Linguacultural Spaces

Inclusion, Extension and Identification in Language and Society

A cura di Sabrina Fusari & Guillem Colom-Montero

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Linguacultural Spaces.
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Identification in Language and
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a cura di

Sabrina FUSARI
Guillem COLOM-MONTERO

Monografie · M3
2024

Sabrina Fusari è dottoressa di ricerca in Comunicazione interculturale e professoressa associata di Lingua e Linguistica inglese presso il Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Culture Moderne (LILEC) dell'Università di Bologna. I suoi interessi di ricerca si rivolgono principalmente alla linguistica dei corpora, all'analisi del discorso critica, alla linguistica sistemico-funzionalista e alla retorica interculturale. Dal 2005, è membro del CeSLiC e, dal 2019, è research manager, insieme a Tom Bartlett, del Protocollo di Intesa per la ricerca contratto dal CeSLiC con la School of Critical Studies dell'Università di Glasgow nel 2019, da cui scaturisce questo volume.

Guillem Colom-Montero è docente di Ispanistica presso la School of Modern Languages and Cultures dell'Università di Glasgow e co-direttore dell'unità di ricerca su *Discourses of Sustainability* del College of Arts & Humanities. I suoi interessi di ricerca si concentrano principalmente sulle correlazioni tra turismo, cultura e comunità locali in Europa, nonché su letteratura e cultura catalana contemporanee. Tra le sue ultime pubblicazioni, si segnala la monografia *Quim Monzó and Contemporary Catalan Culture: Cultural Normalization, Postmodernism and National Politics* (Legenda, 2021), oltre a molti saggi di catalanistica e studi sul turismo, su riviste e volumi. Attivamente coinvolto in attività di divulgazione in inglese, catalano e castigliano, contribuisce regolarmente a *El País*, *elDiario.es*, *Diari Ara*, *Núvol* e *Brave New Europe*.

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Preface

La serie degli *Occasional Papers* è una collana, nata nel 2005 e collocata all'interno dei *Quaderni del Centro di Studi Linguistico-Culturali* (CeSLiC), il centro di ricerca che opera presso il Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere e Moderne dell'Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna e del quale Ana Pano Alamán è responsabile scientifica. Dal 2021 la collana *Quaderni del CeSLiC. Occasional Papers* si è aperta alle *Monografie*, accogliendo all'interno della stessa anche numeri monografici incentrati su un tema specifico con contributi che affrontano vari aspetti dell'argomento.

Linguacultural Spaces. Inclusion, Extension and Identification in Language and Society

Il presente volume, a cura di Sabrina Fusari e Guillem Colom-Montero, raccoglie una selezione dei migliori contributi presentati durante il secondo Simposio dottorale sul tema *Spazi linguistici: Inclusione, estensione e identificazione nel discorso e nella società*, che si è tenuto on line nel mese di maggio 2022.

Questo simposio, insieme al precedente svoltosi nel 2021, è il frutto di una collaborazione di successo tra quattro centri di tre diverse istituzioni europee con all'attivo una ricca esperienza di ricerca nell'ambito della sociolinguistica della diversità e dell'inclusione: il Centro di Studi Linguistico-Culturali (CeSLiC) dell'Università di Bologna, la *School of Critical Studies* e il *Language and Society Research Cluster* dell'Università di Glasgow, e il *Babylon Centre for the Study of Superdiversity* dell'Università di Tilburg.

Dottorandi di ciascuno dei centri di ricerca hanno condiviso le proprie ricerche in presentazioni di eccellente qualità scientifica, ragione per cui il comitato scientifico del simposio, composto da Tom Bartlett, Guillem Colom-Montero, Sabrina Fusari, Bernadette O'Rourke e Massimiliano Spotti, ha convenuto di trasformare, a seguito di un processo di revisione in doppio cieco, otto dei migliori lavori in altrettanti capitoli di una nuova monografia della collana Quaderni del CeSLiC · Occasional Papers.

I capitoli esaminano con rigore scientifico testi stampati, digitali e multimodali, principalmente contemporanei, provenienti da diverse regioni del mondo (Africa, Asia ed Europa). Tre temi principali emergono: l'uso di lingua, cultura e discorso per superare le divisioni e favorire un senso di comunità (Bódig, Picciuolo); l'importanza del multilinguismo e degli scambi transculturali nella formazione di identità complesse (Delcol, Malik, McInerney); e infine, l'analisi delle gerarchie linguistiche e culturali e della marginalizzazione di gruppi discriminati (Chandio, Nicoletti) e della natura (Cao).

Il volume offre alla comunità scientifica una panoramica approfondita e diversificata della ricerca interdisciplinare condotta dalla nuova generazione di studiosi formatisi presso i principali centri di studio europei sul ruolo del linguaggio nella costruzione della società. Spaziando dalla sociolinguistica all'educazione, agli studi culturali e all'analisi dei media e del discorso, il volume fornisce un contributo di grande importanza per la condivisione di nuove prospettive, scoperte e approcci metodologici alternativi in una fase della storia in cui lo sviluppo dell'Intelligenza Artificiale e la diffusione dei Large Language Models pone sfide inedite alla ricerca nel campo delle scienze del linguaggio e delle scienze umane e sociali.

Parole chiave: language and culture, language and identity, multilingualism, multiculturalism, discourse analysis

Valeria Zotti
General Editor dei Quaderni del CeSLiC Bologna, li 8 giugno 2024

Introduction
Sabrina Fusari
Guillem Colom-Montero

The first Annual Postgraduate Symposium on *Linguacultural Spaces: Inclusion, Extension and Identification in Discourse and Society* took place online in May 2021. The idea grew, as it happens, from serendipitous collaborations between academics in various European institutions. The first spark was the connection that Dr Sabrina Fusari and Professor Donna R. Miller, from the Centre for Linguistic-Cultural Studies (CeSLiC) of the Department of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures (LILEC) at the University of Bologna, developed with Professor Tom Bartlett, from the School of Critical Studies at the University of Glasgow. This initial link came after the DIVE-IN Conference (*Diversity and Inclusion: Overcoming Fragmentation*) organised in Bologna by the Department of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures (LILEC) in 2019, at which Professor Bartlett gave a plenary lecture. On the back of this collaboration, a Memorandum of Understanding between the two institutions was signed in September 2019 in order to further collaborative research. Between October 2020 and February 2021, broader institutional ties were developed in order to continue enhancing the collaborative and transnational ethos of the agreement. Three academics from two institutions expanded the initial team: Dr Massimiliano Spotti, from the Babylon Centre for the Study of Superdiversity at Tilburg University, together with Professor Bernadette O'Rourke and Dr Guillem Colom-Montero, from the Language and Society Research Cluster at the University of Glasgow's School of Modern Languages and Cultures. The collaboration therefore brought together academics from four research centres based at three different institutions with active research culture in the sociolinguistics of diversity and inclusion. For over two decades, the University of Bologna's Centre for Linguistic-Cultural Studies (CeSLiC) has conducted intense research and dissemination activity in various areas of the study of modern languages and cultures, especially applied discourse studies from a multilingual and multicultural perspective. Within the University of Glasgow's School of Critical Studies, various aspects of diversity and inclusion are studied from literary, linguistic and discourse analytical perspectives, with a focus on marginalised voices and the construction of alternative identities. The Language and Society Research Cluster at the University of Glasgow has become a crucible for the study of linguacultural diasporas and new speakers of minority languages, focusing on issues of identity, belonging and space in a supralocal world. Although now absorbed by the Diversity Working Group of the Department of Culture Studies at Tilburg University, the Babylon Centre was an internationally recognised cutting-edge centre for sociolinguistic ethnographic research into the questions of integration, diversity and voice that are raised by increased mobility (voluntary and enforced) in the 21st century. A human and institutional team was thus formed, and the symposium offered the chance for postgraduate students at each of the research centres to share their knowledge and to learn from and mutually support each other in an ongoing process of diversity and inclusion in itself.

Both the formation of the team and the symposium were initiated during the Covid-19 global pandemic, thus responding and adapting to a new reality which utilised virtual ways of communication and debate to intersect humans and languages at a time in which state borders were literally closed. The first symposium was therefore organised (through dozens of emails and virtual meetings) and took place (virtually) at a time in which the

pandemic reminded us of several discussions and critical themes that the organising committee had been working and reflecting on for some time: the significance of physical spaces and connection but also the many avenues offered by virtual spaces; the relevance of borders for the formation of identities but also of transnational cross-border connections; the key role played by language and culture for individuals and communities but also the special power of translingual and transcultural dialogues; the need to articulate identity and belonging in inclusive and diverse manners which consider both individual and collective perspectives; and the utmost importance of extending social, cultural and linguistic diversity, and doing so by making use of culture and public discourse. These were the conditions under which the first Postgraduate Symposium on *Linguacultural Spaces: Inclusion, Extension and Identification in Discourse and Society* happened, which seemed and were exceptional at the time but nevertheless provided the opportunity to work in new, creative ways (and a bit daunting still at the time), which none of us could have probably envisaged just one year earlier. But they turned out to work exceptionally well, and the first symposium was a great success, running across two days with nine postgraduate paper presentations, a plenary by Dr Spotti and a roundtable with the whole organising team.

And what had been and seemed exceptional in the then already called, albeit informally, BoGlaTil collaboration, became the norm, and the second Symposium was held in May 2022 following the exact same virtual format. Fifteen papers were presented, a plenary delivered by Dr Ophira Gamliel from the University of Glasgow, and two roundtable discussions with members of the organising team and various participants. The quality of the presentations was excellent, of particularly high academic standards for postgraduate research, and the scientific committee agreed that it would be worth to work with participants to turn their papers into chapters and publish a selection of the best contributions in the *Quaderni del CeSLiC · Occasional Papers*. All eight chapters have gone through two stages of peer-review, first from the editors of the book and then from external, anonymous reviewers experts in each of the fields, whom we would like to thank for their commitment and stellar work to improve the contributions. The eight chapters are in itself particularly diverse and varied, ranging from sociolinguistics, education textbooks and pedagogy to cultural studies and media and discourse analysis. These critical frameworks are applied to analysing printed, digital and multimodal texts and sources from Africa, Asia and Europe, mostly from contemporary times with the exception of one chapter looking at the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In spite of this heterogeneity, the book has turned out to be particularly cohesive thanks to three key threads that run across all chapters. Firstly, they all illustrate how language, culture and discourse (as well as academic work) can be utilised to bridge polarisation and division by highlighting instead the nuances that allow to articulate shared notions of belonging and community. Secondly, these eight chapters bring to the fore how multilingualism, transcultural exchanges, travel and mobilities (of people, of ideas) have been and continue to be pivotal for human experience, leading to complex, multifaceted identities that defy fixed narratives. Third, in spite of these two initial points, they expose how language hierarchies, cultural colonial dynamics and the marginalisation of discriminated groups (of women, of transgender people) and of nature (animals, plants and the environment) continues in the present day and is reproduced through discourses that reinforce unbalanced relations of power.

The book opens with Emma Bódig's analysis of media articles about the Scottish Gender Reform Bill published between 2017 and 2022. Through the theoretical notion

of 'voice' and Discourse-Historical Approach as methodology, Bódig analyses the linguistic construction of in-group and out-group dynamics in which the rights of transgender people are represented as conflicting with women's rights. Ultimately, Bódig's work aims to promote social cohesion by illustrating how language can also be utilised to foster the inclusion of trans women by extending linguistic notions of 'womanhood.'

In the next chapter, Xuan Cao turns the attention to the marginalisation, to the linguistic erasure and exclusion of nature in a series of present-day texts including sustainability reports by the oil industry. Through a discourse analysis methodology and a straightforward non-anthropocentric stance, Cao discusses how the human relation with nature is steadily dominated by various mediated, cultural and symbolic forms that alienate human beings from the natural environment and from non-human lives, including plants and animals.

In Chapter 3, Ahsan Chandio explores the representation of women in a sample of Pakistani advertisements released between 2018 and 2023 from a multimedia discourse analysis perspective. As Chandio shows, these mainstream ads, on the one hand, continue reproducing and bolstering oppressive gender stereotypes around social concerns such as dowry and elopement and, on the other, reinforce existing colonial narratives on racism and female whiteness. Chandio closes the chapter by arguing that transforming these advertisements will help challenge the colonial colorism and social stereotypes rooted in Pakistani society.

After this, Anaïs Delcol focuses the attention to the writings of two late nineteenth-century European female travellers who engaged in transformative personal experiences of transculturation: the French Alexandra David-Néel, who visited Tibet when it was still forbidden to foreigners, and the Belgian Isabelle Eberhardt, who left for Algeria at the age of twenty. Drawing upon cultural studies and history, Delcol discusses the plurality of identities embraced by both authors through nomadism, disguise and religious conversion, which suggests the performative nature of identity formed in a constant dialogue between individuals and their communities; in this regard, the chapter reveals the fundamental role played by learning a new language in the construction of David-Néel's and Eberhardt's unfixed identities.

In Chapter 5, Sameena Malik analyses the representation of the source culture, target culture and international culture in the English language textbook *New Oxford Modern English* (3rd edition) used in Pakistani high schools. As Malik's critical genre analysis shows, the book continues to engage in cultural colonial dichotomies by depicting Western culture as more modern and technologically advanced than Pakistan's, which is represented as traditional and backward. In its final section, Malik's text makes a series of recommendations for policy makers, educators and curriculum designers on how to insert and extend diversity and intercultural harmony.

Erin McInerney's chapter looks at multilingualism in a large number of Instagram posts from 2022 tagging the well-known and symbolically relevant Café de Flore in Paris, approached here as a linguacultural space in which digital and physical space deeply influence each other, thus blurring the boundaries traditionally separating them. McInerney explores these specific languaging practices through an online linguistic landscape approach and shows how the Café de Flore geotag becomes a globalized space heavily determined, on the one hand, by its symbolic links to French culture, and, on the other, by a tendency to use English as the language of monolingualism.

In Chapter 7, Barbara Nicoletti explores the intersections between language and identity in a postcolonial context by considering language contact in Namibian German,

spoken by 25,000 people in Namibia. Nicoletti deploys a corpus-based analysis of more than 550 articles published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung Namibia*, founded in 1916 and the only German-language newspaper in Africa in the present day, to specifically examine the growing presence of namibianims, that is, elements of Namibian (Standard) German distancing from German Standard German. Nicoletti illustrates the increasing presence of namibianims in formal written texts, whereas they had traditionally been restricted to informal, oral contexts.

In the final chapter, Mariangela Picciuolo analyses the representation of migrants in a two-hour media literacy workshop held at an Italian high school in 2022 from a multimodal discourse analysis framework. By using a one-minute video extracted from the Internet, Picciuolo explores, firstly, how multiple semiotic modes shape the students' interpretation and, secondly, the specific variations in their understanding resulting from the multimedia discourse analysis carried out during the workshop. Picciuolo's chapter engages with the specific skills needed for media literacy, while also revealing how students particularly struggled to interpret the interplay between the visual and the verbal, thus suggesting future avenues for pedagogical research and work.

Overall, this edited volume offers a showcase of the highly interdisciplinary, topical and high-quality research that postgraduate students are carrying out at the four research centres based at the Universities of Bologna, Glasgow and Tilburg. This Introduction was finished just a few days after the fourth Annual Postgraduate Symposium on *Linguacultural Spaces: Inclusion, Extension and Identification in Discourse and Society* took place, and the organising committee was once again impressed and pleased by the excellent papers and discussions. We expect that this European partnership will continue supporting postgraduate students to exchange ideas with fellow peers, to network with colleagues from various institutions and to develop their own careers.
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Constructing 'voice' in women's writing on the Scottish Gender Recognition Reform Bill

Emma Bódig[*]

Abstract: This chapter is based on my research exploring newspaper discourse around Scottish gender recognition reforms between 2017-2022, from first consultations on the Bill, to its passing in the Scottish Parliament. This reform aimed to simplify the system for trans people to legally change sex/gender, but surrounding debate focused largely on the legislation's negative impact on women. This narrative has polarised women and trans people as separate, conflicting groups. Approaching this issue by exploring identity construction in women's writing, the theoretical concept of 'voice' is used, with Discourse-Historical Approach as methodology. An analysis of two short newspaper extracts demonstrates these frameworks.

Keywords: gender recognition, womanhood, discourse-historical approach

1. Introduction: Scottish Gender Recognition Reforms

The Gender Recognition Act (GRA) (2004) first allowed individuals to legally change sex/gender in Britain. It uses the terms 'sex' and 'gender' interchangeably[1] (GRA 2004: s.9). Under this system, applicants must receive diagnoses of gender dysphoria from two medical professionals, have lived in their 'acquired gender' for a minimum of two years and intend to continue permanently (GRA 2004: s.1-4; s.7). If accepted by a panel of medical and legal professionals (GRA 2004: Schedule 1), applicants gain a Gender Recognition Certificate, whilst changing the 'sex' on their birth certificate. Since the GRA (2004) commenced, many countries have replaced medical requirements with a system of 'self-declaration' where applicants formally declare their gender identity (Scottish Trans, n.d.). The GRA's medicalised system has been criticised as invasive and pathologising for trans people.

Gender recognition is now devolved, meaning the Scottish Government can legislate separately from Britain. A Scottish Reform Bill proposed to replace medical requirements with 'self-declaration.' This Bill also reduces the minimum age of applicants from 18 to 16, and the minimum time lived in 'acquired gender' from two years to three months, with a reflection period of 3-6 months (Gender Recognition Reform (Scotland) Bill 2022: s.2-4). This Bill became controversial, regarded as one of the most scrutinized in Scottish Parliament history (e.g. Scottish Parliament 2022:15). In two public consultations, most respondents were supportive, but recurring criticisms arose that the Bill compromises women's safety – especially facilitating access to women-only spaces – and erases women's identity (Scottish Government 2018: 4; Scottish Government 2021: ii). Whilst the Scottish Parliament passed this Reform Bill in December 2022 (Scottish Government 2022), the British Government blocked it using an executive order, claiming among other reasons that it would obstruct provisions for single-sex spaces and women's

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[1] Debates abound regarding the precise meaning of these words. I generally use 'sex' in a narrower, biological sense, and take 'gender' as an individual's understanding of their own identity, encompassing the spectrum of social, cultural, and biological factors involved.

rights (Government Equalities Office 2023). At the time of writing, the future of this Bill remains unclear.

Like nationality or marriage, 'sex' in the UK functions as a legal status with membership regulated by the state. All babies are assigned a legal sex at birth as 'male' or 'female,' recorded on birth certificates (National Records of Scotland n.d.). 'Sex certification' is relevant to particular legal contexts, including marriage/death certificates and anti-discrimination provisions, and some regard it as crucial to equality. Interviewing professionals from law, government, and third sector, Cooper et al. (2022) explored 'decertification,' or removing state governance over legal sex, treating this like other identities (e.g. race, sexuality) which are protected from discrimination, but without state-assigned membership. Whilst some supported decertification to deconstruct the sex binary and allow diversity of gender expression, others raised issues around data collection, single-sex spaces, and discrimination measures, specifically concerned about legal protections for women (Cooper et al. 2022:6). Thus, women were highlighted as a particularly vulnerable group, whose protection necessitates strict state control over legal sex categories.

Some campaign groups mobilised against gender recognition reforms, e.g. see For Women Scotland (n.d.), and Scottish Feminist Network (n.d.). Many of these groups are 'gender-critical,' viewing sex as natural and essential, and gender as a socially constructed hierarchy of male oppression over women. Gender-critical feminists criticise gender recognition law for conflating sex and gender, perceiving Government policies like 'self-declaration' as eroding women's sex-based rights (Pedersen 2022). However, Pearce, Erikainen & Vincent (2020: 679-680) argue these claims overlook not just decades of feminist literature maintaining the co-construction of sex and gender, but that British law also does not define these concepts separately. A recent Council of Europe Report (2021) criticised British gender-critical movements for blocking gender recognition reform and fuelling anti-trans rhetoric. Authors warn against binary views of 'real sex vs constructed gender' as simplistic and harmful. Importantly, these debates highlight a tension in law and feminism; whether to understand sex/gender as a rigid social hierarchy of oppression, a fluid and complex form of self-expression, or both (Renz & Cooper 2022: 151).

Whilst the Reform Bill aimed to support trans people in Scotland by simplifying the process to update their legal documents, a major barrier became the narrative that trans rights conflict with women's rights. Discourse around the Reform Bill has tended to be polarised, obscuring intersectionality, especially the existence of trans women. This begs, what is meant by women's rights, and who is included? This research explores how cisgender and transgender women write about the Bill, especially attempts to speak for womanhood/women's rights. The corpus comprises opinion pieces from Scottish newspapers, focusing on who is represented in, and able to shape, institutionalised discourses around womanhood. I aim to promote trans-inclusion by exploring the issue of polarisation and attempting to find nuanced discourses that do not separate women and trans people as conflicting groups. I especially hope to find discourses reflecting the intersectional and manifold experiences of womanhood. This is done through closer examination of how women construct their identities and negotiate group boundaries through language. This chapter outlines my analytical approach utilising 'voice' as a heuristic for linguistic identity, arguing this is well-suited to explore gender as a social positionality, not a stable and fixed attribute. I also explain my method of using the Discourse-Historical Approach, designed to explore identity discourses and the linguistic construction of ingroups/outgroups. Two short extracts from newspaper articles are

analysed to demonstrate this method. This analysis shows how two writers from differing sides of the debate likewise position themselves as victims within a 'harm discourse,' but do so in diverging ways, one reinscribing divisions between women and trans people, the other emphasising common experiences of vulnerability to build solidarity.

2. Theoretical approach
2.1 Gender

Debates regarding the concept of 'gender,' especially tensions between its material and socially constructed aspects, have long preoccupied feminists. These debates impact how gender is operationalised as a meaningful site of experience and oppression, and a space for political struggle. However, these discussions have lately reached other contexts like policymaking. Following Hollway (1984) and Alcoff (1988), my approach centres on the notion of 'positionality,' viewing gender not as an essentialist attribute of personhood but as a position within a sociocultural context, produced through historical pressures and lived experience. Positionality emphasises that gender identity is produced in relation to an evolving social environment but becomes a significant place from which to view the world, oneself, and others, and a location where meaning is actively constructed (Alcoff 1988:433-434). Positions available may be pre-determined, but individuals can critically engage with, and re-interpret these. Likewise, identity forms through constant production and negotiation within and between groups, involving power and legitimacy (Gefou-Madianou 1999: 414). Members re-make their community by negotiating its boundaries, meaning, and demands (Figari 2014: 627-628). In my view, gender identity entails dialogue between oneself and others, with both biological and social factors integrated into a concept of self that is, nevertheless, experienced as real and meaningful to the individual. To summarise, this chapter takes gender as a 'dialogic process' where individuals enact a position available within an ever-evolving social context, aimed at certain audiences. Although an ambiguous concept, gender remains productive if we find theoretical frameworks accounting for its heterogeneity.

2.2 Voice

Studying gender as a dialogic process and moment of positionality, the theoretical concept of 'voice' is used. 'Voice' is a popular heuristic in linguistic research. This can mean the 'physical voice' and production of sounds – e.g. as in phonetics – but another approach, also including this chapter, explores 'social voice' as the positionality from which people speak, signalling socio-cultural and ideological belonging, studied through discourse analysis, ethnography, and sociolinguistics (Singh 2022: 35-37). This notion of 'voice' also has roots in positioning theory. I define 'voice' broadly as using language to signal an identity and demonstrate credibility. 'Voice' mediates between text and context, production and reception. Every speaker/writer authors their own 'voice' within the constraints of a social environment's norms and values. This section provides a brief literature review of scholarship shaping the concept of 'voice' as used in this chapter.

