idealized image of a woman in the eyes of a man. A woman is considered a subtle, sensitive, monogamous creature. Handing over the fantasy may have later consequences for the relationship. Silence is a kind of discourse here, a discourse of silence.

Another taboo in Polish society is the vagina. Women have an ambivalent attitude towards this part of their body. We rarely see adoring and affectionate statements about the vagina, as is the case with men. When analyzing a woman's development, the vagina has problems. In the early stages of a girl's development, little is said about her. Then the first menstruation and bleeding are associated with pain and discomfort. They experience infections or vaginal discharge. The first intercourse and defloration can be painful. The first experiences with sex are not associated with joy. Pregnancy - numerous tests, vaginal ultrasound. Childbirth - the way out for a newborn baby. Of course, giving birth is a momentous and touching event, but it is also painful. The vagina is equated with trouble. It performs various functions as compared to the member. Therefore, one can have an ambivalent attitude towards it, which is largely rooted in the discursive practices of society, which are slowly changing.

The word matters. How women describe themselves matters. According to the professor, women who talk beautifully about their vagina experience stronger sensations during intercourse. This affects female sexuality. Changes in the perception of the vagina, the author has noticed recently.

Summing up, the topic of female sexuality is extremely important socially, as it influences the shape of partner reactions, self-esteem, and life satisfaction. It affects not only half of society, women themselves, but also men around them. The discourse on women's sexuality is not without significance, it influences how we think about sex.

The sphere of sexuality is treated as a sociological, cultural but also a political issue related to the control of female sexuality, what is allowed and what is not allowed in the opinion of the social opinion that shapes customs and customs, and the moral sphere around women's sexuality. Women internalize patterns of socialization regarding the reproduction of beliefs, inherit them and pass them on to later generations. It is not trivial how our language describes the above issues and what language is used to describe the desired and undesirable behavior. Reliable sexual education and therefore having the linguistic tools to discuss and to reflect, in author's opinion, is important in Polish society, as it will have a positive impact on future generations.

RC25 Awards

Since their creation, RC25 awards are linked to *Language, Discourse & Society*, as all published articles are eligible to be considered by the Awards Committee. Here is a record of the articles granted and the Awards Committee composition.

2012, Buenos Aires, Second Forum of Sociology of ISA

Award Committee

Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, University of Haifa
Viviane Resende, University of Brasilia
Sergei Riazantsev, Institute of Social and Political Research, Moscow
Chair: Stéphanie Cassilde, CEPS/INSTEAD, Esch-sur-Alzette, Luxembourg

Academic Excellence Award

Anders Persson (2012), "Front- and Backstage in Social Media", *LD&S*, 1(2), 11-31.

Graduate Student Award

Not granted.

2014, Yokohama, XVIII ISA World Congress

Award Committee

Nadezhda Georgieva, Trakia University, Stara Zagora, Bulgaria
Corrine Kirchner, Columbia University, United States
Anders Persson, Lund University, Sweden
Chair: Stéphanie Cassilde, Centre d'Études en Habitat Durable, Belgium

Academic Excellence Award

Raymond Oenbring and William Fielding (2014), "Young Adults' Attitudes to Standard and Nonstandard English in an English-Creole Speaking Country: The Case of The Bahamas", *LD&S*, 3(1), 28-51.

Graduate Student Award

Nassima Neggaz (2013), "Syria's Arab Spring: Language Enrichment", *LD&S*, 2(2), 11-31.

2016, Vienna, Third Forum of Sociology of ISA

Award Committee

Erzsebet Barat, Institute of English and American Studies, University of Szeged, CEU, Budapest
Irina Chudnovskaia, Department of Sociology of Communicative Systems, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia
Roland Terborg, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico
Chair: Stéphanie Cassilde, Centre d'Études en Habitat Durable, Belgium

Book Review: Zbigniew L. S. (2019). SHE, Intimate Questions. Poland: Wydawnictwo Czarne i Czerwone. 256 pages. ISBN: 9788366219014

Academic Excellence Award

Tiffany A. Dykstra (2016), “Assemblages of Syrian suffering: Rhetorical formations of refugees in Western media”, *LD&S*, 4(1), 31-48.

Graduate Student Award

Tomoaki Miyazaki (2016), “The Rhetorical Use of Anecdote in Online Political Discussion”, *LD&S*, 4(1), 49-61.

2018, Toronto, World Congress of Sociology of ISA

Award Committee for the Academic Excellence Award

Eduardo Faingold (University of Tulsa – United States of America)

Christian Karner (University of Nottingham – United Kingdom)

Everlynn Kisémbé (University of Ghana - Ghana)

Chair: Cecilio Lapresta-Rey (Universitat de Lleida - Spain)

Academic Excellence Award

Howard Davis, Graham Day, Marta Eichsteller & Sally Baker (2017), “Language and autobiographical narratives: Motivation, capital and transnational imaginations”, *LD&S*, 5(1), 53-70.

Award Committee for the Language & Society Distinguished Career Award

Natalie Byfield (St. John’s University - United States of America)

Nancy Hornberger (University of Pennsylvania - United States of America)

Roland Terborg (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México - Mexico)

Chair: Cecilio Lapresta-Rey (Universitat de Lleida - Spain)

Language & Society Distinguished Career Award

Professor Florian Coulmas (University Duisburg-Essen, Germany)

2020 (postponed, 2021), Porto Alegre (virtual), Forum of Sociology of ISA

Award Committee

Gatitu Kiguru (Kenyatta University - Kenya)

Elisabeth Torrico (Universidad de Atacama – Chile)

Mónica Ibáñez (Universidad de Burgos – Spain)

Chair: Cecilio Lapresta-Rey (Universitat de Lleida - Spain)

Academic Excellence Award

Mitzen Levi (2019). “Art in Action: An Analysis of Political Graffiti in Washington D.C.”, *LD&S*, Vol. 7(2).

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