Bakhtin is foundational here. His 'speech genres' denote consistent styles of utterances that develop when language is used in specific contexts, albeit with "extreme heterogeneity" (Bakhtin 1986: 60). Bakhtin held that speakers do not learn neutral language but constantly and subconsciously acquire speech genres in social interactions. Language is socially situated and dialogic:

> This experience can be characterized to some degree as the process of assimilation – more or less creative – of others' words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of "our-own-ness," varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate (Bakhtin 1986: 89).

Bakhtin illuminates complex interactions in language and identity formation. As no individual is first to speak but is born into prevailing speech genres, pre-existing social structures mould the identities we can acquire. Butler emphasised this in the theory of gender 'performativity;' the act of doing gender constitutes the subject, an act always shaped and necessitated by what is deemed coherent within a certain context (Butler 2002: 33). Nevertheless, social structures are not endlessly oppressive. As Bakhtin emphasises, rather than parroting others' words, we re-accentuate them, creating our own voices and styles. This 're-working' of conventions enables social and discursive change (Fairclough 1992: 133).

Similarly, Bourdieu's "habitus" denotes people's dispositions, acquired through socialisation (Thompson 1991: 12-13). "Linguistic habitus" determines speakers' propensity and ability to communicate, whilst "linguistic market" determines allowances/restrictions on speech (Bourdieu 1991: 37). Viewing linguistic competence through the lens of the market economy, Bourdieu argues that language functions as symbolic capital, whereby speakers skilled in legitimate forms of a marketplace demonstrate credibility:

> The constitution of a linguistic market creates the conditions for an objective competition in and through which the legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital, producing a *profit of distinction* on the occasion of each social exchange (Bourdieu 1991: 55, original emphasis).

Bourdieu observes that beyond mutual understanding, speakers seek some symbolic profit, e.g. to be believed, obeyed, admired. The value of an utterance is proportional to the market in which it is said, and the power relations among speakers with differing linguistic competence (Bourdieu 1991: 66-67).

'Voice,' as linguistic identity, signals belonging to social communities, as well as power and marginalisation. Hymes (1996:33) suggests people and groups are characterised by their "repertoire," or style of speaking, developed through familiarity or expertise in certain communities. Hymes (1996:64) defines 'voice' as "[…] freedom to have one's voice heard," highlighting discrimination between 'voices.' Blommaert's 'voice' also centres inequality:

> Voice stands for the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. In doing so, they have to draw upon and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them in contexts that are specified as to conditions of use. […] Voice is the issue that defines linguistic inequality (hence, many other forms of inequality) in contemporary societies (Blommaert 2005: 4-5).

Similarly, Bartlett (2012: 15) explains that members of dominant groups are privileged because their experiences, knowledge, and styles become normative and valued, whilst non-dominant groups – and their repertoires – are marginalised. Still, any speaker can convert language into symbolic power within their communities or familiar social environments. Bartlett (2012: 15) conceptualises 'voice' as "[…] behaving appropriately through language […]." Additionally, whilst group-members can share a "community voice," every speaker has a unique "individual voice," including agency to position themselves within a discourse (Bartlett 2012:18). Bartlett explains that many linguistic marketplaces exist, with respective power relations, values, and appropriate, legitimate forms, "[…] with speakers competing to promote the values of the particular marketplace in which their symbolic capital is dominant" (Bartlett 2012: 126).

In summary, linguistic competency (e.g. 'speech genres'/'habitus'/ 'repertoires') develops within the constraints of different contexts (marketplaces). Individuals have symbolic capital in some marketplaces but not others, e.g. lawyers employing legal jargon, or members of a speech community using their local dialect. 'Voice' is the process of signalling and legitimating belonging; by understanding – and being able to use – the appropriate linguistic resources valued among group-members. Although overlapping, two components of 'voice' are highlighted: representation of oneself with certain affiliations in the social world and justifying this. Inspiration was taken from Singh's (2022: 55-56) study on identity which explored how speakers 'sample others' to construct their identities, and which linguistic resources they use to signal belonging to a community. Likewise, 'voice' allows womanhood to be explored not as a stable characteristic, but one 'in process,' as speakers occupy a position in a discourse using their available resources. The question becomes, how do women writing about gender reform take up a position as a woman in the text and demonstrate their credibility? Additionally, what narratives about womanhood/women's rights gain currency? Thus, the aim of this research is not to strictly define words like 'sex,' 'gender,' or 'woman,' but to explore how these concepts function in the context of debates about Scottish gender recognition reforms. Scrutinising the experiences writers link to these words, as well as storylines and discourses utilised in this signification, will reveal how these meanings are evolving in relation to a specific policy issue, and their implication for feminist politics in Scotland. Accordingly, a framework is needed to study the components of 'voice' as representation and legitimation.

3. Methodological framework

Exploring 'voice,' the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) is used from Critical Discourse Studies. Whilst not necessarily historically focused (Reisigl 2018: 44), DHA situates text analysis within a wider sociohistorical context and, like other CDS methods, views discourse and social systems as inseparable. Categories are not fixed but adapted to each topic (Reisigl & Wodak 2015: 32), as I have done below. First developed by researching antisemitic discourses in Austria (Wodak et al. 1990), DHA explores:

> How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
> What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
> By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or
> social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression
> and exploitation of others?

> From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
> Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated? (Wodak 2001: 72-73).

These questions underlie the construction and praising of ingroups ('us') whilst disparaging outgroups ('them'), taken as the foundation of identity discourses (Wodak 2001: 72-73). van Dijk's (e.g. 1992; 1998) research on racist discourse also addressed this phenomenon within Critical Discourse Studies, e.g. his 'ideological square' represents positive-self and negative-other ideological framings. Based on the questions above, DHA analysis explores five discursive strategies (Reisigl & Wodak 2015: 33):

1. **Nomination** = how people/things/processes are named and categorised
2. **Predication** = how people/things/processes are characterised and evaluated
3. **Argumentation** = validating or challenging claims of truth or morality
4. **Perspectivisation** = situating point of view and demonstrating closeness or detachment
5. **Intensification/Mitigation** = altering the directness of statements, including modality.

This focus on the discursive creation of ingroups/outgroups makes DHA useful for my research, because debates around gender recognition reform negotiate whether the legal category of 'woman' should be extended. DHA categories provide a systemic framework for examining writers' positionality. Nomination/predication explore the categorisation and evaluation of people/things in the text, whilst indicating which field(s) of discourse writers invoke (e.g. law, feminism, politics, etc.). Argumentation addresses the types of logic and reasoning provided to justify this demarcation of groups, e.g. the writer's goals and values. Finally, perspective and intensification/mitigation reveal situatedness; the partiality of writers and window from which readers are presented the textual world.

Nomination is especially pertinent, exploring who/what is named in the text, and categorisation. I created a model (Appendix 1) using categories from Reisigl & Wodak's (2015) DHA analysis of climate change discourse. There are three overarching nomination categories: Processes; Social Actors; Objects/Events/Phenomena. 'Processes' refer to nominalised processes (e.g. 'gender recognition'), classified using transitivity categories (Halliday 1985:170-175). 'Social Actors' refer to people in the text. Sub-categories were added here to suit my topic. 'X-nym' denotes gender/sex categories, named to account for disagreement about what these words mean. I explore how these words are used in context. Similarly, I added 'sex-nyms' as a subcategory for sexuality, which often intersects with gender identity. Under 'Objects/Events/Phenomena,' 'classification' largely corresponds to that in 'Social Actors.' I added 'place,' because single-sex spaces are regularly contended in these debates. Moreover, in addition to 'classification' and unlike Reisigl & Wodak (2015), I explore 'individuation' and 'abstraction.' 'Individuation' highlights how writers attempt to speak for themselves and/or others (as individuals/collectives/generics). 'Abstraction' reveals reliance on 'concrete,' material things, as opposed to 'social constructs' or 'abstracts.'

Predication explores how those named are further characterised. Exploring evaluative language, I use Hood's (2019) appraisal model, based primarily on frameworks constructed by Martin & White (2005), as well as Liu (2017). For space limitations, only

the system of 'attitude' (below) is discussed here. This reveals the types of values/evaluation in the text, indicating the moral principles writers invoke:

Figure 1: Hood's Appraisal Model (Hood 2019: 385)
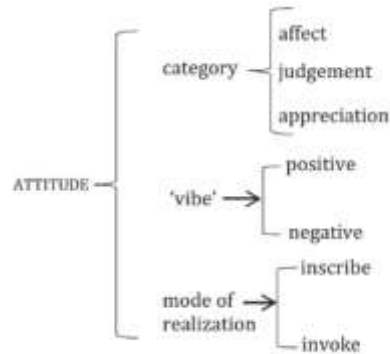
Under 'category,' 'affect' refers to emotions, with subcategories: un/happiness (e.g. miserable); dis/satisfaction (e.g. content); in/security (e.g. confident); dis/inclination (e.g. scared). 'Judgement' entails evaluating people, with subcategories:

- social esteem: normality (un/usual); capacity (in/capable); tenacity (ir/resolute)
- social sanction: veracity (un/truthful); propriety (un/ethical).

Finally, 'appreciation' entails evaluating things/events, with subcategories: reaction (e.g. interesting); composition (e.g. robust); valuation (e.g. important) (Hood 2019: 386-388). All sub-categories are positive or negative, indicated under 'vibe.' Finally, 'mode of realization' is either 'inscribed' as "part of dictionary meaning," or 'invoked/evoked,' as evaluative in the specific context (Bartlett 2014: 119). Thus, each instance of appraisal is described along three criteria: category/'vibe'/mode of realization. In analyses, I indicate 'vibe' using the symbols + (positive) or – (negative), e.g. –veracity indicating a negative appraisal on the truth dimension.

Argumentation refers to claims of truth or normative rightness. Reisigl & Wodak (2015: 35) advise exploring functional categories: premises, conclusions, and topoi, the latter being logic-claims connecting premises to the conclusion, in the structure: if x then y. There are formal topoi (e.g. argument by authority – 'if an authority says x is true, then x is true') and content-related topoi which are specific to a text or discourse.

As Wodak (2001: 72-73) asserts in the questions above, all "labels, attributions and arguments" are expressed from a certain perspective. Likewise, I believe the fifth category of intensification/mitigation – exploring modality and exaggeration or understatement – also reveals perspective as writers' closeness/detachment in the text. Thus, I use four categories, incorporating intensification/mitigation into perspectivisation. I take perspective as spatiotemporal (view as 'here/now'), and ideological (view as 'the way things are/should be'). I also explore whether writers present personal or communal perspective and whether they include others' voices/views.

Thus, nomination/predication account for textual affiliations; how writers organise their vision of the social world, including their own, and others' belonging. This addresses the first component of 'voice' as representation within a discourse.

Argumentation/perspectivisation relate to 'voice' as legitimation, and how writers justify their representations (e.g. through underlying logic, modality, interaction of viewpoints, etc.). However, the components of 'voice' and DHA categories are not neatly separated but work together.

4. Example analyses

Two excerpts from newspaper articles are analysed here. These were randomly selected due to space limitations but represent opposing sides of the debate (Text 1 is pro-reform; Text 2 is against). They were gathered from newspaper articles contained in the Lexis Nexis Law database from the University of Glasgow library, fitting the preliminary inclusion criteria: opinion pieces written by women about Scottish gender recognition reforms and in Scottish publications. This analysis aims to demonstrate the application and insights of the methodology outlined in this chapter. Nomination strategies are underlined.

> **Text 1:** Sue Pascoe[2] – The Herald (09/03/2022).
> [1] As a <u>survivor of sexual and physical assaults</u> and a <u>woman with a trans past,</u> it is deeply
> [2] upsetting to see the implied <u>allegation</u> that all <u>trans women</u> are sexual predators or that
> [3] <u>predatory men</u> will misuse the proposed new <u>Scottish gender recognition rules</u> in order to
> [4] abuse <u>women</u>.
> [5] Think how daft <u>that</u> sounds. Do <u>you</u> carry your <u>birth certificate</u> around to access any <u>single sex</u> <u>space</u> [6] or to have a pee? Of course <u>you</u> don't. Would <u>an abuser</u> wait six months, changing all his <u>life documents,</u> [7] when <u>he</u> can walk straight into a <u>toilet</u> and commit a <u>heinous act</u>? If <u>he</u> really wanted to be in <u>disguise,</u> [8] surely a <u>high viz jacket, mop and bucket</u> would do."

> **Text 2:** Emma Cowing – Scottish Daily Mail (29/10/2022).
> [1] How, <u>I</u> was asked, did <u>I</u> identify. <u>Female,</u> <u>male,</u> or <u>other</u>? <u>Female,</u> <u>I</u> responded wearily.
> [2] Weeks later, <u>it</u>'s still niggling at me. Because <u>I</u> don't 'identify as <u>female.</u>' <u>I</u> am a <u>woman</u>.
> [3] <u>Such statements</u> can swiftly land <u>you</u> on dangerous ground. Indeed this week, thanks to the <u>SNP</u>[3], <u>the</u> [4] <u>country</u> became a slightly less safe place to be a <u>woman</u>. <u>The Scottish Government</u> has now passed <u>stage</u> [5] <u>one of a Bill</u> to reform the <u>Gender Recognition Act</u>.
> [6] In making it much easier for <u>people</u> to obtain a <u>Gender Recognition Certificate,</u> <u>it</u> rides
> [7] roughshod over <u>female only spaces</u> and hard fought <u>women's rights</u> in a way that, growing up in the
> [8] <u>1980s and 1990s</u> at a time when <u>feminism</u> was on the rise, many of <u>us</u> could never have imagined.

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[2] Although 'Nicola Love' is listed in the byline of this article on the Nexis database, it was written by Sue Pascoe.
[3] Scottish National Party.

	Text 1	Text 2
Nomination	**Social Actors:** **Anthroponyms of harm:** **Victim:** individual/generic ("survivor of sexual and physical assaults") **Perpetrator:** generic ("an abuser") **Perpetrator + X-nym: man:** collective/generic ("predatory men") **X-nyms:** **woman + trans woman:** individual/generic ("woman with a trans past") **woman:** collective ("abuse <u>women</u>") **trans woman:** collective ("<u>trans women</u> are …") **Phoric:** **Unspecified:** generic ("you") **masculine:** generic ([referring to 'an abuser'] "he") **Processes:** **Verbal:** ("allegation") **Material:** ("heinous act") **Objects, Events, Phenomena** **Legal matters:** **criminal:** abstract ("disguise") **administrative:** social construct: collective ("Scottish gender recognition rules"), concrete: individual ("birth certificate"), concrete: collective ("life documents") **Phoric:** abstract ([referring to allegation] "that")	**Social Actors:** **Phoric:** **Feminine:** individual ("I") **Unspecified:** generic ("you"); collective ("us") **X-nyms:** **Woman:** individual ("am a <u>woman</u>"); generic ("to be a <u>woman</u>") **Organisation/Institution:** collective ("The SNP;" "Scottish Government"). **General anthroponyms:** collective ("people") **Processes:** **Verbal:** ("Such statements") **Objects, Events, Phenomena:** **X-nyms:** abstract ("Female, male, or other;" "female") **Phoric:** abstract ([referring to question] "it") **Geopolitical matters:** social construct: individual ("the country") **Political matters:** social construct: generic ("stage one[4] of a Bill") **Legal matters:** **administrative:** social construct: individual ("Gender Recognition Act")

[4] Referring to three stages of Parliamentary voting every Bill must pass to become law.

	Professional matters: concrete: generic ("high viz jacket, mop and bucket") **Place**: **public / political**: concrete: individual ("a toilet") **X-nym + Place: unspecified / political**: social construct: generic ("any single sex space")	concrete: generic ("Gender Recognition Certificate") **equalities:** social construct: generic ("women's rights") **X-nym: woman + Place: unspecified / political:** social construct: collective ("female only spaces") **Time:** abstract ("1980s and 1990s") **Ideological matters:** abstract ("feminism")
Predication	**Social Actors** "Survivor" (judgement: social esteem: **+tenacity:** inscribed) "Survivors of … abuse" / "women with trans past" = deeply upset at allegation (affect: **–happiness:** inscribed) "Trans women" = sexual predators (judgement: social sanction: **–propriety**: inscribed) "Predatory men" (judgement: social sanction: **–propriety**: inscribed) = will misuse rules to abuse women "You" = don't need birth certificate for any single sex space (judgement: social esteem: **+capacity:** evoked) "Abuser" = wouldn't wait 6 months to change documents (i.e. use gender recognition rules), can already commit a heinous act. (judgement: social esteem: **+capacity:** evoked) **Processes:** "Allegation" (judgement: social sanction: **–propriety**: inscribed) = all trans women are sexual predators and predatory men will misuse legislation. "Heinous act" (judgement: social sanction: **–propriety**: inscribed).	**Social Actors** "I" = weary (affect: **–inclination**: inscribed) "I" = do not 'identify as female' (judgement: social sanction: **–veracity**: evoked); am a woman. (judgement: social sanction: +**veracity**: evoked); "The SNP" = endangers women (judgement: social sanction: **–propriety:** evoked) "Us" = could never have imagined this (judgement: social esteem: **–capacity:** evoked) **Processes:** "Such statements" [I am a woman] = controversial (judgement: social esteem: **–normality:** evoked). Spatial metaphor ("dangerous ground," affect: **–security**: inscribed).

	Objects, Events, Phenomena	Objects, Events, Phenomena
	"Scottish gender recognition rules" = open to <u>misuse</u> by predatory men (appreciation: **−composition**: inscribed) [about allegation] "that" = sounds daft (appreciation: **−reaction**: inscribed)	[referring to question of how she identifies] "It" = niggling (affect: **−satisfaction**: evoked) "The country" (Scotland) = less safe place to be a woman (affect: **−security**: inscribed) "Bill"/"it" = rides roughshod over (disregards) female spaces/women's rights (appreciation: **−composition**: inscribed) "<u>Hard-fought</u> women's rights" (judgement: social esteem: **+tenacity**: evoked) "1980s/90s" = feminism on the rise (judgement: social sanction: **+propriety**: evoked)
Argumentation	**Topoi** **X-nym** = The end result defines you ("woman with a trans <u>past</u>") **Topos of threat/danger** = If Reform is dangerous, then it should not be introduced ("predators;" "predatory;" "abuse" etc.) Topos of misuse = If abusers will exploit Reform, it should be abandoned.	**Topoi** **X-nym** = identity is inherent and cannot be chosen ("I do not 'identify as female.' I am a woman"). **Topos of threat/danger** = If Reform is dangerous, then it should not be introduced. ("less safe;" "rides roughshod.") **Topos of consequence** = If Reform has positive/negative consequences, then it should be introduced/abandoned. **Topos of tradition** = things were better in the past ("1980s/90s when feminism was on the rise")
	Argument structure **Premise 1:** You don't need a birth certificate to access any single sex space. **Topos:** If you don't need a birth certificate, an abuser doesn't either (**'scheme of equivalence'**). **Premise 2:** An abuser can walk straight into a toilet and commit a heinous act.	**Argument structure** **Conclusion 1**: Thanks to the SNP, the country became less safe for women. **Premise 1:** The Scottish Government passed Stage one of Reform Bill. **Premise 2:** The Bill makes it easier for people to gain a Gender Recognition Certificate. **Topos**: If it is easier for people to gain a GRC, then female spaces/women's rights are compromised.

	Conclusion (implied): An abuser wouldn't change his life documents [birth certificate] to access a toilet.	**Conclusion 2:** The Reform Bill rides roughshod over female spaces and women's rights.
Perspectivisation	**Spatiotemporal**: writer's past ("trans past"); deictic switch to future counterfactual ("predatory men <u>will</u> misuse") and present/location ("proposed new Scottish")	**Spatiotemporal:** begins in past ("was asked;" "did;" "responded"), and switches to present ("Weeks later," "it's still;" "this week").
	Personal/Communal perspective: ("<u>As a</u> survivor … and woman with a trans past …") **intensification**: ("it is <u>deeply</u> upsetting")	**Communal perspective**: inclusive impersonal-you ("land <u>you</u> on dangerous ground"); third-person plural ("many of <u>us</u>") and **epistemic modality** ("<u>can</u> swiftly land;" "<u>could</u> never have imagined").
	Mitigation of epistemic modality = ("<u>implied</u> allegation"). Only suggested not stated, and thus bound to writer's interpretation.	**Intertextuality** = "I don't 'identify as a woman'" – term now commonly used regarding gender, scare quotes distance the writer from this.
	Double-voiced discourse = hybrid voice of writer and her opponents ("allegation that all trans women are sexual predators … predatory men will misuse … to abuse women.").	
	Counterfactual perspective/address to reader, epistemic modality = ("Think … Do you … Would an abuser … when he can … surely … would do."). **Intensification of epistemic modality using factual perspective:** ("Of course you don't").	

4.1 Discussion

Regarding nomination*,* Text 1 establishes a strong theme of criminality, heavily featuring anthroponyms of harm and interestingly, always combining these with x-nyms. The writer categorises herself as a 'survivor' *and* a 'woman' (1), whilst the generic 'abuser' (6-7) is attributed male pronouns. Perpetrators of abuse are men, and victims are women (3-4). In Text 2, x-nyms appear not just as 'social actors' (referring only to women), but as 'Objects.' However, the writer rejects abstraction ("I do not 'identify as female'"). Additionally, both texts combine x-nym + place. In Text 1, x-nym is generic and unclassified ("single sex space") whilst Text 2 nominates specifically "female only spaces"

as a collective. Both writers leave unspecified whether these spaces are public or private. Anyone can normally access public places, although private places could require identification. Thus, un-specification creates a blurring effect obscuring nuance: in Text 1, birth certificates are not needed for *any* single sex space (5); in Text 2, *all* female spaces are in danger (7).

For predication, Text 1 is more negative and mostly based on ethics (–propriety). Only the writer as 'survivor' carries positive evaluation, marking her resilience (+tenacity). Text 2 has a similar positive evaluation on "hard-fought women's rights" (+tenacity), whilst simultaneously carrying an evoked negative evaluation of the legal context, implying it is hard to gain these rights. Similarly, 'feminism' (8) has a positive ethical predication (+propriety). However, it is implied that the present context is less feminist than it was the case in the past. Cowing also evaluates herself positively as being truthful (+veracity) in Line 3 by characterising her statement of "I am a woman" as controversial (–normality) in the current social climate.

Argumentation in Text 1 mostly concerns claims to truth, with instances of epistemic modality regarding the likelihood of legislation being misused (e.g. "do you …;" "you don't;" "surely;" "would do"). Text 2 relies on claims about normative rightness, suggesting women are wrongly overlooked. Notably, both texts contain topoi related to x-nyms. In Text 1, "woman with a trans past" includes a topos that 'sex/gender identity is an end result.' This legitimates the writer through the logic that transitioning is the means to the end of becoming a woman. Text 2 argues "I do not 'identify as female,' I am a woman." This topos rejects sex/gender identity as a mental process, also rejecting self-declaration (sometimes called 'self-identification').

Perspectivisation is highly complex in Text 1. In her first sentence, Pascoe combines personal/communal perspective ("*As a* … it is deeply upsetting"), speaking for herself as well as other survivors of abuse and trans women. Then, she uses double-voiced discourse to paraphrase the debate ("allegation that …"), mixing her voice with those of her opponents. Interestingly, the word choice of "*implied* allegation" conveys that this is Pascoe's interpretation of others' words. She switches to counterfactual perspective and invites readers to consider whether a 'generic' abuser would misuse this legislation. She makes the opposing voice seem ridiculous using hyperbole ("*all* trans women are sexual predators") and evaluation, ("Think how *daft* that sounds."). Her interjection ("Of course you don't") shuts down the debate, whilst bringing readers into a shared, common-sense viewpoint. In Text 2, information is stated overtly with some intensification regarding the writer's personal views/values ("wearily;" "niggling at me;" "rides roughshod"). There is an ambiguous communal perspective ("many of us") which is unclear about its referent, whether people growing up in 1980s/90s, feminists, or women. Perhaps this is left unspecified to be as inclusive as possible.

In summary, Text 1 operates within a storyline where men are perpetrators of abuse and women are victims. Pascoe recognises that within this storyline, trans women – assigned male at birth – may be categorised as potential perpetrators (2). Nonetheless, she has symbolic capital to speak on this as a survivor of abuse[5] *and* a "woman with a trans past," able to use this hybridised "trans/victim community voice," to legitimate herself as a woman and challenge the view that "all trans women are sexual predators." Text 2 utilises a similar storyline of endangered women, albeit it blames politicians ("SNP;" "Scottish Government"), whilst characterising gender reform as regressive and

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[5] Symbolic capital refers to anything the speaker is able to derive authority from, or transform into power within a context, even painful/negative experiences.

antithetical to feminism (7-9). Here, threat to women becomes societal, and 'self-declaration' erases women whilst threatening their safe spaces and rights. The writer legitimates herself as a woman unafraid to speak out, despite societal pressure. Thus, consistent with debate surrounding Reform focusing on dangers to women, both writers construct a "female victim voice" within a 'harm discourse.' In this discourse, 'victimhood' becomes symbolic capital, a positionality eliciting readers' sympathy, whilst imbuing the speaker with unique vision of who is to blame, and what can be done to protect victims. A victim position necessitates a perpetrator, but writers differ in who their perpetrators are. Both utilise 'victimhood' narratives differently, according to their resources and aims: Pascoe as a trans survivor of abuse; Cowing as 'speaking truth to power.' Cowing's text utilises a polarised discourse of 'trans rights vs women's rights', blaming society for neglecting the latter. Pascoe constructs bridges instead. She centres male predators as the common enemy – who already have access to female spaces – and highlights vulnerability to male violence as the positionality where the experiences of all women intersect, including trans women.

Therefore, DHA offers a promising framework to compare the linguistic strategies used between texts and explore how writers establish ingroups/outgroups within texts. Identity discourses require positioning oneself against an 'other,' in order to more legibly define the borders of the ingroup, as no centre exists without a periphery. However, these discourses remain open to be reinforced or challenged by others. The analysis above demonstrates how 'voice' and gender positionality operate through an active, agentic process. Writers choose how to adapt existing storylines/discourses to situate themselves and others within these. Scrutinising how each writer constructs her 'voice' – including which resources they choose to express belonging and legitimacy within a group – illuminates what seems to be valued or normative, but also how conventions are reworked in each act of positioning, potentially opening up space for new identities, affiliations, divisions etc. Analysing newspaper articles in this way reveals which narratives are commonly taken up and circulated, influencing public consciousness around what it means to be a woman. Thus, studying how women writers signal and legitimate their gender identities and affiliations, we can see 'womanhood' constructed as a site of belonging and exclusion, one that remains open to new articulations.

5. Conclusion

This chapter explained my analytical approach to studying gender as a 'dialogic process' using the theoretical concept of 'voice,' and the DHA as methodological framework. DHA is designed to study identity because it uncovers the patterns and underlying logic driving discourses of inclusion/exclusion. However, the method and analyses presented here are tentative and being refined during my PhD. I am working on developing system networks corresponding to DHA categories (like the Nomination and Appraisal models used here). These analytical frameworks will be applied to categorising each text in the corpus and provide a point of comparison/contrast beyond simply designating texts as 'pro-Reform' or 'anti-Reform.' Systemic analysis of textual representations (i.e. types of naming, evaluation, arguments, and perspective) will reveal whether the debate is truly polarised – composed of two distinct and opposing 'voices' – or if commonalities can be found even between seemingly oppositional groups. This research contributes not just to literature on 'voice' and identity construction but could also potentially speak to wider issues of social cohesion, reducing polarisation, and speaking across difference, through

investigating a concrete policy issue in Scotland. I hope that by studying how women writers construct a 'female voice,' demonstrating their stance in debates on gender recognition and claiming a right to speak on this issue – including moments which confirm or disrupt hegemonies – it might be possible to find a path towards linguistic extension of 'womanhood,' and greater inclusion of trans women.

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Appendix 1: Nomination model
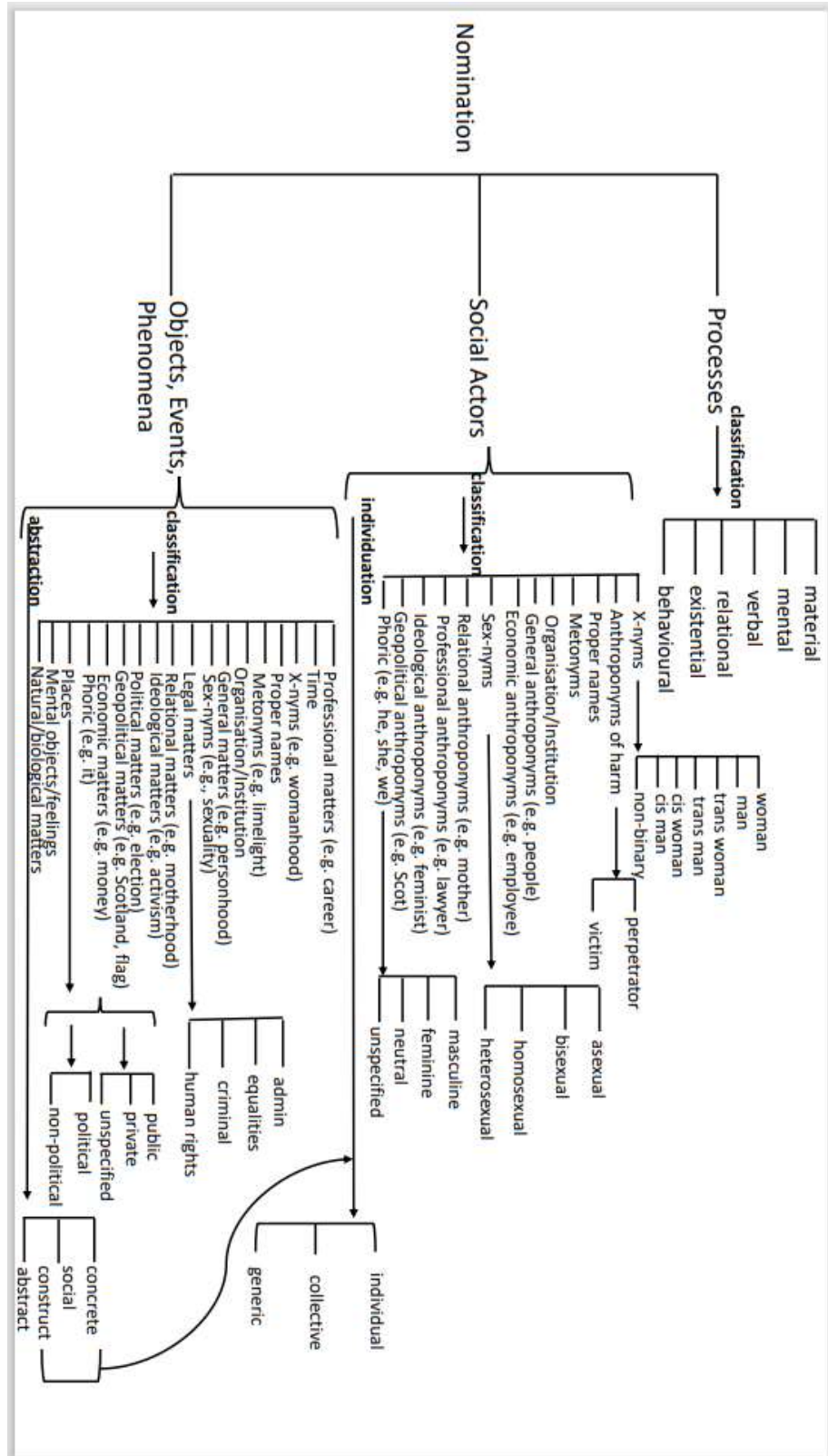
The erasure of nature: the nomination of nature model

Xuan Cao[*]

Abstract: As the "Anthropocene" has unfolded, nature, including animals, plants, and the environment, has gradually drifted away from human society, and humans' experience of them is now mediated by various artificial manufactures, such as videos, cartoons, goods, and language. This tendency shows the marginalization of nature, which is called "erasure" (Stibbe 2015: 146). In this context, the linguistic erasure of nature shows a hierarchy of explicitness and implicitness of nature in discourse, which could have unpredictable consequences for readers' cognition. This chapter discusses the meanings of erasure and how nature is represented and erased linguistically. It concludes by presenting and explaining a self-developed model referring to Stibbe's erasure types and Van Leeuwen's social actor network to analyze the nomination of nature in discourse analysis.

Keywords: discourse analysis, erasure of nature, marginalization, nomination of nature

1. Introduction

With the expansion of human civilization, animals, plants, and the environment, three essential components of nature, are now gradually deteriorating and vanishing due to species extinction, loss of biodiversity, land desertification, and other ecological changes. These issues have been intensified by human activities in the era that has been described as "Anthropocene" (Steffen et al 2011: 842). This era is defined as a new geological epoch that has led to a dramatic change in the relationships between human beings and the rest of the living world since the Industrial Revolution (Crutzen et al 2000: 17), resulting into what is now a human-dominated relationship with nature (Crutzen 2002: 23). As a result, nature has physically drifted away from human society (Steffen et al. 2011: 842).

Instead of an immediate connection with nature, humans have now transformed their connections into other mediated forms (Berger 2009: 22), including videos, cartoons, zoos, aquariums, arboretums, goods, recordings, and language used to display or depict nature. Through these mediums, nature gradually fades away and is marginalized, and humans are left with symbols about nature (Burt 2005: 208). Although these symbols provide mimic images of nature, in fact, they have little connection with real nature, as it is withdrawn from daily life and people's consciousness (Berger 2009: 25). These symbols or representations of nature can be deemed as weakened copies of nature (Baudrillard 1994: 6), which may endanger the world into "a self-referential symbolic" one (Stibbe 2012: 2).

Replaced by these symbolised mediums of nature, humans' connections with nature are imperilled by emphasizing "human specialness" "in the wave of the scientific revolution" (Abram 1996: 54). Apart from the actual exploitation of nature, it is also an advanced way of controlling nature and showing the authorized position of humans (ibid). However, this thinking pattern overlooks the importance of non-human nature and the features it shares with humans, such as physical properties, environment dependency,

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emotions, and feelings. Meanwhile, it magnifies humans' distinct abilities, e.g. language and rational thinking (ibid). This bias in the relation between humans and non-human nature is called anthropocentrism, claiming that humans are superior to non-human nature, which is seen as a resource for humans to use (Kopnina et al. 2018: 109). Influenced by anthropocentrism, humans have tried to make the earth more habitable for themselves and ignored the wellbeing of the more-than-human nature, which tends to bring about a remarkable destruction of the whole ecosystem. Consequently, being human-centred products, signs for nature have been vastly influenced by anthropocentrism. In contrast, Gaia theory, a philosophical hypothesis, believes that the world is made up of life and the environment, which is considered as "one large self-regulating organism," so neither of them can be considered separately (Lovelock 1988: 19). To create a sustainable world, it is necessary to stop viewing non-human nature as consisting of manipulable signs and present them as essential parts of a system.

This anthropocentric tendency can be called marginalization of nature (Berger 2009: 25). Therefore, these mediums of nature show different degrees of how vivid and concrete nature is. Among them, videos can be considered as the most vivid medium, due to its two-dimensional and dynamic representation of nature, and language as the most obscuring one, because of its unlively depiction of nature by words. Even though televisional representations of nature can only provide some of the characteristics of nature, compared with the real interaction with nature, it could still be identified as a minor degree of erasure. Meanwhile, language itself could also vividly present nature through detailed descriptions of specific species in terms of their appearances, colours, and habitats, which is imaginable for readers. However, some abstract words or expressions cannot describe nature vividly: this is evident, for example, when superordinate categories rather than specific types of birds are mentioned, as superordinate categories do not capture the physical features of individual bird species. The degrees of erasure of nature may vary depending on their expressions in texts, which may alter people's consciousness about nature by making it more vague. Therefore, taking a non-anthropocentric stance, this chapter attempts to explore the meanings of the erasure of nature in language and how textual representations of nature are erased at different levels, and finally to develop a model for identifying the erasure of nature.

2. Erasure of nature in language

As one of the unique abilities possessed by humans, language "is engendered not only within the human community but between the human community and the animate landscape, born of the interplay and contact between the human and the more-than-human world" (Abram 1996: 95). As we have mentioned above, this interplay has become estranged from non-human nature, which may result in the marginalization of non-human nature in language. The terms "erasure" and "exclusion" are used alternatively by linguists to define this type of marginalization.

According to Baker and Ellece (2011: 40), erasure is "a form of exclusion and marginalization, particularly in relation to identity categories." Exclusion, on the other hand, refers to "an aspect of social actor representation where particular social actors do not appear in a text or as part of discourse" (ibid: 44). It can be further divided into two types: "suppression," in which social actors are absent in the discourse, and "backgrounding," in which social actors are absent in the relative action and present elsewhere in the text (Van Leeuwen 2008: 29). Stibbe (2015: 146) claims that this type of

erasure or exclusion indicates that some important social groups have been neglected or downplayed "through its systemic absence, backgrounding, or distortion in texts." However, the terms "erasure" and "exclusion" refer to the same language phenomenon in which something important is marginalized within discourses. Therefore, this chapter will only use the term "erasure" to cover all the expressions about this phenomenon.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2021), "erasure" refers to the action of erasing or obliterating. However, the linguistic notion of erasure varies, appearing as diverse textual representations. Fairclough (1995: 106) argues that "the analysis of representation" needs to "differentiate degrees of presence," "running from 'absent' to 'foregrounded': absent – presupposed – backgrounded – foregrounded," for "if something is presupposed, it is in a sense present in the text, but as part of its implicit meaning. If something is explicitly present in a text, it may be informationally backgrounded or informationally foregrounded." Erasure includes not only complete erasure, but also different degrees of erasure, ranging from the most explicit to the most implicit. It can be divided into three types of erasure, which are complete erasure ("the void" is that the social group is "completely excluded from a text"), partial erasure ("the trace" refers to the social group being "partially erased but still present" in a text), and a distorted version ("the mask" is where the social group is "erased but replaced by a distorted version of itself") (Stibbe 2015: 149). The hierarchy of erasure reflects a systemic absence of certain groups of social actors in the discourse (ibid). Although erasure is employed as a measurement of whether anything important within discourse has been marginalized, there are still some of the erasures which "may be innocent," omitting already known or irrelevant information (Van Leeuwen 2008: 28). As concerns "innocent" erasure, Stibbe (2015: 150) deems that it should be attributed to the nature of discourse. In order to make the discourse more coherent and concise, it is necessary to utilize some textual devices to eliminate, replace, or transform certain social actors (Paltridge 2012: 9-10). Despite considering "redundancy and irrelevance" in texts, erasure is also a tactic for social or political reasons for euphemism (Fairclough 2003: 149). Nevertheless, if a group of significant actors is the primary participant in the discourse, they are linguistically downplayed, backgrounded, or missing. In this sense, the attribute of these representations can be characterized as "negative" erasure. For example, this happens if there is no word "pig" in a text about pigs, but nouns like "pork," "sausage," and "meat products" are listed. The role of pigs, originally serving as living animals, is reduced to their edible function for humans. Therefore, this study tries to make the distinctions between "innocent" and "negative" erasure, specifically focusing on forms of "negative" erasure.

For the linguistic representations of nature, the outcome of "negative" erasure could have unpredictable consequences for readers' cognition, because language establishes reciprocity in the connection between people's perception and cognition – language's effect (Abram 1996: 52). Additionally, discourses are viewed as "the social construction of reality" (Paltridge 2012: 7). In other words, "discourse is both shaped by the world as well as shaping the world" (ibid). Discourse could be viewed as a tool by which writers can construct social realities of their own and may reproduce hegemonic social practices, causing the conceptual erasure of certain silent and less powerful social actors, like nature (Norton & Gieve 2010: 207). In this sense, people would first perceive nature as positive or negative representations via language, which may interpret and alter people's recognition of nature to certain degrees. In particular, if people tend to describe nature in symbolic and non-living terms, such as "livestock" for "cows" and "cattle".

These expressions collectively occur as "negative" erasures of nature in discourse, and the real nature will be transformed or even functionalized in terms of products for human convenience. Then, the reality constructed by language embedded with these "negative" erasures would undermine common-sense views of the world and change attitudes and behaviours. As a result, non-human nature will be removed from people's consciousness, which induces irresponsible and predominated attitudes towards nature and a slew of ecological issues.

Therefore, ascertaining whether the erasure of nature exists in discourse is less important than investigating how and to what extent erasure occurs in the representation of nature and whether these erasures are intentionally "innocent" or "negative". Furthermore, the erasure of nature is often observed in the nomination of nature itself and the related actions in texts. Hence, this study attempts to analyze the erasure of nature in terms of how expressions about nature are represented as nominal groups in texts, using a self-developed nomination of nature model. Further work in the author's doctoral thesis also looks at how actions are represented, using transitivity analysis from Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). However, due to space constraints of this chapter, here I will only expound the nomination of nature model, which is the central and original part of the studies on the erasure of nature.

3. The nomination of nature model

The nomination of nature model is a tool to identify how the representations of nature, including animals, plants, and the environment, can be classified in terms of the degree of erasure implied in the wordings used in texts. This model is based on both Stibbe's three erasure types (as mentioned in section 2) (2015: 149) and Van Leeuwen's social actor network (2008: 52).

3.1 The background of the nomination of nature model
3.1.1 Stibbe's erasure types

As previously mentioned, erasure refers to certain important social groups that are neglected or downplayed "through ... systemic absence, backgrounding, or distortion in texts," which encompasses complete erasure, partial erasure, and a distorted version (Stibbe 2015: 146 & 149).

Unlike complete erasure, both partial erasure and a distorted version present many linguistic representations of a certain social group in texts. In particular, in ecosystem assessment (EA) reports, Stibbe (2015) found that partial erasure often occurs in three forms. The four reports are *Ecosystems and human well-being: general synthesis* (EA1); *Ecosystems and human well-being: biodiversity synthesis* (EA2); *Impacts of climate change on biodiversity, ecosystems and ecosystems services* (EA3); and *UK national ecosystem assessment* (EA4). The first form is superordination, which means using superordinates to "replace the name of species" and to make them more abstract (Stibbe 2015: 156). For example, "birds" (EA4: 23), "mammals" (EA4: 23), "amphibians" (EA2: 4), "animals" (EA2: 11), "species" (EA3: 1), "fauna" (EA4: 48), and "organisms" (EA2: 1). Another form is massification: "trees, plants and animals are represented in mass nouns, they are erased, becoming mere tonnages of stuff" (Stibbe 2015: 157), e.g. "provisioning services such as food, water, timber and fibre" (EA2: 1) where trees are turned into "timber" (EA4: 7). Nominal groups can also refer to animals and plants by the functions they are serving in the ecosystem

metonymically (Stibbe 2015: 157). For instance, "pollinators" (EA4: 19), "fish catch" (EA1: 103), "fish stocks" (EA1: 6), "fishing technology" (EA4: 55), "fish consumption" (EA1: 103), and "fish production" (EA1: 17).

As concerns the distorted version of functionality, Stibbe (2015) recognized two lexical forms in ecological economics and agribusiness discourse. In ecological economics, there are optional modifiers for ecological terms appearing with some vocabulary containing the economic meanings of resources (ibid: 152-153). The most representative examples are "biotic resources" (Daly & Farley 2004: 107), "ecosystem services" (ibid), and "biological stock" (ibid), where nature is erased and replaced with a distorted form for economic usage. Additionally, expressions about the natural world are often replaced by expressions about agribusiness or food industries, such as "products" or "red meats" for "animals" (Stibbe 2015: 152-153). These expressions aim to objectify animals and eliminate the actual conditions of animals from customers' consciousness, thus helping to remove customers' moral consideration of animals (ibid: 154).

As Stibbe (2015) has classified, it is clear that linguistic representations of the natural world are mainly erased through either semantic field (i.e. superordination and metonymic functionalized references for partial erasure; modifiers and agribusiness or food business references for distorted version) or grammatical field (i.e. massification, for partial erasure).

Therefore, according to the classifications of partial erasure and distorted version, linguistic representations of nature are not limited to these two conceptual erasure types, but are rather classified in terms of different degrees of concreteness in both the semantic and grammatical fields.

3.1.2 Van Leeuwen's social actor network

Although Stibbe has provided a classification of erasure (2015), this model needs a more specific lexicogrammatical network to examine how different expressions about nature are categorized. Here I will draw on and develop Van Leeuwen's social actor network (2008) (Figure 1).

Van Leeuwen's social actor network was designed to "investigate how the participants of social practices can be represented in English discourse" (2008: 23). He does not focus either on linguistic operations like nominalization and passive agent deletion or on linguistic categories like transitivity in SFG, but takes a sociosemantic perspective (ibid) in which he sets out first to examine how the sociological agencies are represented and established and then to identify their linguistic realizations in this network (ibid). For instance, due to the bi-uniqueness of language, not all sociological agencies can appear as linguistic agencies, but some play the grammatical role of "patient." Specifically, this feature can be identified in the form of possessive pronouns like "our intake of migrants," or prepositional phrases like "from…" in the sentence "People of Asian descent say they received a sudden cold-shoulder from neighbours and co-workers" (ibid: 23-24).

However, Van Leeuwen (2008: 24) claims that there is no clear gap between linguistic and sociological categories. Most linguists tend to preserve the clarity of categorizations from the point of view of form at the expense of semantics (ibid). However, like Halliday (1985: 129), Van Leeuwen attaches linguistic forms to the grammatical system in his grammatical metaphor theory. Van Leeuwen (2008: 24)'s network is formally messy but semantically tidy, as his network is based on identifying

different linguistic and rhetorical phenomena from the angle of the social actor rather than using abstract linguistic concepts like "nominal group".

Therefore, considering the aims of Van Leeuwen's social actor network (2008: 52), it can be concluded that it presents different linguistic forms of social actors, which are different from the ones used in the nomination of nature model. This includes a clearer classification type, with a closer focus on nominal groups about nature. This is why this study cannot fully adopt Van Leeuwen's social actor network (2008: 52) and develops a new one instead.

The logic behind developing this model and how to refer to Stibbe's erasure types (2015: 149) and Van Leeuwen's social actor network (2008: 52) is presented in Figure 2. The nomination of nature model still utilizes and extends the definition of some subcategories in Van Leeuwen's network (2008: 52), including "6: Personalization," "8: Individualization," and "13: Categorization," as explained in section 3.2.

Figure 1: Social actor network (Van Leeuwen 2008: 52)
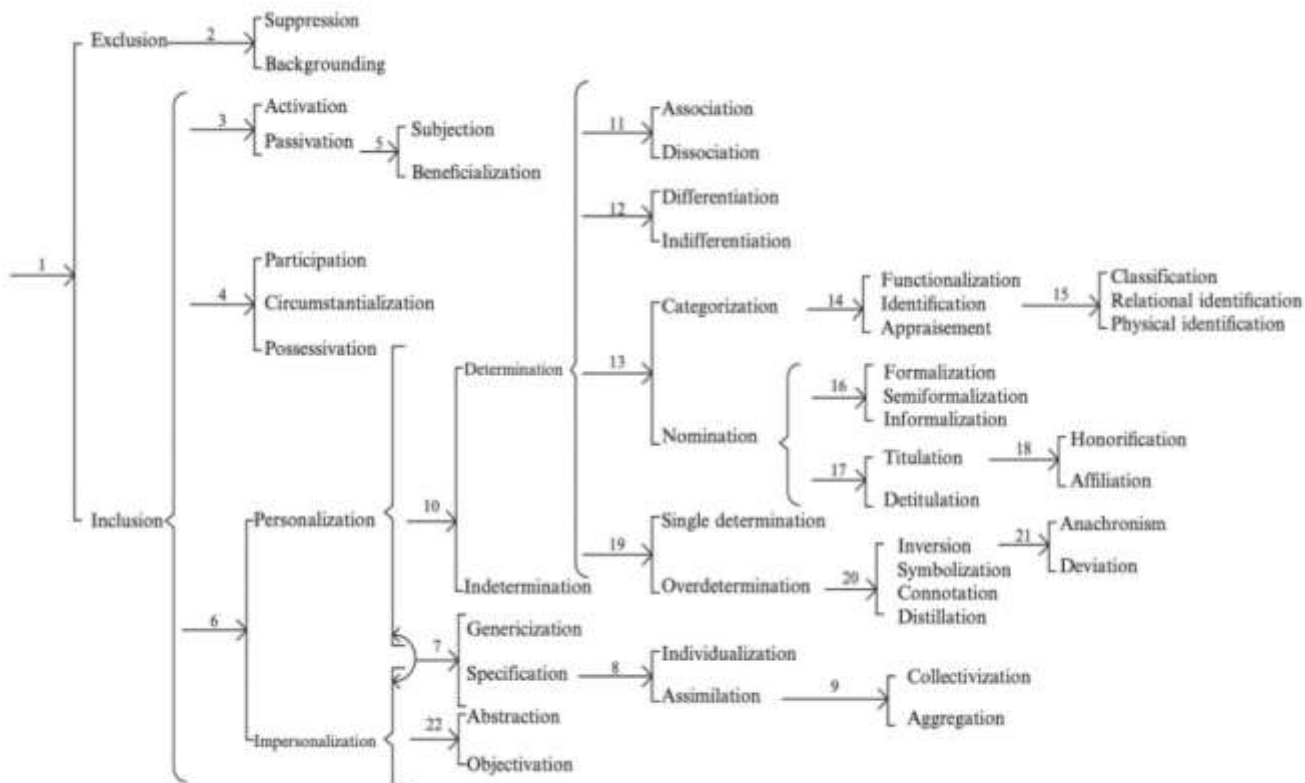
*Square brackets for: either/or choices;
Curly brackets for: simultaneous choices.

Figure 2: Flowchart representation of the erasure of nature model
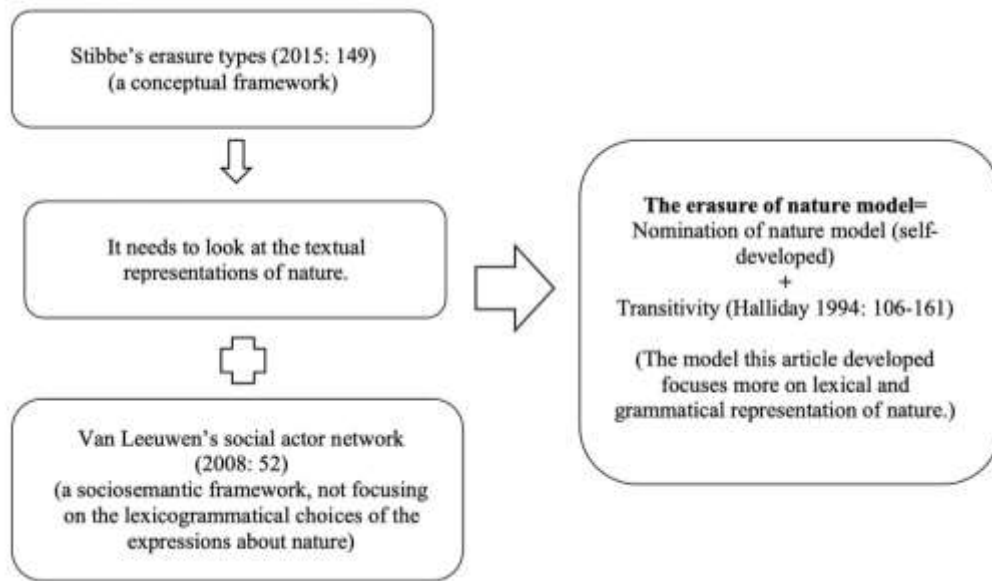
3.2 The introduction of the nomination of nature model

Originally, the model used to analyze the representations of nature has been described as an "erasure of nature model," because it involves not only the nomination of nature model but also transitivity analysis. However, during text analysis, transitivity was analyzed not only at clause level, but also in the nominal groups about nature (i.e. "dynamism" in Figure 3). Therefore, the erasure of nature model is divided into two models: nomination of nature and transitivity. This section explains the nomination of nature model in general, namely differentiating and defining its three main categories: individuation, categorization, and personalization[1].

"Individuation" refers to the "individualization" or "assimilation" of expressions about nature (Figure 1), namely the grammatical degrees of singularization or pluralization of expressions about nature. More specifically, individualization is the process of identifying social actors as individuals, while assimilation represents them as groups (Van Leeuwen 2008: 37). Most grammatical realizations are singulars and plurals with or without definite or indefinite article and they display "the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers as the numerative or the head of the nominal group" (ibid: 37-38). For example, "a robin" (Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) n.d.), "the robin" (ibid), "every bird" (ibid), "a garden of flowers" (ibid), "30% of land and seas" (Metcalfe n.d.), "all plants and animals" (RSPB n.d.), "polar bears" (ibid), "wildlife" (Scottish Wildlife Trust n.d.), and so on.

The second category, "categorization," means that expressions about nature are classified in certain ways depending on the identities or functions of natural groups or components: animals, plants, and the environment they share with others (Van Leeuwen 2008: 40). In other words, the identities of natural groups or components refer to what biological classifications they fall within. However, classifications are not as precise and clear as taxonomic ranks (Moore 1974), but they are still based on the superordination of

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[1] The nomination of nature model is not finalized yet, and it might still be changed for future textual analysis and examination.

different expressions about animals, plants, and the environment to provide a fundamental distinction between different biological ranks, such as "polar bears" (RSPB n.d.), "emperor penguins" (ibid), "birds" (ibid), "fish" (ibid), "plants" (Mellor n.d.), "all plants and animals" (RSPB n.d.), "wildlife" (Scottish Wildlife Trust n.d.), "land" (RSPB n.d.). In other cases, the functions of natural groups or components are stressed, by using expressions containing words about nature as modifiers related to their usage or function, e.g. "pollinators" (EA4: 19), "cow protection project" (The Vegan Society 2020), "elephant nature park" (ibid), "the government's forest agency" (Nestle n.d.), and so on.

The final category, "personalization" is the personalized representations of natural groups or components, describing them as human beings or prescribing them some attributes that are shared with human beings (Van Leeuwen 2008: 46), e.g. "home to cows and their friends" (The Vegan Society 2020), "Mufasa" (ibid), "Nipa Jackson" (ibid), "their medical needs, their physical needs, their mental needs are all cared" (ibid), "attract a mate" (ibid), and so on.

It is straightforward to see the differences between these three categories. Firstly, the reason why this model has to distinguish "individuation" from "categorization" is that, initially, it is difficult to define how specific or general expressions about nature like "(a) polar bear(s)" and "animals" are, either from the perspective of "pluralization" or "superordination". In comparison with Van Leeuwen's (2008: 52) classifications about "specification," "individualization," "assimilation," and "categorization," this model allows to distinguish the specification degrees of the expressions about nature into just two spheres, depending on whether they occur as individuals or groups, and which classes they belong to. The following necessary distinction is why "personalization" should be a separate category rather than a subcategory in "categorization". Even though "personalization" can be considered as a way of categorizing nature, in fact, this is done from a different perspective, i.e. objectification. "Personalization" consists in seeing the extent to which nature is represented as objects or persons on a continuum. It should be noted here that this classification is made from an anthropologic perspective, which sees representations as either natural features or for human usage.

In Figure 3, there are square brackets and curly brackets: square brackets stand for either-or choices (e.g. expressions about nature must be either "specified" or "functionalized"), while curly brackets stand for simultaneous choices (e.g. expressions about nature can be "individuated," "categorized," and "personalized" at the same time). The following section further discusses the subcategories of these three categories of the nomination of the nature model, with some typical examples of each subcategory from left to right, and presents an example of utilizing this model in discourse analysis.

Figure 3: Nomination of nature model
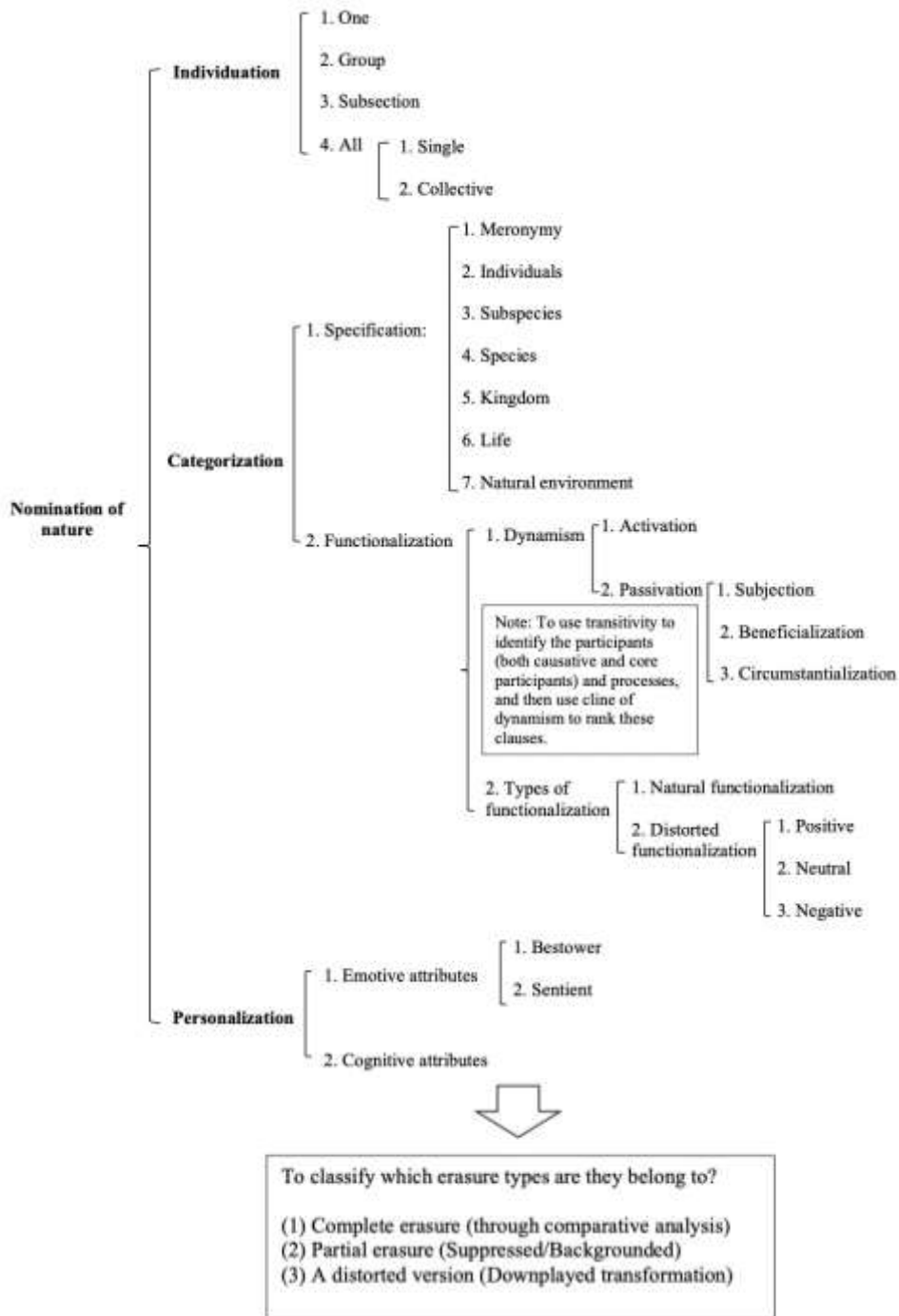
3.3 The subcategories of the nomination of erasure of model
3.3.1 Individuation

As stated in the previous section of this chapter, "individuation" means the grammatical specification of natural groups or components. Hence, in Figure 3, there are four primary types under Individuation, i.e. "one," "group," "subsection," and "all" (including "single" and "collective").

"One" refers to expressions about nature that are grammatically singular, like "a robin" (RSPB n.d.), "the robin" (ibid), "the cuckoo" (Mellor n.d.), "a woodland" (ibid), "a landscape" (Brown 2022), "the ancient River Avon" (ibid), and "the environment" (Nestle n.d.). "Group" are expressions about nature that are grammatically plural but represent a group or groups of natural groups or components, such as "a garden of flowers" (RSPB n.d.), "326 animals and birds" (The Vegan Society 2020), "a number of rescued animals" (ibid), "a lot of cows" (ibid), and "some of the cows" (ibid). "Subsection" is a special category representing a proportion of a certain natural groups or components, or combinations thereof. It often occurs with expressions like "percentage of" or "%," including "30% of land and seas" (Metcalfe n.d.), "4.9% of UK land" (ibid), and "366 hectares" (Nestle n.d.). The last category is "all," which refers to these natural groups or components recognized as a whole. However, they can be recognized as a whole from the perspective of a single individual ("single" type) or a group of individuals ("collective" type). For instance, "a robin" and "a sparrow" in the sentence "You may wonder why a robin has a thin beak, while a sparrow's is thick." (RSPB n.d.). "A robin" and "a sparrow" do not mean that a specific robin or sparrow has or does not have a thin beak, but all robins or sparrows as a whole have this physical feature or not, even though this expression apparently refers to a single individual. Therefore, this model will identify these expressions as "Individuation: All: Single". In contrast, "collective" comprises expressions with plurals representing natural groups or components as a whole, e.g. "the sparrows" (RSPB n.d.), "lowland deciduous forests" (Scottish Wildlife Trust n.d.), "our spectacularly diverse coastal and marine ecosystems" (ibid), "wildlife" (ibid), "invasive non-native species" (ibid), "thistles, bindweeds and nettles" (Brown 2022), and "livestock" (Nestle n.d.).

All in all, individuation is used to identify how expressions about nature are represented in a numeric sense, which is set out for marking up whether nature occurs as (an) individual(s), (a) group(s), a part of (a) group(s), or as a whole.

3.3.2 Categorization

"Categorization" refers to classifications of natural groups or components in terms of their identities and functions, which can be further divided into two types: "specification" and "functionalization."

3.3.2.1 Specification

In detail, as mentioned in section 3.2, "Specification" means how animals, plants, and the environment can be classified by biological ranks. It includes "meronymy," "individuals," "subspecies," "species," "kingdom," "life," and "natural environment." Because this model is not intended for use in biological studies, biological classifications are not as precise as the hierarchy of nine taxonomic ranks in biology (Moore 1974), which are "life,"

"domain," "kingdom," "phylum or division," "class," "order," "family," "genus," and "species." This model only names and differentiates four types of biological classification to differentiate animals or plants: "subspecies," "species," "kingdom," and "life." The last subcategory in "specification", "natural environment," is established to distinguish other forms of life from environmental components.

Next, the model expounds the subcategories into which the category of "specification" may be broken down. Firstly, "meronymy" is used to classify these expressions as belonging to a part, parts of, or footprints left by animals, plants, or the environment. For example, "animal bones" (Brown 2022), and "the hoof prints of aurochsen" (ibid). The subcategory "individuals" obviously means that these animals, plants, or environmental components occur as an individual or groups of individuals rather than as a specific species or species. For instance, "a mate" (RSPB n.d.), "the robin" in the sentence "Or why the robin is alone" (ibid), "adults" (Mellor n.d.), "their young" (ibid), and "parents" (ibid). Then "subspecies" refers to animals or plants that have specific names for their species, like "robins" rather than "birds", or "emperor penguins" rather than "penguins" (RSPB n.d.). There are some typical examples: "polar bears" (ibid), "a robin" (ibid), "a sparrow" (ibid), "young swifts" (ibid), "bowerbirds" (ibid), "common Caledonian pine" (Scottish Wildlife Trust n.d.), "honeysuckle" (Mellor n.d.), and "the giant prehistoric cattle" (Brown 2022). "Species," instead, refers to classifications that lie in between the specific species names and a larger grouping of animals or plants, such as "birds" (RSPB n.d.), "a garden of flowers" (ibid), "every bird" (ibid), "invasive non-native species" (Scottish Wildlife Trust n.d.), "butterflies "(Mellor n.d.), and "the woods" (ibid). The next subcategory is "kingdom", which refers to the primary classifications of organisms, namely animals and plants. For instance, "animals" (RSPB n.d.), "all plants and animals" (ibid), and "plants" (Mellor n.d.). "Life" is a more general type that differentiates live beings with biological processes from lifeless matter, which cannot be put either in the animal or plant kingdom, e.g. "wildlife" (Scottish Wildlife Trust n.d.), and "woodland wildlife" (Mellor n.d.). The last subcategory, "natural environment," includes all expressions about environmental components, like "land" (RSPB n.d.), "every environment" (ibid), "our wetlands and peatlands" (Scottish Wildlife Trust n.d.), "lowland deciduous forests" (ibid), and "our spectacularly diverse coastal and marine ecosystems" (ibid).

3.3.2.2 Functionalization

"Functionalization" is the second subcategory of "categorization." It refers to expressions about nature that are not classified as an identity in specification but as nominal groups containing the functions of natural groups or components. Moreover, these expressions also include actions within nominal groups. Therefore, functionalization can be identified as "dynamism" and "types of functionalization."

"Dynamism" can be used to identify the actions of social actors in the clause. However, it can also be utilized to analyze dynamism within nominal groups. For example, "pollinators" (EA4: 19) is identified as "activation" (i.e. bees are pollinating), "cows for milk, oxen for draft" (The Vegan Society 2020) as "passivation: subjection" (i.e. cows are milked, and oxen are killed), "wood farm animal sanctuaries" (ibid) as "passivation: beneficialization" (i.e. put wood farm animals in sanctuaries), and "farm animals" (ibid) as "passivation: circumstantialization" (animals in the farm).

In addressing "types of functionalization", this study adopts an anthropologic stance, namely differentiating between the functions that natural groups or components are born with and the functions they are deliberately endowed with by human beings. Therefore, "functionalization" can be further divided into "natural functionalization" and "distorted functionalization." "Natural functionalization" means that these expressions about nature express the functions of natural groups or components that are innate, like "pollinators" (EA4: 19), which shows one of the natural functions of bees, i.e. pollinating. "Distorted functionalization," instead, refers to expressions about nature being utilized for humans' purposes or under the control of humans. Therefore, this type of functionalization can be justified in terms of benefits to nature, benefits to humans, or benefits provided in an intermediate or neutral way. This model uses "positive," "neutral," and "negative" to distinguish these expressions. For "positive distorted functionalization," representative examples are "wood farm animal sanctuaries" (The Vegan Society 2020), "a cat rescue" (ibid), "cow protection project" (ibid), and so on. Examples of "neutral distorted functionalization" are "elephant nature park" (ibid), and "farm animals" (ibid), while for the "negative" type, examples include "cows for milk, oxen for draft" (ibid), "behind deforestation" (Nestle n.d.), and "the government's forest agency" (ibid).

Hence, "functionalization" contains two categories that can be identified at the same time. It labels not only what types of functions these expressions about nature belong to but also their action types.

3.3.3 Personalization

"Personalization" is the last category of the nomination of nature model. It refers to the extent to which natural groups or components can be personalized in terms of their emotional and cognitive capacity. It also stresses what emotive or cognitive characteristics of non-human nature are shared with human beings. So "personalization" can be separated into "emotive attributes" and "cognitive attributes."

"Emotive attributes" means that personalized expressions about nature indicate that natural groups or components have emotional feelings or abilities. These feelings or abilities can be either innate or bestowed by human beings, i.e. "bestower" and "sentient." "Bestower" refers to expressions about nature whereby human beings create empathy for themselves or others, such as "neglected, abused and mistreated cats" (The Vegan Society 2020), "home to cows" (ibid), and "a little guy called Nipa Jackson" (ibid). On the other hand, "sentient" refers to emotive attributes carried by natural groups or components naturally, like "their medical needs, their physical needs, their mental needs" (ibid), "his last few girls" (ibid), and "his herd mates" (ibid).

"Cognitive attributes" refers to personalized expressions about nature that indicate that natural groups or components have cognition similar to humans', namely how they understand the world around them. Typical cases include "a mate" in the sentence "bower birds build a garden of flowers just to attract a mate" (RSPB n.d.), and "cows and their friends" (The Vegan Society 2020). These expressions convey the idea that animals have cognitive abilities that can lead to the action of socializing.

3.3.4 Nomination of nature model and transitivity analysis in text

The following text is extracted from the chapter entitled "Respecting Nature" in Shell Oil Company's *Sustainability Report 2022* (Shell Oil Company 2022). Its analysis presents the mark-up of the text based on the nomination of nature model and transitivity network, and it adopts the definition of clause in SFG, "every clause must have a verb and every verb must have a Subject" (Thompson 1996: 6). To save space, in this study, nomination of nature and transitivity labels are put in square brackets, and nominal groups about nature and their related verbs in terms of process types in the transitivity are underlined. To differentiate between the first level of nominal groups about nature and their associated verbs, this study applies the labels [Nomination: Yes] and [Nomination: No: Transitivity], respectively in the nomination of nature and transitivity analysis.

1. We realise there is growing urgency to protect and enhance [*Nomination of nature: NO; Transitivity: Process: Material process*] biodiversity [*Nomination of nature: YES; Individuation: One; Categorization: Functionalization: Activation: Distorted functionalization: Neutral; Personalization: NO; Transitivity: Participant: Material: Goal*],

2. preserve [*Nomination of nature: NO; Transitivity: Process: Material process*] water quality and availability [*Nomination of nature: YES; Individuation: All: Collective; Categorization: Functionalization: Activation: Distorted functionalization: Neutral; Personalization: NO; Transitivity: Participant: Material: Goal*],

3. improve air quality and use resources more efficiently. Nature loss [*Nomination of nature: YES; Individuation: One; Categorization: Functionalization: Passivation: Subjection: As a modifier: Distorted functionalization: Negative; Personalization: NO; Transitivity: Participant: Material: Goal*] and climate change are interconnected [*Nomination of nature: NO; Transitivity: Process: Material process*]

4. and need to be tackled together. This was recognised [*Nomination of nature: NO; Transitivity: Process: Mental process: Cognition*] in 2022 at the UN Climate Change Conference (COP27), and also at the UN Biodiversity Conference (COP15) [*Nomination of nature: YES; Individuation: One; Categorization: Functionalization: Passivation: Circumstantialization: Distorted functionalization: Neutral; Personalization: NO; Transitivity: Circumstance: Location*]

5. where a landmark Global Biodiversity Framework [*Nomination of nature: YES; Individuation: One; Categorization: Functionalization: Passivation: Circumstantialization: Distorted functionalization: Neutral; Personalization: NO; Transitivity: Participant: Mental: Phenomenon*] was agreed [*Nomination of nature: NO; Transitivity: Process: Mental process: Cognition*].

4. Conclusion

Due to the erasure of nature, language could estrange humans from non-human nature in a subtle and unanimated way. There is therefore a need to examine how nature is represented in expressions and discourses about it. To this end, this chapter has presented a model to categorize different degrees of representations of nature in order to identify how they are erased across three parameters: individuation, categorization, and personalization. This model can be used to compare different types of discourse in future

research, namely to see how different groups, holding similar, different or opposite stances towards nature, describe nature in terms of what degrees of nature and which types of erasure they use. For example, both the oil industry and Greenpeace talk about nature, but the ways they refer to nature, as identified in this model, might be slightly or obviously different. This model may be helpful to identify these expressions in texts. However, the model still has some limitations. Firstly, it is not an inclusive one and it is still being developed, so some special cases might not be easy to identify by using these classifications. Besides, this model aims to identify whether nature is represented from a natural attribute or anthropologic stance. Therefore, some of these classifications could also be categorized differently for other purposes or stances.

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Silencing and whitewashing women: a study of female representation in Pakistani advertisements

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Abstract: In highly competitive markets, advertising companies employ various strategies to attract buyers and compete with other companies on the market. However, in this pursuit, advertisers often resort to culturally inappropriate humor, stereotyping and exclusive language. This study examines the framing of women in Pakistani advertisements, using Fairclough's (1995) framework for critical discourse analysis. The findings reveal that advertisements often naturalize gender stereotypes and endorse socially controversial practices, such as dowry and elopement. The study also highlights some examples of gender objectification and exposes explicit and implicit meanings embedded in advertisements.

Keywords: advertisement, Fairclough, stereotypes, marginalization

1. Introduction

1.1 Inclusive language

Language plays a vital role in our lives. It helps us make sense of the world, and we use it to describe our surroundings and each other (see Stuart Hall's 1997 theory of representation). The world around us is changing rapidly and is becoming more diverse. Many workplaces and businesses are adopting inclusive working environments and communicate in inclusive language with their clients, consumers, and employees, both internally and externally. Many global companies have implemented language policies to change the way we use language to describe disability, gender and age in today's diverse society. In a similar way, academic institutions, including the University of Bologna, have introduced gender visibility guidelines for their institutional communication and promote inclusive language. Such institutional guidelines and language policies are adopted to respect cultural norms and values, so that the people who are addressed will feel valued and respected. Inclusive language is fundamentally grounded on principles of respect. Unlike exclusive language, which discriminates specific groups, inclusive language is polite, conscious, and avoids endorsement of any stereotypes. Exclusive language is more apparent in commercial communication, where advertisers frequently use selective vocabulary to exclude certain demographic groups and include targeted audience in their commercial communication, e.g. advertisements, banners, billboards, television commercials and online advertisements. Frisoli (2019) documents the ways some commercial advertisements enforce gender stereotypes, gender roles and preferences among children. Children start learning from a very young age that certain behaviors, roles and toys are designed for genders, and that is why some children may hardly get any exposure to the roles and behaviors specified for the opposite gender.

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Likewise, Harrison et al. (2017) and Crockett (2008) argue that commercial communication shapes public perceptions about gender, class, race, or sexuality. It legitimizes power relations and social inequalities and reproduces them in ways that influence consumer behaviors and their reactions towards society. The language of advertisements can have an impact on our choices, influence our actions, portray an ideal representation of gender and socially structured roles, eventually creating confusion among the public (Ali & Shahwar 2011). Advertisers have ideology − also known as a brand philosophy − which is reflected in their billboards, online and TV commercials ads. These advertisements have meanings and, according to Wang (2016), these meanings are a matter of concern because they have an impact on our minds and are framed in a way that leads consumers to choose between right and wrong (Hussain et al. 2021).

The present study offers a multimedia critical discourse analysis of a small sample of Pakistani advertisements, highlighting how certain advertisements promote stereotypes and reinforce arbitrary power dynamics in Pakistani society. A selection of specific advertisements from 2018 to 2023, such as Careem's and Molty foam' billboard ads, Faiza beauty cream' social media advertisement and Dawlance's Instagram advert, provides the material for this study. These advertisements have been chosen based on their popularity, availability and the criticism they have attracted. Moreover, different forms of advertisements have been purposefully collected, ranging from billboards to an Instagram advertisement, to show how different advertisers use similar language and strategies to present women in a stereotypical manner in Pakistan. To conduct the analysis, I employed Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis, a suitable framework to examine language and its underlying power dynamics in advertisements.

2. Literature review

According to European Digital Rights[1] (2021), the first online banner appeared in 1994 and proved to be as successful as other forms of advertising. From a business perspective, it marked a turning point in marketing communication, as AT&T[2] paid HotWired $30,000 to display a banner ad on their official website, ensuring maximum visibility. Since then, significant changes have taken place: advertisements appear across all mediums of communication, including highways, TV screens, and popular social media platforms.

Despite a gradual decline in ad spending at the beginning of 2023, as reported by the largest media investment company GroupM, the market is estimated to increase its spending by 5.9%, reaching $874.5 billion (Wall Street Journal 2023)[3]. Much as in the rest of the world, digital advertising is rapidly growing in Pakistan too. Advertisers spend millions of dollars to promote their products across all media platforms. According to an estimate, ad spending in the digital advertising market is projected to reach $208.9 million by 2028 in Pakistan (Statista Market Insights 2023)[4]. Given this competitive market, advertisers adopt various marketing strategies, like the use of humor, informal language targeting youth and attempting to challenge social norms, to stay relevant. However, in

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[1] https://edri.org/our-work/how-online-ads-discriminate.
[2] AT&T Inc., an American multinational telecommunications company, introduced a trend-setting and groundbreaking marketing idea by publishing the first-ever banner ad published on the Web in 1994, receiving massive response from users.
[3] https://www.wsj.com/articles/global-advertising-forecast-to-speed-up-after-a-slower-start-in-2023-45b8953c.
[4] https://www.statista.com/outlook/dmo/digital-advertising/pakistan.

this pursuit, they may reinforce stereotypes and legitimize discursive practices to influence consumers' minds in favor of powerful corporations. Against this background, women's representation in advertisements in Pakistan is crucial.

2.1 Gora culture and its privilege in postcolonial Pakistan

Colorism is deeply rooted in Pakistani society. The effects of the ostensible 'civilizing mission' of colonialism are still apparent in the country's society and culture, which associate fair skin with high morals and upper class. This is the result of many colonial policies and laws, one example being Macaulay's[5] *Minute on Education* (1835), in which he urged the colonial government of India to spend more on English education, so that the empire could create a herd of loyal persons who would be Indian in blood but English in taste and intellect. This became an official education policy and undermined local cultures, knowledge and languages. However, after the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the English language has remained the official language of Pakistan and the obsession with white skin color has grown. Today, society considers individuals (especially women) with fair complexion superior to those with a dark complexion. Fair complexion is a privilege in South Asian countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. In South Asian cultures, the concept of skin and its value are associated with cultural interpretations, behavioral characteristics and notions of ideal women in general (Philips 2004). However, fair-skinned men also enjoy a 'pretty privilege:' for instance, a Pakistani actor, Khaqan Shahnawaz, acknowledged his privileges due to his 'green eyes, fair skin and conventional good looks'. For this reason, fair skin color is considered more than just aesthetics: it can impact one's social status and career-opportunities. Iqbal (2016) argues that preference for a fair complexion is an old norm that still heavily influences Pakistani society and finds its roots in India's whitewashing, which portrayed 'English rose' as the epitome of femininity and propagated biased beauty standards, whereby white is an emblem for purity. However, these beauty standards do not align with modern societies in most countries, but Pakistani society still upholds such beauty standards of colonial societies where fair complexion of skin was seen as "a yardstick for purity and innocence" (Shankar & Subish 2007).

2.1.2 'Ab gora hoga Pakistan' (now Pakistan will be white)

In postcolonial Pakistan, the obsession for white skin is normalized in dramas, songs, movies and cartoons and actively idealized in commercial advertisements. One example is Zubaida Aapa's Whitening Soap[6] (2014) with the tagline 'ab gora hoga Pakistan' (now Pakistan will be white). The commercial begins with a group of sad young women who look at themselves in the mirror with disappointment. A famous Pakistani chef (Zubaida Aapa) comes in and comforts the young women by touching their faces and says "bachay tou khush hi achay lagtay hain" (children only look good when happy), then introduces her magical whitening soap to the sad young women, who turn happy, while Zubaida Aapa proudly walks past saying "ab gora hoga Pakistan." Although the ad is a bit old, it is still significant, because Pakistani rate white skin very high and want to look 'gora' (white) to be successful in their personal and professional lives. This Gora culture is

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[5] https://franpritchett.com/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html.
[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMbkaR7pmgA.

normal in Pakistan, where even national cricket team players, both current and former, openly use the word 'gora' on national TV channels and in personal vlogs to describe and admire foreign cricket players and coaches. In addition, this word is also used by many foreign, mostly western, vloggers who visit Pakistan and tell their viewers (sometimes in a sarcastic manner) when they get a 'white man's special price' or discount in the local bazars. However, in its modern-day use, the term 'gora' is considered derogatory and racist for white people. Owing to this, a petition was submitted to the British parliament to ban the use of 'gora' in 2013.

2.2. Racism in advertisements

The advertising language has an ideological stance and hidden agendas that are emotional carriers. Therefore, advertisements create social norms and reflect prevalent ones. Kress (2010) illustrates how powerful institutions make meaning and shape us and our society through social semiosis, identity and knowledge. This underscores the importance of language use within specific contexts, because speaker and recipient do not hold the same position in many contexts. Gee (2014) further emphasizes the need for language analysis to focus on the syntax used in discourse, meaning that looking at words, how they are used and who they are used for can help us understand underlying ideologies in context. Many advertisements have been criticized for normalizing racist stereotypes over the years. These adverts promote racial ideologies and depict marginalized communities in stereotypical and subordinate roles. Hall (1997) and Entman & Rojecki (2001) document how media portrayals, including advertising, endorse and support the construction of racial hierarchies and prejudices. Similarly, media representations of women in patriarchal societies reinforce certain harmful stereotypes, which undermine women's role and their contribution to society. Kilbourne (1999) and Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) highlight how advertisements depict women in a sexualized manner, often objectifying them, and normalizing gender inequality. Such a portrayal of women may have adverse psychological effects on women. In this connection, race and women representation in marketing communication should not be studied in isolation, because advertising actively contributes to creating and reflecting cultural and social values and norms. Fairclough (1992) proposes spreading Critical Language Awareness to resist the potential harmful effects of discourse. Finally, Stibbe (2014) similarly suggests that exposing the manipulation of commercial discourses could help customers resist the manipulative effects of adverts and make informed decision about the advertised products.

2.3 Marriage preferences

Hundal[7] (2010) points out that the majority of young women would prefer fair skin for an ideal marriage proposal and relationship, because women in South Asian societies are repeatedly told that men will not marry them if they have darker skin. This leads to anxiety and depression among young women who cannot respond to this demand. The idea of achieving fairer skin is linked with success in Pakistan and that is why women are taught to believe that they can only be successful in their lives if they have the desired skin color. This makes young women use fairness creams and get harmful skin whitening injections to increase their chances of getting married while young. Colorism is further endorsed by

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[7] http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/apr/01/skin-whitening-death-thailand.

marriage bureaus, match-matching websites and 'rishty wali aunties' (middle-aged ladies who find an ideal marriage match): they describe an ideal woman with words like 'fair' and 'slim,' and list these as qualities for an ideal match. In 2020, a match-making website, Shaadi.com, was forced to remove the 'skin color' filter from its platform, which asked visitors to choose potential matches from their listings according to their fair, whitish or dark complexion (Arab News 2020)[8]. Because of this demand, women feel obliged to undergo special makeover procedures months before their marriage, to look fair at their wedding. In addition, at wedding ceremonies, skilled photographers are hired to use high-quality camera lens and effects to make the bride look fair in the photographs. In addition to dowry and other expenses, thousands of rupees are spent on photography and salons to hide the bride's natural skin to make her appear white on her special day. This shows how expensive and painstaking it is for women to look fair, as well as the level of stress, rejection, bullying and inferiority that women with a darker complexion have to go through. It is interesting to note that lighter skin color is associated with beauty and is considered a status symbol for both women and men in the upper-middle and elite classes. However, when it comes to marriages, only brides are often whitewashed to hide their natural skin color. A study conducted on a South Asian marriage website by Jha and Adelman (2009)[9] found that women with "very fair" and "fair" skin tone had a higher success rate and had no problem in finding romantic matches. On the other hand, dark skinned women were "falling through the matrimonial cracks" and, interestingly, the study did not come across a sole case where a dark-skinned man had married a "very dark" skinned woman (p. 76).

2.4 Exclusive language and stereotype in TV serials

The construction of white skin as superior and more successful leads to the exclusion of other identities. However, blaming Pakistani's colonial past for the obsession with white skin is not enough. Pakistani media are equally responsible for actively endorsing and promoting this colonial ideology. Drama serials are popular in every Pakistani household, and they are supposed to reflect Pakistani lifestyles, highlight social issues, and promote values. However, a case study of Pakistani dramas reported by Nisar (2015)[10] showed that no drama had a protagonist in a lead role who had a dark skin complexion like most of the Pakistani population (p. 3). Actors are casted based on their looks and skin color, while some actors get a makeover to look fair on the screen to impress both men and women. This is done consciously because actors as well as directors know that the local audience are obsessed with fair skin, and they exploit this audience bias. In the local drama industry, those who have fair skin are preferred for lead roles because viewers like them for their looks. Recently, in 2022, a Pakistani drama named 'Meray humnasheen' (My partner) was called out for its stereotypical portrayal of Pashtuns, who make up 20% of the population of Pakistan and are the second largest ethnic group in the country. Viewers criticized the drama director and an actor, Ahsan Khan, who played the role of Pashtun character Darakhzai in the drama. According to social media users, the drama misrepresents Pashtuns as "illiterate," "drug-addicted," and "extremist" who have no

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[8] https://www.arabnews.com/node/1703611/lifestyle.
[9] http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/intellect/safm0.
[10] http://tribune.com.pk/story/853244/11- pakistani-dramas-you-cant-miss-this-year.

education or tolerance and are against women's rights (The Express Tribune 2022)[11]. These stereotypes and colorism are further propagated in songs, as discussed in the following section.

2.5 Colorism in songs

Discriminatory and racist language is commonly used in dramas and songs in Pakistan and India. For example, words like 'gora rang' (fair skin) are normally used in Pakistani songs, dramas and advertisements. Fair skin is sung and celebrated in many songs. A classic example is the 1993 song by Vital Signs 'Goray rang ka zamana' (the age of fair skin), which goes "goray rang ka zamana kabhi hoga na purana" (the age of fair skin will never get old, Iqbal 2016: 4). It should be noted that colorism and discriminatory lyrics have a long history in the South Asian entertainment and advertisement industry. In 2020, a Hindi Bollywood movie came under extreme criticism on social media for its controversial song 'Beyoncé sharma jayegi' (Beyoncé will be ashamed) which reads: "when you dance, watching you, oh fair-skinned girl, Beyoncé will be ashamed." The film director was forced to change the lyrics of the song, but many songs continue to promote prejudice over color: songs like 'Chittiyan kalaiyaan' (Light-skinned wrists), and 'Dil dance maare re,' (Very happy in my heart), which begins with "seeing a white face, my heart beats faster," for example, remain unchanged (CNN 2020)[12]. Both songs have collectively hit 805 million views on YouTube alone (data was retrieved on 10 April 2023). These are just a few examples of many similar songs. A simple search on YouTube with the keywords "Gora rang songs" will show many songs that celebrate fair skin. However, colorism and exclusive language are not confined to songs, movies, or dramas, but they are also present in children's cartoons. Laura's (2019)[13] article entitled "India's white-washed children's cartoons" identified that Indian cartoons depicted a "white-washed" version of India because most of the cartoon characters had blue eyes and white skin, and people with darker skin tone were excluded. In many cases, colorism is reported in Hindu art where gods are whitewashed. Fair (white) Pakistani and Indians treat dark skinned persons as 'desi' (local) black Africans. This colonial bias is naturalized as a dominant discourse by the entertainment and news industry, as discussed in the following section.

2.6 Kaali aandhi (Dark storm)

Colorism is a dominant discourse, ideologically formed by media institutions in Pakistani society. According to Fairlcough (1995), a dominant discourse can naturalize ideological norms as if these norms were acknowledged by the public as 'common sense.' Words such as 'kaala/kaali' (dark) are frequently used in Pakistani media and are also commonly employed as words of affection, sarcasm and insult. For example, the West Indies cricket team used to be described as 'Kaali aandhi' (Dark storm) by Pakistani national media in the early 1990s and 2000s. Earlier, it was well received by the local population, until 2014, when social media users urged Pakistani media to refrain from using such exclusive and

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[11] https://tribune.com.pk/story/2356970/ahsan-khans-pashtun-character-in-meray-humnasheen-called-out-for-cultural-appropriation-stereotyping.

[12] https://edition.cnn.com/2020/09/15/us/colorism-bollywood-song-beyonce-trnds/index.html.

[13] https://www.darkisbeautiful.in/media-literacy/indias-white-washed-childrens-cartoons.

racist language by signing an online petition ('Pakistani media to avoid using racist comment about West Indies,' Kaali Andhi/Black Storm 2014, gopetition.com)[14]. But it did not stop here. In 2019, Pakistan's cricket team captain, Sarfraz Ahamed, was banned by ICC (International Cricket Council) over racist comments, as he was caught using racial slurs against a South African player during a live cricket match (BBC 2019)[15]. One year later, a cricketer from the West Indies, Daren Sammy, wrote on Instagram that he had faced racism while playing IPL (Indian Premier League). Sammy said he had been called 'kaalu' (black) by his Indian teammates. He did not know what that word meant, but he only became aware of its racial connotations after he watched a television show which highlighted the issue (Aljazeera 2020)[16]. These discriminatory words are deeply entrenched in Indian and Pakistani society, so that calling someone 'kaalu' (used for men) or 'kaali' (used for women) is not even considered problematic. Many friends and family members nickname dark skinned children 'kaalu' or 'kaali' within families, and these children are often treated unfairly by their friends, classmates and siblings because of their dark skin. For this reason, Pakistan's marginalized African community is fighting for its survival and basic human rights. Pakistan's first 'sheedi' (a discriminatory term referred to Pakistani Africans) lawmaker pledged to fight the scourge of racism in Pakistan. Tanzeela Ume Habiba, an African Pakistani, also told the Thomson Reuters Foundation that "the majority brown skin community considers itself the white community of America and superior to us" (Reuters 2020)[17]. Tanzeela added that her community is considered 'jahil' (ignorant) and 'jungli' (wild) and has been facing problems in finding jobs and marriage proposals because of prevalent social injustice. As mentioned earlier, these racial biases and colorism exist within society, to the extent that they are even present in public school textbooks, which have played a significant role in creating an intolerant society in Pakistan.

2.7. Public school textbooks

In 2021, the Pakistani Minorities Teachers' Association took a stand against the portrayal of Christians as black people on page 55 of a grade 2 Urdu textbook published by a provincial curriculum and textbook board. Teachers wrote a letter to the Prime Minister Imran Khan and shared their reservations. According to the Union of Catholic Asian News (2021)[18], the book narrates a children's story with "children referring to a 'black boy' as a Christian who brings *halva* (pudding) for others. When a young girl says that she does not eat anything from black people, her friend advocates inner goodness, referring to the teachings of Prophet Muhammad."

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[14]https://www.gopetition.com/petitions/pakistan-media-to-avoid-using-racist-comment-about-west-indies-kaali-andhiblackl.

[15] https://www.bbc.com/sport/cricket/47019134.

[16] https://www.aljazeera.com/sports/2020/6/10/cricketer-daren-sammy-says-he-faced-racism-during-india-ipl-stint.

[17] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-race-sheedi-trfn-idF.

[18] https://www.ucanews.com/news/academics-demand-removal-of-racist-image-in-pakistan.

Figure 1: A grade 2 Urdu book, published by the Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board, shows children playing carrom board and talking about a dark-skinned boy who has brought pudding for them

Textbooks in Pakistan teach prejudice, bias and hatred against minority faiths and cultures. According to the findings of a report published by United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (2010-11)[19], Pakistani public-school textbooks are biased towards non-Muslim faiths, teach "bias, distrust and inferiority" and "portray non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan as sympathetic towards its perceived enemies: Pakistani Christians as Westerners or equal to British colonial oppressors, and Pakistani Hindus as Indians, the arch enemy of Pakistan." This stereotypical representation of certain religious and cultural communities in the national curriculum has created a dent in Pakistani society whereby fellow Pakistanis are considered untrustworthy and religiously and culturally inferior based on their faiths. This stereotype is naturalized by many Punjabi and Urdu Pakistani dramas which portray Christians as sweepers who have very dark skin.

3. Methodology

3.1 Theoretical framework

The analysis of the selected advertisements is carried out by employing Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework. As language is a type of social practice for Fairclough, this study's analytic method follows a cultural approach which presents advertising as "artifacts of material culture" (Crockett 2008: 247), interpreted as socially constructed texts. This study argues that advertising should be considered a symbolic form of communication to reveal underlying stereotypes of socially constructed norms in advertising, as Hall (1997) proposes that language and representation should be traced within cultural texts (Bencker 2021: 31). In this connection, a discursive approach is relevant for this study. For Hall, discourse is "more concerned with the effects and consequences of representation – its 'politics'" (p. 6). As stated earlier, CDA views language as a form of social practice and allows the study of discourse in its context to denaturalize dominant discourses. Critical discourse analysis aims to reveal the discursive

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[19] https://www.uscirf.gov/publications/teaching-intolerance-pakistan-religious-bias-public-school-textbooks.

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nature of social power relations. In a similar vein, Wodak & Meyer (2015: 13) state: "CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use or in discourse."

3.2 3-D Model

The present study is qualitative in design and employs Fairclough's (1995) theoretical framework which involves three phases: "social practice, discoursal practice (text production, distribution and consumption), and texts" (p. 74). This method requires "linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and texts, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive practices and the social processes" (p. 97).

Figure 2: Presents dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995, p. 98)
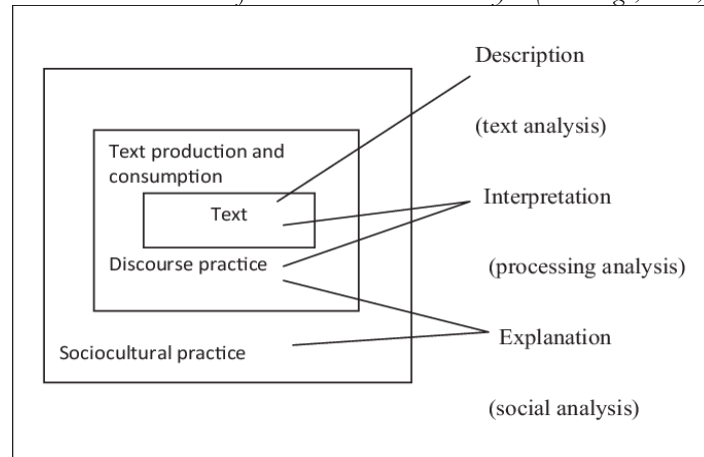
Applying this concept, I argue that advertisements are not only reflective of ideological structures underlying society, but they also actively contribute to our consciousness. For the present study, Fairclough's analytical model is used as a research tool to reveal underlying ideologies that promote stereotypes in Pakistani society and explain how their subordinate roles are normalized through discursive power relations in Pakistani advertisements.

4. Data Analysis

In this section, a qualitative methodology is employed to conduct a critical discourse analysis of selected advertisements. The data for this study has purposefully been selected from Web sources, with the aim of revealing underlying ideologies embedded within advertising discourse. It also examines semiotic dimensions of advertisements to pay attention to the linguistic and visual elements used in discourse (Van Dijk, 1995).

4.1 Faiza beauty cream

As mentioned in literature, white skin is an object of obsession and construction of societal preference in Pakistani society. The ad for whitening Faiza beauty cream in Figure 3 is a classic example of this obsession:

Advertised on Facebook and TV, this brand endorses "white is beautiful" as a natural beauty standard. It frames this concept of beauty as if it is desired by most women, and reinforces the socially constructed idea of what a beautiful woman should look like. Fairclough's model makes it possible to focus on textual aspects of this discourse and critically view how linguistic patterns are used. This ad directly addresses the reader in an overly positive tone to promise unrealistic results within a week, as its claim "achieve the skin you've always wanted in as early as 7 days" invites addressees to "be part of those who achieved it." The recipients of the message are already assumed to want to get rid of their natural skin color as they are encouraged to "ACHIEVE" success by becoming white.

Slogans in this ad are conversational in nature as the addresser presupposes customers' needs and engages them in an imaginary conversation. Person deixis, such as the first person 'we' and 'us,' as well as the second persons 'you' and 'YOUR,' are used to emphasize the message even more. Second person deictics are used three times to make the message more personal and psychological. In addition, typefaces are skillfully employed to communicate a personal and influential tone of voice (White 2007). In the first text, script fonts are strategically used for visual effect on the customers, to influence their decisions based on manipulation. This manipulation is furthered by using the pink color, conventionally associated to women, to make the advertisement look more elegant, as pink, in color psychology, represents hope and comfort (Harutyunyan 2015). In the second part of the text, uppercase letters are used to convey the authority and legitimacy of the message because "WE ONLY SELL RESULTS." The agenda in this ad is not just commercial, but also actively promotes fairness as the beauty standard. Hussain et al. (2021) find a similar agenda of fairness as a touchstone in a recent Pakistani fairness cream advertisement, 'Fair and lovely.' After criticism, 'Fair and lovely' rebranded itself as 'Glow and lovely' by dropping the word 'fair.'

This advertisement exploits women by suggesting that purchasing this product will make them 'beautiful,' thus implying that dark or brown-skinned women are inherently not beautiful. In doing so, it reinforces harmful beauty standards and adds to the marginalization of dark-skinned women. The advertisers use a wide of array of tactics to enforce their agenda, including using high-quality camera effects and casting fair-skinned models to pose for the banner. For example, the position each of the four women

occupies in the photograph is deliberate, with the darkest-skinned woman positioned on the left-hand side and the fairest-skinned woman on the right-hand side. This arrangement indicates a 'journey' from dark to fair skin.

Rather than questioning the stereotypical beauty standards prevalent in Pakistan, fairness cream advertisers reproduce the association of white skin with success in personal and professional life, which further increases anxiety, insecurity and complexity in young women. It is worth mentioning that colonization ended over 75 ago, but both India and Pakistan continue to uphold a colonial ideology of colorism. For this reason, women in these countries find it difficult to fight colorism, as it is normalized within local cultures. In many families, it is normal for mothers to expect their sons to marry a 'fair' skinned woman, supporting the very harmful 'fair is lovely' beauty standard. Furthermore, this harmful beauty standard is reinforced through many local Pakistani and Indian TV serials and movies, where dark-skinned girls are portrayed in subordinate roles, dressed poorly, and play weak characters. In contrast, fair-skinned girls are dressed in so-called modern, often western dresses, and play strong and independent characters. To counter the whitewashing of women and social obsession with only 'fair is lovely,' the 'Dark is beautiful'[20]campaign was launched in India in 2009. Endorsed by celebrities like Nandita Das, a dark-skinned actress who proudly embraces her natural skin tone, the campaign has received significant support both locally and internationally.

4.2 Molty foam

The second ad in this analysis is Molty foam's billboard for a mattress company. According to the official website, this brand has been around since 1963 and it has produced many TV commercials over the years, including a social campaign for 'women empowerment' because the manufacturers are "supporters of women equality and understand and acknowledge that women play a very critical role in society."

Figure 4: Billboards in the main cities of Pakistan present a father blessing his daughter who is getting married, https://www.facebook.com/p/Kashif-Foam-Center-100063938331369/

However, they have attracted criticism for overtly promoting dowry in their commercial campaigns, like in the billboard shown in Figure 4, where a bride is being blessed by a father who is proudly fulfilling his perceived responsibility by providing his daughter with

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[20] https://www.darkisbeautiful.in.

a mattress as part of dowry. TV commercials of this company draw a parallel between the father-daughter relation in marriage and the gift of a mattress in the similar manner. Visual aspects of this advertisement include use of the Urdu language and bold fonts to capture the viewer's attention, although the product itself is not displayed. Instead, the text mentions that Molty foam is made of 'asli' (original) foam, highlighting the company's expertise by displaying a medal on the billboard. Even more emphasis, however, is given to the symbolic association between the mattress and the father's trust and responsibility of getting his daughter married.

Moreover, by dressing the bride in red, a color associated with local Pakistani marriage cultures, the advert localizes the message, reinforces traditional gender roles and promotes the harmful tradition of dowry. The father-daughter relation is also commercialized and exploited. Employing Fairclough's framework, it can be established that the company is promoting a controversial tradition, i.e. dowry. Discussing the social and economic aspects of dowry, Pasha et al. (2019)[21] consider dowry a "curse on Pakistani women and their families" and argue that it is an old practice of demanding gifts from the bride's family in the form of cash, jewelry, and other expensive items at the time of marriage. The advertiser naturalizes this custom by depicting an ideal image of a father who bids farewell to his daughter and gives her a mattress as a marriage gift. The explanation phase of Fairclough's model also exposes the reproduction of this discourse, because dowry creates social and psychological pressure on parents to be 'responsible and loving' by providing expensive material gifts. Not everyone can afford such expensive items in a country like Pakistan, where more than 40 million people live below the poverty line and hardly earn $3.65 per day. Consequently, when dowry expectations are not met, brides and their families are harassed. As per The Express Tribune (2016)[22], over 2,000 dowry related deaths were reported in 2016 in Pakistan, which is the highest such toll in the world. In 2017, The Express Tribune published a tragic story of Madiha, a 22-year-old newly married girl. This article revealed that Madiha was killed by her husband and his family for not providing her husband with a motorbike as part of her dowry.

Despite open condemnation and uncensored reporting on violence caused by dowry, most people in Pakistan openly practice dowry and justify it on religious grounds. To educate people on this issue, the Chairperson of the Council of Islamic Ideology, Dr. Qibla Ayaz, recorded a special message for the nation, which was aired by one of Pakistan's biggest news and entertainment channels, GEO TV, in 2018. As per Islamic teaching, Dr. Ayaz said, "Islam categorically discourages the practice of demanding or expecting dowry from a bride's family" (Pasha et al. 2019). This disapproval by a religious scholar on the national TV encouraged voices from other areas of society to speak up. Thus, a campaign launched against dowry by UN Women localized this problem by coining the Urdu term 'jahezkhori,' and used the hashtags #StopJahezkhori (Stop dowry mongering) on social media. This campaign was endorsed by many celebrities and local Pakistanis. More recently, in 2021, a Pakistani fashion designer, Ali Xeeshan, collaborated with UN Women Pakistan to launch an anti-dowry campaign to highlight "epochal and alarming issue of families fretting over saving money for their daughters' dowry (Jahez) instead of their education that is more important," as Xeeshan wrote in an Instagram post.

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[21] https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2019/11/un-women-hits-back-at-the-scourge-of-dowry-in-pakistan.

[22] https://tribune.com.pk/article/47476/pakistan-kills-about-2000-women-per-year-over-dowry.

Figure 5: Taken from Ali Xeeshan's Twitter account, this picture symbolizes the economic burden a girl has to carry in order to marry in Pakistan

However, Xeeshan was criticized for commercializing the campaign and for his allegedly double standards, because the designer sells couture and wedding gowns for thousands of dollars (Vice 2021)[23]. While the divide over the legitimacy of dowry in Pakistani society still exists at the expense of lives of young girls like Madiha and their parents' mental health and social pressure, some corporates continue to perpetuate this harmful practice by naturalizing it in their advertisements.

4.3 Careem's advertisement

Careem is a Dubai-based bike sharing service like Uber. It came under intense criticism for its billboard advertisement with the tagline 'Apni shadi se bhagna ho tou Careem Bike karo!' (If you want to run away from your marriage, book Careem's Bike ride).

Figure 6: Careem's billboards advertised in the main cities of Pakistan show a bride extending her arm to Careem Bike for help to elope from her wedding, https://images.dawn.com/news/1182115

Visuals in this billboard are analyzed again in line with Fairclough's model. Deixis in this advertisement addresses the reader directly, using the second person pronoun 'apni' (your). The font style lays emphasis on 'bhagna' (run away) and 'Careem bike' to link

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[23] https://www.vice.com/en/article/akd8vb/fashion-designer-dowry-pakistan-viral-campaign.

eloping with freedom, as these words are in yellow, while the rest of this advert's text is in white. As in the previous advertisement, the bride is traditionally dressed in red and is placed at the center of billboard to draw public attention. This raises a sense of urgency and alarm, as the message ends with an exclamation mark, and this punctuation has psychological effects on our brain, causing people to panic when they see it (The Guardian 2022)[24]. Thus, language used in this advert is alarming and reinforces anti-social behavior. The message, targeted towards young women, portrays an excited and smiling bride extending her arm, symbolizing help from Careem to run away from marriage. Ironically, the billboard's color is green, which refers to peace, and is also the color of Careem App, creating a contrast with the anti-social behavior being encouraged. The billboard ridicules a serious social problem and manipulates young women into eloping for commercial interests. Schroeder & Zwick (2004) caution that advertising communication creates cultural meanings and ideas that can influence how consumers think. Displayed across major cities, Careem's ad was visible to all age groups. Eloping is against local norms and values in Pakistan and can be very consequential in conservative societies. On top of that, eloping is not just considered to be a risky and irresponsible action, but it also has consequences in terms of honor in the local cultures, so it can incite violence against women. According to Arab News (2022)[25], hundreds of women are killed every year in Pakistan in so-called "honor killings that punish women for eloping." Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) revealed that 430 cases of honor killings were reported in 2020, which included 363 females and 148 males. This data speaks volumes of the risk involved in such behavior, which Careem's billboard tries to normalize in Pakistani society. With 12 million young women already out of schools (World Bank 2023)[26] and just 23.31% female workforce (Trading Economics 2023) [27], advertisements like these could lead to even greater problems for women's freedom of movement.

4.4 Dawlance Canvas LED TV

A short video advert posted on Instagram begins with a husband getting irritated by his wife's continuous rants. She reminds him to do his work while he is either seen sleeping or listening to music. Annoyed by his wife's complaints, the husband uses the TV remote control to mute her and tells viewers to mute surrounding noises to enjoy the world at home.

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[24] https://www.theguardian.com/science/2022/nov/17/im-spontaneous-im-sincere-im-infantile-and-deeply-annoiyng-how-the-exclamation-mark-divided-the-world.
[25] https://www.arabnews.pk/node/2028836/pakistan.
[26] https://blogs.worldbank.org/en/education/facing-challenges-girls-education.
[27] https://tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/labor-force-female-percent-of-total-labor-force-wb-data.

This advertisement depicts women in a stereotypical manner and reinforces male dominance within households. The caption, "As pass k shor ko kardo mute[28] so you can enjoy the world a home with Daw lance Canvas LED TV," normalizes silencing your wife and conveys the idea that her concerns are distractions to her husband's entertainment. As the video progresses, the wife is portrayed as solely responsible for household chores, while her husband's only concern is entertainment, so the advert supports traditional gender roles and belittles the wife's contributions to the household. In highly patriarchal societies, advertisements suggesting silencing women can further marginalize them and devalue their contribution to society. In addition, comparing the wife's communication with disruptive noises suggests that her concerns are not important compared to her husband's leisure. This reinforces the stereotype of the nagging wife and frames the husband in a more authoritative position in a husband-wife relation. Overall, this advertisement not only reproduces objectionable gender stereotypes but also normalizes unequal power dynamics within relationships. This trivial representation of women in Pakistani media and advertisements often reduces their roles in society. These portrayals also validate the stereotype of nagging housewives seen in dramas and movies. Instead of positively uplifting the contribution of Pakistani women by portraying them as equally responsible and strong, these adverts approve and normalize outdated gender stereotypes. Given that the country already has one of the lowest female work force rates in South Asia, this representation of women will further justify their oppression and limit their chances of participation in the country's economy and society.

5. Conclusions

This study analyzed four advertisements through Fairlcough's framework, to highlight stereotypical representations of women in Pakistani advertisements. It revealed how

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[28] Translation: "Mute the noise around."

certain frames and social norms are naturalized in the selected advertisements. The study not only challenges the naturalization of stereotypical practices and gender stereotypes in society through commercial discourse, but also emphasizes the positive representation of women in local advertisements. It also argues that advertising ought to be used as an effective tool to challenge rooted colonial colorism and social stereotypes. In addition, it has pointed out how certain harmful practices promoted by ad-makers could further marginalize women in Pakistani society and incite violence against them. However, according to Sweeney (2013)[29], studies like this raise more questions than they answer, because societies remain divided due to their own biases and stereotypes. It is for future studies to explore how social biases divide people within a diverse country like Pakistan and have an influence on people and their language.

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Travel as a process of identification with a new culture: Alexandra David-Néel and Isabelle Eberhardt

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Abstract: This chapter is a journey around peregrination as conquest or liberation in female travel writers' works, where the writers Alexandra David-Néel and Isabelle Eberhardt will serve as examples. These two women reinvented themselves thanks to cultural, intellectual and linguistic nomadism. Indeed, they questioned colonialism, learned Tibetan and Arabic and converted to new religions – Buddhism and Sufism – in order to define themselves through a different culture and explore the plurality of their identity.

Keywords: travel writing, nomadism, identity, postcolonial studies

1. Introduction

Alexandra David-Néel and Isabelle Eberhardt are two explorers and authors nomadism allowed to break away from a more traditional destiny. They were able to reinvent their identities with the help of a new culture. Growing up in the 19th century, they challenged gender norms by deciding to travel alone at a time when women were more associated with the idea of immobility than men. First, we will see how David-Néel and Eberhardt are interested in nomadism, then what strategies they use to travel freely, particularly through disguise. Thirdly, we will focus on conversion to a new religion since it seems to be part of their identity process. Finally, we will see how learning a new language contributes to self-reinvention for these two women.

To understand what travel means to them, we must first understand the place of women in the 19th century in France and Switzerland, the countries of origin of both writers. If men have always been perceived as travelers, whether through the figure of the conqueror or through the practice of the Grand Tour (travel in Europe to educate young men), women are associated with immobility since their role is mainly to take care of the home. Nevertheless, Carl Thompson showed that the man-woman opposition was no so radical: "The 1980s witnessed several pioneering anthologies of women's early travel writing, amply demonstrating an extensive female tradition in what many had assumed to be an overwhelmingly – perhaps inherently – masculine genre"[1]. Indeed, some women (in the aristocratic classes) already had access to travel in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the development of tourism allowed women to discover the world as well, but they travelled with tutors or chaperones, which did not allow for an in-depth discovery of the country, or even a real emancipation. And even when they were able to travel, their testimonies were supposed to remain in conformity with the requirements of acceptability, which is to say, to be limited to topics relating to native customs and habits. Thus, even their travel writing was codified. This is why Alexandra David-Néel and

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* Doctoral researcher, University of Glasgow.
[1] Thompson, C. (2017) 'Journeys to authority: reassessing women's early travel writing, 1763-1862', *Women's Writing*, 24, 131.

Isabelle Eberhardt are particularly interesting to study, because they break its codes, and they offer a freer vision of women's travel and its writing.

This desire and need for travel and emancipation are visible from the childhood of these two women. Alexandra David-Néel was born in 1868 in Saint-Mandé in France, and she died in 1969, in Dignes-les-bains (France). At the age of five, she ran away to the Bois de Vincennes before being found by the police and brought back to her parents. When she turned fifteen, she ran away again and fled to Flessingue, where she took a boat to England. She is known as an orientalist, opera singer, feminist, journalist, writer and explorer since she traveled to Lhasa in 1924, when it was forbidden to enter Tibet. Thus, she became the first European to go there.

Isabelle Eberhardt was born is 1877 in Geneva (Switzerland), and she died in 1904, in Aïn-Sefra in Algeria. When she was a teenager, she already dressed as a boy to come and go as she wished while she frequented anarchist circles. Eberhardt was a journalist (more precisely a war reporter, which was extremely rare for a woman) and writer, well known for her trip to Algeria where she discovered nomadic life in the desert. She spent much of her life dressed as a man under the name of Mahmoud Saadi.

2. Nomadism

While Alexandra David-Néel had a precise goal (going to Lhassa), Isabelle Eberhardt decided to have a wandering life. She perfectly represents the figure of the vagabond. Before the 19th century, in France as in Switzerland, the vagabond was a threat to society, a marginal figure, one who was outside known categories and therefore represented deviance. This was all the more the case for vagrant women who were always associated with prostitution; from an etymological point of view, "la péripatéticienne" (a French term for prostitute[2]) is the one who walks. It was only at the end of the 19th century that, thanks to literature (and authors such as Victor Hugo who, in his book *Les Misérables*, depicts the peregrinations of Jean Valjean), the image of the vagabond changed and became more synonymous with revolt and freedom. As Dunlaith Bird explains in her book *Travelling in different skins: gender identity in European women's oriental travelogues, 1850-1950*: "from the position of marginality, the vagabond becomes the most privileged of people[3]." Indeed, for Bird, the wanderer is privileged because they have total freedom of movement, and by traveling have the opportunity to redefine themselves infinitely. It is this evolution that Isabelle Eberhardt represents.

Much more than the journey, these two women are drawn to the possibility of having access to new practices (social, religious, masculine, etc.) and of reinventing themselves through the performative. For them, identity becomes a process and no longer something fixed. The idea of an identity in movement is found in the way the two women move in space. Indeed, the vision of nomadism that the two writers have is close to that of the philosopher Gilles Deleuze. He explains in his book *Mille Plateaux* – published in 1980 – that nomadism favors spatiality over temporality. He says that "nomads are always in the middle ... They have neither past nor future, only becomings. They have no history, only geography[4]." Of course, that does not mean that nomads have no past, but rather that nomads define themselves by the way they occupy space and not by the attachment

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[2] From the Greek *peripatetikos*, which gave the Latin word *peripateticus*.

[3] Bird, D. (2012) Travelling in different skins: gender identity in women's oriental travelogues, 1850-1950, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20.

[4] Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1980) Mille plateaux, Paris: Minuit, 449.

they have to their native land or to their heritage. In the life of nomads, geography takes precedence over history. Nomadism is more than just a way of travelling, it is a new way of looking at identity. By becoming nomads, Isabelle Eberhardt and Alexandra David-Néel reinvent themselves through their relationship with new spaces and new cultures, rather than through their heritage.

That being said, we will see that they never rejected their European identities, but rather they lived with multiple identities that cohabit and offer a coherence to the self.

3. The disguise

Thus, the process of identification with a new culture referred to above takes the form of a disguise. Indeed, Alexandra David-Néel plans to go to Tibet while it is prohibited to enter the country. She knows she will have to disguise herself in order to pretend to be a Tibetan beggar. The success of her journey rests largely on this disguise. For her part, Isabelle Eberhardt also chooses to wear local clothing but she wears male clothing. In fact, to ensure that she could travel more freely and blend in with the crowd, she chose to disguise herself as an Algerian rider. Is the disguise of these two women just a strategy, a role they have to play out of necessity, or does it become a part of their identity?

Isabelle Eberhardt writes in her book *Amours nomades* "j'échangeais mes vêtements de femme contre la tenue qui convenait à mes projets pour le reste de la journée[5]." Her men's clothes are, at first, only a way for her to achieve her ends. Her costume evolves according to the places she crosses but the recurring outfit is, as we said, that of the Algerian rider wearing a *gandouras* (a sleeveless tunic worn under the *bournous*), a white *burnouses* (a large hooded wool coat) , a white turban with veils on her head and a black rosary. She does not hesitate to shave her head to make the result more realistic. When she traveled in Morocco, her costume was different: "et maintenant, pour sortir, je me suis transformée en Marocain, délaissant le lourd harnais des cavaliers Algériens pour la légère djellaba blanche, les chaussures jaunes qu'on met aux pieds nus, et le petit turban blanc sans voile, enroulé en auréole autour d'une chechiya[6]." The disguise permits entry into the male space but also into the Arab space, into what Mary Louise Pratt calls "contact zone:" "a social space where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination[7]." It is a phenomenon that we find in colonized countries and what Eberhardt refers to when she is in Algeria: "les deux mondes voisins, le moden européen et le monde arabe, se chevauchent et se côtoient sans jamais se mélanger[8]." The East-West opposition does not facilitate cultural and human relations. This Western prism through which the East is seen corresponds to what is called Orientalism. For Edward Said, "Orientalism is an ideological process that constructs subjects in a comparative relationship in which the East is seen as an entity inferior to the West[9]." As a European, Isabelle Eberhardt had grown up with these representations, so her position was initially ambiguous. She dreamt of a union between the Arabs and the French and was close to anarchist colonists. Moreover, as Irmgard Sharold explains, Isabelle Eberhardt had to be close, at least to a certain extent,

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[5] Eberhardt, I. (2008) Amours nomades, Paris: Gallimard, 16.
[6] Eberhardt, I (1990) Écrits sur le sable, Paris: Grasset, 67.
[7] Gillian R. and Blunt A. (1994) Writing women and space, London: Guilford Press, 34.
[8] Eberhardt, I (1990) Écrits sur le sable, Paris : Grasset, 128.
[9] Aitsiselmi Ouhibi, K. (2014) 'Sur les traces de Pierre Loti: Isabelle Eberhardt ou la fin de l'orientalisme ?', *Nouvelles Etudes Francophones*, 29(2), 142.

to the colonial system, since "sa liberté s'appuie sur ce système. Elle n'a pas le choix de s'approprier l'espace infini d'une manière analogue à celle du système colonial[10]." That being said, she quickly realised the abuses of the French government and became increasingly virulent toward them. She decided to live with an identity that she described as "toute arabe."

Indeed, throughout her journey, we understand that Eberhardt's disguise is not just a strategy but a part of herself, what she calls "l'identité rêvée." Nevertheless, she never denies her feminine identity. The use of the masculine in travel writing is not the expression of a gender change but rather of what we could call today a fluidity of gender, which is, for Eberhardt, an immense freedom. Thus, she moves from the feminine 'I' to the masculine 'I' like in *Les Journaliers*[11]: "je suis assis, je suis en face de l'immensité grise de la mer murmurante ... je suis seul ... seul comme je l'ai toujours été[12]," and she adds later in the same book, "j'étais seule et je resterai seule[13]." She offers a hybrid identity even through writing. By this use of language she once again breaks the gender binary opposition and joins the idea developed by Julia Kristeva: "on peut avancer que le recours aux éléments sémiotiques dans l'écriture tend à supprimer la polarité des rôles sexuels pour laisser s'exprimer une combinaison androgyne de tous les possibles d'un être à la recherche de l'intégrité[14]." Indeed, it is thanks to this androgynous combination that she reinvents herself and gradually achieves a quest of her identity. Butler will conclude by saying of Eberhardt: "the hybrid gender identities produced in her travel writing combine layers of theatrical cross-dressed performance with performativity, the social regulation of gender[15]."

In Alexandra David-Néel's case, the disguise is also primarily a way of disappearing and being able to go to Lhassa. She disguises herself as a poor Tibetan. For this to be credible, she has to think of all the details; she does not have a hat (she will find one later) so she wraps a belt on her head, a red one to indicate that she is a widow. She is creative and used to costumes since she comes from the world of the stage, as she was a singer at the opera. In this way, she even pays attention to her hairstyle: "je m'étais coupé les cheveux. Dès qu'il a été décidé que je voyagerais sous le costume laic, je l'ai laissé repousser[16]," but still not being long enough to look like a Tibetan, so she is forced to use "des crins de yak[17]." She also wears huge earrings to change the shape of her face, and she colors her skin to darken it, as she explains *in Voyage d'une Parisienne à Lhassa*: "je vais me poudrer le visage d'un mélange de braise et de poudre de cacao[18]." She appropriates Tibetan identification codes to be one of them. But it is not only a strategy, it is also a way for her to conquer her identity. Indeed, she finds a part of herself through this identification, but for different reasons to Eberhardt. Indeed, the disguise of David-Néel gives her access to Lhasa and also allows her to be accosted by locals, which is precious to her. That said, this role also brings her moments of frustration since she had a role of

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[10]Scharold, I. (2013) 'Le désert comme emblème du non-lieu de la femme : Isabelle Eberhardt et sa construction de soi en musulman nomade', *Scènes des genres au Maghreb*, 11, 65.

[11] The word 'seul' (alone) is used several times. 'Seul' being the masculine and 'seule' with a 'e' the feminine.

[12] Eberhardt, I. (2003) Lettres et Journaliers, Paris: Babel, 56.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Kristeva, J. (1991) Étrangers à nous-même, Paris: Gallimard, 78.

[15] Butler, J. (1988) 'Performative acts and gender constitution: an essay in phenomenology and feminist theory', *Theatre Journal*, 40, 522.

[16] David-Néel, A. (2004) Voyage d'une parisienne à Lhassa, Paris: Pocket, 40.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

observer. A convincing example is that of Yogden's invitation to talk about philosophy in Lhassa, when Alexandra writes: "très probablement, mes habits laïques et mon sexe m'eussent tenue à l'écart de la pièce où les tournois philosophiques des Lettres auraient eu lieu[19]."

In spite of this, her identity was constructed through this journey, which above all enabled her to acquire the status of lama (Buddhist priest) and thus became part of the Buddhist community. Indeed, she identifies as a Buddhist and sincerely desires to embrace Tibetan culture. In addition, for David-Néel, the occupation of geographical space goes hand in hand with the real understanding of the other: "je t'assure que lorsqu'on rumine les théories hindoues dans la jungle où elles sont nées, on les voit sous un tout autre jour que les éminents chers maîtres qui ne les ont jamais connues dans un cabinet de travail européen[20]." Ideas and culture are tied to geographical space. Asia is a continent that is foreign to David-Néel, as evidenced by this moment:

> Je n'ai jamais rien vu qui ressemble à ce pays-ci. Il y a entre 4000 et 6000 m d'altitude, des paysages extraordinaires, gigantesques, qui paraissent appartenir à un autre monde. Oui c'est bien là, le mot propre, on avance, à travers ces solitudes, timidement, comme un intrus qui s'est faufilé dans une demeure étrangère[21]

which became home, thanks to her perigrinations. This appropriation of the geographical space allows her to meet others and this nourishes the identity of David-Néel. She writes: "quand je parle, ici, avec les brahmanes, ils sentent que je parle la même langue, que je comprends les choses auxquelles correspondent les termes dont ils se servant[22]."

Thus, what begins as a functional disguise becomes a gateway to another culture, one with which the authors come to identify, choosing it over their European heritage. That being said, what also contributes to this reinvention of the self is the conversion to new religions.

4. Religion

Indeed, cultural identification is also done through religion. Alexandra David-Néel defines herself as a Buddhist. Indeed, she was formed by Buddhist studies such as that of the Tibetologist Philippe Édouard Foucaux and Léon Féer, therefore ancient doctrines, supposed to be closer to the Buddha. Indeed, David-Néel follows *Hinayana* doctrines and not the tantric *Vajrayana* (also called Lamaïsm) that she often found when she traveled in Tibet. Buddhism has a double importance for Alexandra David-Néel since it is both a field of study which allows her to assert herself in the intellectual sphere and a possibility of more personal and intimate reinvention. Also, if Isabelle Eberhardt converted to Sufism during her trip to Algeria, this is not the case for Alexandra David-Néel, who became a Buddhist in France, more precisely in Paris, thanks to her studies – "sur les bancs d'une université européenne en étudiant la philosophie orientale[23]" – as she

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[19] Ibid, 162.
[20] David-Néel, A. (2016) Correspondance avec son mari, Édition intégrale 1904-1941, Paris: Plon, 129.
[21] Ibid, 375.
[22] Ibïd.
[23] David-Néel, A. (2019) Journal de voyage. Lettres à son mari, 11 août 1904-1927 décembre 1917, vol. I, Paris: Plon, 124.

explained later to the Dalaï Lama in Kalimpong. In this way, her journey enabled her to combine theory with experience, thereby legitimizing her Buddhist identity.

Indeed, during her trip and her meeting with the Dalaï Lama, she defines herself as a Buddhist and not as a Christian. She is recognized by Buddhists as one of them since she becomes Lama, "the spiritually accomplished teacher" who is "motivated and prepared to act in the service of the world at large[24]." This recognition by others is essential and contributes to self-reinvention. She achieved this recognition following many religious practices. In fact, she makes a spiritual retreat of several weeks in a cave in Himalayas, where she learns meditation as well as the technique of the *tumo* which consists in knowing how to warm up her body. However, during religious ceremonies, notably in Lachen, she judges their theatricality: "jai l'impression d'être sur une scène de théatre[25]," and she also writes "c'est long, long, interminable, entrecoupé de multiples prosternations[26]." Her reaction can be explained by the great variety of Buddhism. According to Cathy Cantwell, "there was a Tibetan saying that every lama has his own practice, as every district has its own dialect[27];" the ceremonies she attends are sometimes far from the traditional Buddhism to which Alexandra David-Néel aspires. Indeed, as we already said, David-Néel follows *Hinayana* doctrines and not the tantric *Vajrayana*. Thereby,

> not surprisingly, there has been a marked discrepancy between descriptions of Tibetan Buddhism based primarily on doctrinal texts and those derived from anthropological studies of life in traditional Tibetan and Himalayan communities[28]

as confirmed by Matthew T. Kapstein. In the book *Le Bouddhisme du Buddha*, David-Néel shows that she has as a certain form of scorn towards popular rituals by explaining that "la doctrine du Bouddha ne demande rien de merveilleux, au surnaturel, elle s'adresse uniquement à notre intelligence[29]." Hence, she smiles ironically at the sight of certain beliefs and sometimes plays with them during her trip to Lhassa. Consequently, self-reinvention through religion is directly linked to postcolonial studies. Marc Kober in his article 'Pourquoi l'orientalisme d'Edward W. Said n'est-il pas un japonisme?' explained that:

> L'Orient indien est à cette époque valorisé, sans doute parce que c'est celui où la France est peu présente comme puissance coloniale et qui peut donc servir de source spirituelle compensatrice pour une époque tourmentée[30].

This shows that the fascination that David-Néel has for India and for Buddhism is itself influenced by the West-East relationship and is not completely detached from an Orientalist gaze. But, despite this position still marked by the Orientalist gaze, Buddhism nourishes the life of David-Néel and it is by immersing herself in this religion and philosophy that she reinvents and appropriates her identity. Indeed, she reinvents the self

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[24] Kapstein, M. (2013) Tibetan Buddhism: a very short introduction. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 3.
[25] Ibid, 156.
[26] Ibid, 158.
[27] Cantwell, C. (2009) Buddhism: the basics, London: Routledge, 58.
[28] Kapstein, M. (2013) Tibetan Buddhism: a very short introduction, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3.
[29] David-Néel, A. (2019) Le Bouddhisme du Bouddha, Paris: Pocket, 29.
[30] Kober, M. (2014) 'Pourquoi l'orientalisme d'Edward W. Said n'est-il pas un japonisme?', *Sociétés et représentations*, 37, 6.

through a religion where there is a negation of the self. Thus, Buddhism leads David-Néel into a paradoxical but complementary position which is that between a concrete attachment to the world and the *errance* that wants to be a detachment from everything.

Thus, despite her conversion to Buddhism and her sincere interest in this religion, David-Néel maintained a Western view of Tibetan religious practices during her trip, unlike Isabelle Eberhardt, who wanted to be part of a local community and who saw religion not as a way of entering the European intellectual sphere but as a form of spiritual fulfilment. Isabelle Eberdardt's religious identification is very strong, as she defines herself as a Muslim. More exactly she is a sufi. Sufism can be defined as the esoteric and mystical practices of Islam aiming at the purification of the soul in order to get closer to God. According to Habib Sharafi, Sufism participates in "fonder chez ses partisans un sentiment valorisant d'appartenance[31]". This idea of belonging is essential for Eberhardt and can be put into practice in different ways, like *Ramadhan*. In *Écrits sur le Sable,* she evokes this practice while she walks in Aïn-Sefra: "des impressions calmes de 'chez-moi', qui datent du mois du ramadhan, l'an passé[32]." Thus, the idea of 'home' is not only associated with a place but with a religious memory, which is moreover a communal memory. Community spirit is strengthened through prayer. "Dès l'entrée c'est une sensation délicieuse de fraicheur, de clair-obscur bleuâtre, de paix infinite[33]," writes Eberhardt when she enters a mosque. The cult place is linked to a feeling of appeasement and affirmation of the masculine and Muslim self, since it should be remembered that Eberhardt is with men when she prays.

However, she does not insist on this point because she defines herself first and foremost as a Muslim, and not via her gender. Thus, prayer is a very codified moment – "tout le monde est debout et élève les deux mains à hauteur du visage[34]" – and therefore important because it reinforces belonging to the group. Personal identity is forged through collective identity. She also attends religious songs ceremonies on several occasions, a very important practice among the Sufis. She relates this in *Écrits sur le Sable*, notably when she spends evenings with the Bedouins in the desert: "c'est le soir, l'heure des chants, des longues mélopées[35]." She shares with the reader the lyrics of the songs she heard that evening: "Nul n'obtiendra ce qui n'était pas écrit, Et ce qui est écrit, nul ne l'évitera ... Calme-toi, mon âme, jusqu'à ce que Dieu ait pitié, Et si tu ne parviens pas à te calmer, il y a la mort[36]." A variant of the text gives us a more detailed description: "les voix montent, s'affermissent[37]" and sing "Dieu m'a abandonné car je suis pécheur ... Mon cœur est mon avertisseur, il m'annonce une mort prochaine[38]." These collective songs are intended to feel the divine presence. In the cultural tradition of the Arab-Muslim world, singing can lead to ecstasy, which is called *tarab*. In Sufism, music, according to Amélie Pavard, "permettrait de faire naître une empathie musicale entre les adeptes[39]," and therefore to continue to tend towards the harmony of the community. Eberhardt finds

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[31] Sharifi, H. (2000) Le Soufisme. Mystique de l'Orient, Paris: Grancher, 70.

[32] Eberhardt, I (1990) Écrits sur le sable, Paris: Grasset, 225.

[33] Ibid, 257.

[34] Ibid, 258.

[35] Ibid, 166.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid, 167.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Pavard, A. (2015) Chanter l'extase: approche psycho-cognitive de la musique dans les rituels de transe soufis. Musique, musicologie et arts de la scène [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Université de Strasbourg, 16.

her place and reinvents herself thanks to religious practices. Sufism allows her to live her Arab identity.

5. Language

Another practice that is central to self-reinvention while traveling is learning another language. Indeed, religion and language are the two main markers of belonging to a group. Also, it is language that initially enables conversion to religion, since knowing Sanskrit allows Alexandra David-Néem to understand Buddhist texts and the same applies to Arabic for Isabelle Eberhardt. This linguistic nomadism permits them to fully experience the new identity there are creating for themselves. It also gives them more power and freedom as women, since they were more independent. Indeed, in the 19th century, some travelers had an interpreter, like for example Isabella Bird, who traveled in Japan with her interpreter Ito. This is not the case for Alexandra David-Néel and Isabelle Eberhardt. Thus, as we said, Isabelle Eberhardt speaks perfect Arabic and Alexandra David-Néel speaks Tibetan and can read Sanskrit.

David Evans, in his book *Language, identity and symbolic culture*, develops the idea that language is a meeting place, referring to the Russian theorist Bakhtin:

> Bakhtin maintains that words are half the property of others in that they are borrowed with their pre-existent meanings but then adapted by individuals and groups to their own situations. Therefore, one appropriates the words of others and personalizes them with one's own meanings and ideologies[40].

Through this process, the idea of 'recognition' is also evoked. Language is what makes us belong to a group, as John Edwards confirms in his book *Language and identity*: "la langue peut permettre à l'identité individuel de se rattacher à un groupe[41]." Indeed, if language is first of all a way for David-Néel to access knowledge (for example, reading books in Sanskrit), it is also what will allow her to reinvent herself by questioning European thought thanks to the understanding and the appropriation of the Tibetan way of life.

Despite her mastery of Tibetan, she shares the difficulty of this exercise in *Voyage d'une Parisienne à Lhassa*. During their trip, David-Néel and Yongden – a young Tibetan who travelled with David-Néel to Lhasa and who became her adopted son – are often called upon, since Yongden claims to read the future. When he sets up this fake moment of divination, he often asks David-Néel to sing:

> c'est par des injonctions de cette sorte que Yongden m'épargne, habituellement, l'épreuve fatigante des longues causeries au cours desquelles, soit ma prononciation, soit l'emploi -dont je suis coutumière- de termes du langage littéraire, pourraient étonner les villageois[42].

Her way of speaking Tibetan could betray her since "languages are also potent boundary markers, highlighting and labeling particular social memberships: they are symbols of group identity[43]." She oscillates between recognition by language and, on the contrary,

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[40] David-Néel, A. (2016) Au Cœur des Himalayas, Barcelona: Payot, 15.

[41] Edwards, J. (2009) Language and identity, New York: Cambridge University Press, 15.

[42] David-Néel, A. (2004) Voyage d'une parisienne à Lhassa, Paris : Pocket, 143.

[43] Edwards, J. (2009), Language and identity, New York: Cambridge University Press, 10.

language as an element of exclusion. She can be excluded because, here, she must pretend to be a Tibetan and not a European who speaks Tibetan. How is she integrated into a group when she drops the mask? During her trip to Nepal, she meets Tibetans in Bodanath and she writes about this meeting in her book *Au Cœur des Himalayas*:

> tous bavardaient à la fois, menant grand tapage, riant et s'exclamant en entendant une étrangère parler leur langue. À Katmandou ou dans l'Inde, certaines d'entre eux avaient entendu des étrangers parler hindi ou népalais, mais jamais tibétain. Tibétain, vraiment !... je parlais tibétain ! ... quel évènement[44]!

The contrast between her nationality and the language used creates the encounter with the Other; it also allows her to insist on the fact that she is one of the rare Europeans who knows how to speak Tibetan. The exclamatory sentence as well as the '...' can be the transcription of the astonishment of the people she meets but also of her own astonishment at what she has managed to do. Johns Edwards has argued of bilingualism that: "speaking two or more may imply some sort of dual citizenship. Since language is a central personality trait, one possibility is that bilinguals have an identity woven out of more than one linguistic thread[45]." David-Néel, by becoming one of them, shows that identity is not genetic, an 'attribute,' but a process. Identity for David-Néel is "un objet que nous construisons petit à petit dans le contact avec les autres, par identifications et différenciations successives à ce qu'ils sont, à ce que nous croyons qu'ils sont et à ce que nous percevons de l'image qu'ils ont de nous[46]."

Isabelle Eberhardt speaks Arabic perfectly since "language and religion have been the two most important markers of ethnonational identity[47]." Indeed, religion and language are for Eberhardt a mark of belonging. This can explain why she feels the need to learn Arabic when she could have been satisfied with the use of French. In Algeria, at this time, French is the language colonialism, opportunity and privilege. By refusing to only use French, she symbolically refuses the power and the domination that this language implies. We can also notice that, in her travel writings, even if she chooses to write in French, there are many Arabic words, particularly related to landscapes: *djebel* (mountains), *oued* (river), *chott* (dry salt lake), *hamada* (stone desert), etc. This can be seen as a way to belong to the desert environment by language, which also contributes to the distancing of the European representation of the desert.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, identification with a culture different from one's own allows for both freedom of the self and knowledge of the self. Social, religious and linguistic practices participate in the reinvention of the self for Alexandra David-Néel and Isabelle Eberhardt. They questioned binary oppositions like male/female and West/East. Indeed, Alexandra David-Néel reinvents herself by her need and desire to become Tibetan, without denying her French identity. Rather, she offers a multiple identity, constantly in motion. The conquest of the self is made through Buddhism, which may seem like a paradox, since

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[44] David-Néel, A. (2016) Au Cœur des Himalayas, Barcelona: Payot, 69.
[45] Ibid, 82.
[46] Picard, D. (2008) 'Quête identitaire et conflits interpersonnels', *Connexion*, 89, 76.
[47] Edwards, J. (2009), Language and identity, New York: Cambridge University Press, 100.

Buddhism is the negation of the self, but this negation seems to have been a necessary deconstruction to access an affirmation of her identity.

Isabelle Eberhardt seems to reverse colonial logic. By concealing her European identity and her appropriation of Algerian culture, she does not correspond to the expectations of the European readers of her time. She offers a deconstruction of the binary oppositions and, as Chetouani explained, she is: "ni femme ni homme, ni arabe ni européenne, elle ouvre les espaces de jeu où l'on peut s'initier au plaisir du métissage[48]."

Therefore, it is important to specify that identifying with the other, understanding the other, does not mean becoming the other but rather accepting that one's own identity can be multiple. We can add to this the idea of narrative identity, since these two women felt the need to write about their travels, undoubtedly in order to establish a coherence of their identities in motion.

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Analysis of infusing cultural diversity in English textbooks for lower secondary level in Pakistan: a case study of *New Oxford Modern English*

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Abstract: Textbooks used in schools are deemed to be fundamental influencing factors for students at all levels of education. These textbooks play a significant role, as do many other factors which affect learners in their day to day life, including family, school, language learning and teaching, social media and social interaction. The current study analyzes the cultural representation of three types of culture, i.e. source culture, target culture and international culture. It attempts to dig out Pakistani cultural diversity and whose cultures are reflected in lower secondary school English textbook 3rd edition of *New Oxford Modern English* for grade 7 by using Bhatia's critical genre analysis as theoretical underpinning theory and adapting Buttjes & Byram's intercultural communicative competence model (ICC) through content analysis. The results indicate that the major focus of the book is target culture (culture of English-speaking countries) and, after that, comes international culture, while the least represented is the source culture (learners' own culture). This study recommends that policy makers, educators and curriculum designers adopt ESL books that have equal representation of target and source culture along with intercultural harmony.

Keywords: source culture, target culture, intercultural aspects, culture

1. Introduction and theoretical backdrop

It is widely recognized that language and culture are interconnected and cannot be separated, as they are an integral part of our social life. According to Bhatia (2015), the cultural illustration within academic and educational content such as textbooks plays an important and significant role in determining the social fabric and collective realization and awareness among individuals of a society. Within educational settings and context, discourse not merely reflects but actively establishes realities, impacting social actions and thoughts. This study draws upon the theoretical underpinnings of Bhatia's (2015) critical genre analysis, which sheds light on how language use in particular contexts contributes to establishing social realities. Therefore, languages are the most detailed representation of the complicated phenomenon of cultures and social life, and knowledge of cultural diversity is deemed to be a significant part of foreign and second language (EFL/ESL) learning and teaching. Culture is the basic foundation in gaining knowledge about various aspects of life. According to Buttjes & Byram (1991), foreign language teaching includes various aspects of culture, to develop understanding in learners about national and international life, as one of the chief purposes of language learning and teaching is to develop understanding, acceptance and endurance between cultures. This objective of language learning and teaching will become more significance in the future, as the world is a global village. The significance of cultural content is also mentioned in the Common European Framework of References for Languages, since there is a strong connection

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between textbooks of EFL/ESL and culture (North & Piccardo 2016). The Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFR) emphasized that cultural content is deemed mandatory for effective communication in a globalized world, requiring the incorporation of cultural content in language learning texts. Moreover, Van Dijk's (2004) seminal work on textbooks and their analysis also highlights the significance of how language and discourse shape cultural depictions within educational settings. By investigating the power dynamics and ideological underpinnings rooted in textbooks , Van Dijk (2004) develops our understanding of how cultural material is projected in academic contexts. According to Van Dijk (2004), textbooks and academic content can be significant contributing factors in socialization and ideological control. Moreover, Van Dijk (2004) also focuses on how power relation and ideologies function with educational textbooks and content, and he advocates the fact that projection and reflection of cultures in textbooks can either support stereotypes or endorse critical thinking and intercultural understanding. Discourse analysis can shed light on these underlying ideologies by exploring and investigating the language and content of the textbooks (Van Dijk, 2004). Textbooks play an important role because of the way they are constructed and utilized in language education, and they also play a significant role in shaping learners' perceptions and thoughts regarding culture and identities (Gray 2010). According to Gray (2010) critical pedagogy endorses the use of textbooks that inculcate critical thinking and spread cultural awareness among learners as they present a careful and constructed view of culture. Language and culture cannot be separated and, in this regard, the definition of culture from a few well-known frameworks and researchers could be presented. In a sociocultural framework, Van Dijk (2004) says that culture surpasses the shared knowledge, values and behaviors of a group. This concept stresses how cultural knowledge and values are diffused through texts and discourse, often projecting and supporting social ideologies and power structures Gray (2010) perceives culture from a constructivist view and, according to him, the culture is perceived as an active and socially constructed reality. This concept sheds light on the role of academic content in shaping learners' understanding of cultural identities and norms, stressing the constructed nature of cultural representation in educational textbooks. According to Gray (2010), culture is a dynamic and socially established reality that is consistently shaped and reshaped through interaction and representations in academic content, impacting learners' perceptions of cultural identities and customs. According to (Dunnett et al. 1986), culture is a comparative and dialogical way that includes understanding and engaging with several cultural perspectives, inculcating intercultural communication and competence through the structured integration of different cultural content in academic textbooks. Different frameworks offer a variety of perspectives on what is culture and how it is projected and represented in academic settings and textbooks as stated above.

According to Cortazzi & Jin (1996) there are three types of culture:

1) source culture, i.e. native culture of the speaker or learner;
2) target culture, i.e. culture of the countries where English is used or spoken as a native language or first language;
3) international culture i.e. the culture which is an embodiment of inner-circle countries and other non-English speaking countries (Kachru 1992).

Buttjes & Byram (1991) introduced the concept that foreign language teaching and learning should also include the target culture in textbooks, so that students may be able

to comprehend and utilize language in its original context and settings. Nevertheless, in the contexts of 'World Englishes' and 'Glocalization,' the idea of 'thinking globally but acting locally' has been subjected to challenges (Mahmood et al. 2012).

Cortazzi & Jin (1996) assert that the benefit of source culture in EFL books is that students may learn the language in their own native context and still they may be able to describe and shed light on their own culture using target language (TL) or English language. Rahim & Daghigh (2020) are of the view that being open to foreign culture demands alienating oneself from one's own native culture and viewing oneself as possessing a learned culture just like people from the TL do. It is essential to make sure that students at primary, middle and lower secondary levels are well acquainted with their own culture. The learner's source culture's ideology should be represented in ESL/EFL textbooks, specifically at junior level, when students do not have a well-developed evaluation capacity yet, and textbooks have a very important role, as they are one of the main sources expected as a medium in cultural exposure (Mahmood et al. 2012). However, many scholars agree that there should be an appropriate portion and demonstration of both source and target cultures in textbooks (Rahim & Daghigh 2020). Cultural representation and inculcation into the young generation is a very sensitive matter and policy makers and curriculum designers need to be careful while suggesting or recommending textbooks that are an amalgamation of target and international culture. The current study is an attempt to investigate and demonstrate the presence and nature of cultural aspects in the lower secondary school English textbook *New Oxford Modern English* 3rd edition, recommended for grade 7 in English medium schools in Lahore, Pakistan. This study also attempts to dig out what culture (source, target or international) is represented in this textbook and its likely implications. The study adopts a content analysis methodology, by adapting Buttjes & Byram's (1991) intercultural communicative competence model (ICC) to dig out cultural representations in the selected textbook. This study is significant as it is context-specific and deals with a ESL textbook (*New Oxford Modern English* for grade 7) in the Pakistani context. This research also has pedagogical importance as it familiarizes ESL/EFL educators and instructors with western and foreign discourses in English textbooks. In addition, the current research also familiarizes common readers with the power of ideology, cultural diversity in English language textbooks and ideological and political agendas involved in textbooks and course content.

The aim of the present study is to ascertain if the ESL textbook *New Oxford Modern English* for grade 7 represents any cultural aspects, which is dominant culture in it, and if there is any references to the learners' own native culture.

2. Literature review

Many scholars believe that the availability of culture is, in fact, due to language, and that culture is transmitted from one generation to another through language. Language and culture are therefore interdependent, i.e. when one is learnt or taught, the other is bound to accompany. English is an international language and is learnt and taught globally with a tinge of the culture of the inner circle (Kachru 1992). According to Kachru (1992), Pakistan falls in the "outer circle" where English is employed in educational and administrative affairs, has got the status of English as a second language (ESL), and is also considered the language of the elite and a status symbol in the country (Malik et al. 2021; Soomro et al. 2020). Language and culture are intervowen and closely related and language represents the cultual values of a speech community. Languages are dual in nature, as they

are not merely utlilized to communicate with individuals, but also carry the culture of the specific social group or community that use them (Noreen et al. 2019). If languages are lost, then its philosophical, spiritual, and economic experiences are lost too and, hence, language is associated with present, past and future. The loss or damage of language is, in fact, a decline of the overall intellectual cultural assets of a specifc community or group.

There has been a plethora of studies regarding cultural representation in EFL/ESL textbooks globally (Faulkenberry 2020). According to Sikorova (2011), if we teach language without the culture in which it functions, it means we are transferring only meaningless symbols and knowledge to the students, and these hold no significance. Culture is represented from the very title page of any book until the last page of that book. Culture is not merely presented through verbal communication, but through non-verbal communication and graphics as well. In textbooks, the role and funtion of graphics is very important, as they demonstrate that typographics and images can help in understanding the various aspects of the culture being represented. Acccording to Shah et al. (2014), sometimes not all the features of the culture are found in a textbook, and some textbooks are in fact more prone towards greater issues such as religion, morality and history from the cultural point of view, whereas some other textbooks aim to deal with minor cultural aspects like geography, sports, eating habits and rituals etc. Nevertheless, a society can only be represented completely when both major and minor aspects of the culture are part of the textbook. Ndura (2004) investigates cultural representations in ESL textbooks in the US and points out that the significant cultural aspects, such as social and moral beliefs and behaviors, are not mentioned in ESL textbooks. In their textbook evaluation of *Oxford Progressive English* (OPE), Shah et al. (2014) adopted the model of Adaskou et al. (1990) for cultural representation, and concluded that textbook contents are filled with foreign and target culture representations instead of ones from the source culture. Mahmood et al. (2012) explored cultural content in a case study of the ESL textbooks *Step Ahead 1* used in Pakistan, and concluded that this textbook has more course content related to foreign and international culture as compared to source culture. Shah & Pathan (2016), who explored cultural content in an O Level English textbook, *Oxford Progressive English*-9 and *Oxford Progressive English*-10, published by Oxford University Press and recommended in an English medium elite private schools in Sindh, Pakistan, found out that western culture and foreign culture were given more importance in both books as compared to source culture. The significance of English teaching material (ELT) has been widely recognized, and as English is an international and universal language, the investigation of ESL/EFL textbooks from a cultural point of view is significant. According to Johnsen (1993), textbooks can be divided on the basis of three categories:

1) ideological research traditions;
2) studies based on the use of textbooks;
3) studies dealing with the development of the textbooks.

The current study deals with the first type and explores to what extent the cultural representation of any given group is part of the textbook under analysis. The present study relies on Buttjes & Byram's (1991) intercultural communicative competence model (ICC) to dig out cultural representations in the selected textbook.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection and analysis

The current study is based on Buttjes & Byram's (1991) theoretical model, also known as intercultural communicative competence model (ICC), to investigate cultural contents in textbooks. This model contains categories related to various aspects of culture, e.g. social identity, beliefs, behaviors, socio-political institutes, socialization, national history, geography and stereotypes. As culture is the representation of language and it cannot be separated from language, the present study uses content analysis, and quantifies the presence of specific cultural aspects by counting the words that correspond to them. This study is both quantitative and qualitative in nature. For data collection and data analysis, *New Oxford Modern English* 3rd edition, recommended for grade 7 in English medium schools in Lahore, Pakistan, has been used. For analysis, the PDF version of the book was converted into TXT through OCR, after obtaining ethical approval for analysis. Sketch Engine was used to investigate the most and least frequently occurring cultural words related to social identity, beliefs and behaviors, socio-political institutes, national and international or foreign events for content analysis.

4. Results and discussion

Table 1: Overall representation of cultural aspects, the total words as well as the neutral words

Textbook Total words	Cultural Content	Neutral Words
54677	14,967	39,710
100%	27.37%	72.62%

Table 2: Representation of Various aspects of culture

Social Identity					Beliefs and Behaviors			
Ethnic Identity	National Identity	Professional Identity	Personal Identity		Greetings/ Rituals	Moral/ Religious Beliefs	Eating Habits	Sports
			Male	Female				
0.1%	1.71%	14.34	45.2	17.3%	1.05%	0.1 %	1.69%	0.2%

Table 3: Representation of socio-political aspects

Social political institutes					Socialization	
State Institutes	Medical	Law & Discipline	Tourism	Transportation	Schools/ Education	Jobs/employment
%	0.01%	0.02%	1.8%	1.41%	0.8%	2%

Table 4: Representation of national and international cultural aspects (*) London

National History (*)/Events	International Events/History
7.98%	3.1%

Table 5 Representation of source, the target and international culture

Cultural Words	Aspects of Source Culture/ Native learners' own culture	Aspects of Target Culture (English Speaking Countries)	Aspects of International Culture/Intercultural amalgamation
100%	0.29%	85.4%	14%

4.1 Representation of cultural contents

4.1.1 Social identity

This category includes ethnic or other minority group identity, national identity, professional identity and personal identity. Personal identity is further divided on the basis of gender. The results obtained indicate that not all classes are specifically mentioned, but privileged classes are introduced in Chapter 1 as "rich people" in London, who are well aware of modern facilities, technology and enjoy perks of life. In Chapter 1, "Light in the Night," there are records of lamplighters, rapid increase in technology and science. The same chapter tells the story of when "rich people" in London would have to carry a burning torch or lamp, if they wanted to go out at night or, if they were "rich enough," they would pay someone else to carry it. In Chapter 2 ,"Black Beauty," the story is told by a horse who has expressed his concern about upper class and their hunting wild animals as a sport. In Chapter 4, 'The Carew Murder Case," the story revolves around a murder case of an upper-class gentleman witnessed by a lower-class house-maid. Chapter 5, "Amer's Café," is a short story with an unfortunate kick in the tale. It represents a hardworking poor guy, Amer, who wants to start a café but unfortunately could not make his dream come true, and ultimately died in an accident. Chapter 7, "The Story of Keesh," also represents lower middle-class, and it is about a thirteen years old young boy named 'Keesh' who lived in miserable conditions with his mother at the edge of polar sea. Keesh's father was a brave man and died while hunting for food. Chapter 8, "The Lumber-Room," does not have any direct references to social class: however, it discusses authorities and rebellion between adults and the younger generation. Chapter 9, "A Voice in the Dark," highlights lower-middle class trying to run away from their fears and points out that small things actually matter the most sometimes in life. Chapter 10, "Export Quality," depicts migrants as a social class and focuses on the struggles of the identity of a migrant. Professional identities have also been identified throughout the book, e.g. policemen, lawyers, bankers, pilots, professors, officers, managers, housemaids, servants, drivers, headmasters, carpenters, cobblers, anchors, doctors and soldiers serving different professions have been introduced in the book. As far as ethnic identity is concerned, only khan is found as an ethnic identity in a section of Chapter 11 entitled "Learning about Language." In Pakistan, 'khan' is a widely used word, a common surname, sometimes also used as a title which is traditionally linked with the Pashtun ethnicity in one of the provinces of Pakistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, formerly known as North West Frontier Province. The 'khan' title is also widely used across different ethnic groups in South Asia and Central Asia, often representing a noble or respectable status.

National and international identities from various parts of the world are also represented in the textbook *New Oxford Modern English* 3rd edition, such as Arab, American, German, Australian, British, Chinese, European, Canadian, Persian and Roman. Personal identities are evaluated on the basis of gender as males and females. Males are more

numerous than females and they are mostly shown as engaged in outdoor activities, while females in indoor activities, and all the characters are presented in stereotypical manners, such as doctors as typically male, and educators as typically female. Gender roles are described in stereotypical ways in many societies, including Pakistan, but endorsing such stereotypes in textbooks can limit opportunities and reinforce gender inequality. To sum up, this section indicates that the textbook *New Oxford Modern English* 3rd edition depicts and reflects western culture as technologically developed, advanced, updated and modern, implying that western and modernized cultures are superior. For instance, busy streets, street lamps in Paris and London and the technological developments and progress they reflect emphasize the stereotype that western societies are far more developed and advanced. Pakistani culture is reflected in a limited portion, emphasizing traditional perspectives without highlighting any modern and developed aspects. Ultimately, this could lead to a concept among learners that their culture is inferior and less progressive as compared to western cultures.

4.1.2 Beliefs and behaviors

Greetings, rituals, moral and religious beliefs, eating habits, sports and games, dressing and style, monetary value and currency, language, shopping, ceremonies, festivals and gender behaviors are included in this category. Teenage and young generation to middle aged and elderly people have been found too. However, the main targets are the youth and young class, as the main scope and focus of the book is a specific age group for whom the book is written. Some references to old age have been found in the book too, e.g. in Chapter 4, "The Carew Murder Case," a silvery-haired old woman is mentioned, and the image of an old man appears at the end of Chapter 7, "The Story of Keesh," in one of the exercises. Moral and ethical themes are also tackled in the textbook *New Oxford Modern English* 3rd edition e.g., before the start of Chapter 1, there is a short funny poem entitled "Adventures of Isabel," by Ogden Nash. It basically describes what happens when a young girl named Isabel encounters a bear, a giant, a witch and a doctor, who all want to harm her. Young Isabel deals with all of them with bravery and, instead of getting anxious, she wisely beats them all. The poem "Adventures of Isabel" gives us a hidden message of being optimistic amid challenges and not to lose hope. Chapter 11, "The Hitch-Hiker," also reflects on the moral theme of treating others with kindness. In Chapter 12, "Julius Caesar," the story of this brave Roman general, there is an underlying theme of loyalty towards one's profession. There are no references to religious beliefs, as religion is not the focus of the book, except for one mention of a church. In addition, greetings like "hi," or acknowledgements of gratitude, like "thanks," represent an intercultural aspect as, in many societies, when people greet each other, they utilize words like "hello" or "hi," but these words reflect a western style of greetings and culture. Eating and food items from various parts of the world are also present, e.g. an image of Chinese noodles with chopsticks at the end of Chapter 3. Edibles like chocolates, candy, sandwich, pastry, cakes and roast chicken are also mentioned, as are more typically Pakistani dishes like soup, steam dhal and chicken curry. Sports and games, like cricket and football, are mentioned too. As far as dressing is concerned, almost all the pictures in the book represent western and international culture. However, a few pictures represent Pakistani culture, e.g. an image in a short poem, "Home and Love" by Robert William Service, before Chapter 8, where a woman is wearing shalwar kameez, the Pakistani traditional dress. The poem "Home and Love" gives a message that "home" and "love" are the two sweetest words.

The poet conveys an implicit message that, without love, home is a bitter place and, without the presence of a home, love is pain. There are also references to some Asian languages, like Urdu: for example, in Chapter 5, "Aamer's Café," some words, such as 'dhal,' 'chicken curry' and 'naan,' which are names of Pakistani traditional foods, have been used once in the Urdu language. Again, in Chapter 10, "Export Quality," the Urdu word 'kameez' (shirt), a Pakistani national dress, is used once. In Chapter 10, the word 'bazaar,' an Urdu word which means 'market for shopping' is used too and, in the same Chapter, Lahore, one of the famous cities of Pakistan, is mentioned in relation to shopping. Eid, the national and holy event of Pakistan, which is celebrated with full zest and zeal not only in Pakistan but around the globe in Muslim countries, has been mentioned only once at the end of the Chapter. The word 'Mandarin' is also used in reference to this language. However, only English is used throughout the book. To sum up, the analysis of this section indicates that the content represents an implicit perspective and belief in the superiority of western lifestyle and ways of living. The frequent mentions of London and other western societies and cities and the absence of contemporary Pakistani cultural achievements, broadcast an ideology suggest that western culture is the ideal to aspire to. By giving preference to foreign cultures and ignoring the students' own culture, the textbook may cause learners to feel disconnected from their own cultural identity and this can cause misconceptions and an inferiority complex whereby learners might perceive their own culture as less valuable or not important.

4.1.3 Socio-political institutions

Healthcare, education, transportation, tourism, employment offices and government fall in this category (Mahmood et al. 2012). These sectors have not been given much attention in the book. However, hospitals are sometimes shown in the book. With regard to transportantion, various means of transportantion are represented, such as cars, trains, motorcycles, bikes and boats. Some references to offices, banks and industries have been found too. Toursim and travel are mentioned only in Chapter 10.

4.1.4 Socialization

Education and schools do not appear frequently in the book. However, Oxford is mentioned a few times as the seat of its prestigious university. Subjects like mathematics, science, and anthropology are also mentioned. The themes of love, family and care are discussed in Chapter 2, "Black Beauty," and Chapter 3, "The Story of an Invitation."

4.1.5 National and international history and events

Throughout the book, the national history, geography and situations related to London have been given a lot of significance (target culture). The very first chapter is about London, its beauty and the history of lamplighters. As the chapters advance, there are references to other international locations, such as Paris, France, China, the US, Germany and Rome. The last chapter of the book is about the famous character from Roman history Julius Caesar. Only the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, the provincial capital Lahore and Karachi have been mentioned, along with Multan and Rawalpindi, which shows that the source culture is given the least attention in the book. Names of individuals in the

books are also mostly from either the English (target culture) or international culture, while only a few names from Muslim and Asian countries have been mentioned.

5. Conclusion and recommendations

This research has investigated the cultural contents and representation in *New Oxford Modern English* 3rd edition, recommended for grade 7 in English medium schools in Lahore, Pakistan. The results indicate that the selected book has not provided enough knowledge and information about the learners' own culture (source culture). There are only a few references to the source culture in terms of names, food and cities of Pakistan, whereas the rest of the book is entirely a representation of English-speaking countries (target culture) in which, specifically, London has been mentioned in many chapters of the book. Apart from this, the findings also indicate that there are some cultural aspects from non-English speaking countries, such as Paris in Chapter 1, "Light in the Night," where the busy streets and street lamps of Paris and its advancement in terms of technology are mentioned. In Chapter 1, another non-English speaking country is referred to in the story of a German national visiting London. In the last chapter, Chapter 12 of the textbook, the famous character from Roman history Julius Caesar has also been mentioned. Non-English speaking cultures are therefore given more prominence than source culture elements, despite their not being connected with English. Exposing junior level learners to target and international cultural aspects while neglecting their own (source) culture may cause misconceptions and alienate pupils from their own culture. Learners at this stage are not mature enough mentally to differentiate among source culture, target culture and international culture, and there is a possibility that they will develop misleading concepts. Moreover, the representation of foreign cultures and ignorance of the learners' own culture may develop a superiority and inferiority complex among students who are exposed to the foreign culture and those who are not respectively. In light of these findings, it is recommended that policy makers, educators and stakeholders endorse the use of English textbooks for students which can be beneficial for them in learning and creating awareness about source culture first, along with international and target culture too. Furthermore, policymakers and content creators should take this recommendation into consideration while choosing textbooks for students at lower secondary level and select books that are written for Pakistani ESL learners with some aspects of their native culture (source culture). Books suggested for ESL learners should have at least a sufficient amount of source culture (learners' native culture), if not equivalent to the target or foreign culture.

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Performing multilingualism at Instagram's 📍 Café de Flore

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Abstract: Social media sites have amassed a great following throughout the last decade, gathering users from a vast array of linguistic backgrounds. This chapter examines multilingualism and the multilingual strategies of users on the online social media platform Instagram. Using a sociolinguistic framework informed by the field of online linguistic landscape (OLL), I build on recent scholarship and evolving notions of how multilingualism can be characterised in an online setting. This discussion gathers a selection of 116 posts drawn from a larger corpus of 404 posts collected from Instagram's *Café de Flore* geotag between January and December 2022. The data provide a cursory illustration of users' stylistic choices in presenting themselves as multilingual individuals and offer a cursory introduction to the linguistic diversity present at the Café de Flore geotag.

Keywords: multilingualism, Instagram, linguistic landscape, digital discourse

1. Introduction

It is difficult to overstate the role digital media have played in blurring the lines between physical and digital space. Smartphones in particular have muddled this divide, proliferating social media and social networking platforms on a global scale, four of which – YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram – are regularly classed among the five most visited websites in the world (DataReportal 2021; DataReportal 2022). For this reason alone, it is unsurprising that scholars have reached some consensus about the potential value that social media research can afford. Particularly for sociolinguists, social media research represents a new frontier for the study of language contact, multilingualism, regional and minority languages and linguistic landscape (Cunliffe 2019; Stern 2017; Lenihan 2011, 2014; Hiippala et al. 2019; Lyons 2019; Blackwood 2019).

This chapter forms part of a larger study examining the discursive construction of the Café de Flore Instagram geotag, one 'linguacultural space' whose ascent to prominence online has been achieved through a complex set of networked practices and mediatisation linked to Instagram's wide-reaching influence in the tourist economy (McInerney, 2023; see also, Smith, 2018, 2021a, 2021b). The café boasts a rich history and a heavily symbolic status in the French sociocultural imagination, having played host to the likes of Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, James Baldwin and other figures whose personas and writings have come to emblematise the city of Paris. More recently, however, the algorithmic forces driving online communicative spaces have aided in lauding it as "the most Instagrammable café in Paris," successfully recommodifying the institution and its idealised representations of French life for a new generation of tourists. Using an Online Linguistic Landscape approach, this chapter explores the networked languaging practices of 116 Instagram users who tagged a post at Café de Flore on January, February and March 1st, 2022. My analysis presents the languages found at Café

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de Flore on these three days and surveys both the linguistic and semiotic organisation of both monolingual and multilingual post captions. I then consider how the distribution of these languages can be understood in relationship to the different settings that shape the language choice of these Instagram users.

2. Multilingualism and Linguistic Landscape online

While a comprehensive review of Linguistic Landscape (LL) literature falls outside of this chapter's scope, a brief study of recent work in the field reveals a rapidly growing interest in the digital environments that facilitate and shape our day-to-day exchanges. Work in the 'virtual linguistic landscape' (Ivkovic & Lotherington 2009), 'digital linguistic landscape' (Maly & Blommaert, 2019; Blommaert & Maly, 2019) and 'online linguistic landscape' (Kallen et al., 2020; Lyons, 2019) has theorised the mutually influential relationship between discourse and the setting in which it is produced. Similarly, while sites that play host to physical and digital exchanges are frequently distinguished by the affordances they make available to speakers, these spaces cannot be understood as fully distinct from one another. Questioning this online/offline 'divide' is a common thread that runs between many of the papers discussed above and that extends to work exploring linguistic landscape in an increasingly platformised society (Poell et al. 2021). To frame this chapter's inquiry, I suggest that we are marked by an era of connectedness so ubiquitous that analysis of language use must anticipate the influence of both online and offline actors on a speaker's discourse and identity, regardless of one's 'status' at a given moment.

Ivkovic & Lotherington (2009) first interpreted 'Virtual Linguistic Landscape' (VLL) as a 'delocalised' space filled with 'transitory', rather than fixed content, wherein the linguistic choices of individuals are 'nonetheless shaped by the [virtual] environment' (p. 20). Analysis of data stemming from both Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 platforms suggested that, despite the undeniable prevalence of English in these contexts, digital spaces offered promising sites for future studies of multilingualism. Maly & Blommaert's (2019) work on Digital Ethnographic Linguistic Landscape (DELL) and Online-Offline LL (Blommaert & Maly 2019) reinvigorated the discussion of LL on the Internet, notably as it intersected with prominent lines of sociolinguistic research into globalisation and mobility (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert 2016). A study by Kallen et al. (2020) proposed the term 'Online Linguistic Landscape', outlining three primary components 'fundamental to the OLL', namely: 'boundaries', 'spatial fluidity' and 'expressive fluidity' (p. 3). The authors then contextualised these elements by drawing semiotic and linguistic data from a variety of different social media platforms (amongst them, Facebook and Twitter) to explore the languaging strategies used by speakers of Irish. Analysis of these data suggests that a definable linguistic landscape does indeed exist in online spaces, and that the three pillars of these spaces are best seen as affordances, rather than hindrances, to LL research online.

Hiippala et al. (2019) narrowed the terrain of their VLL inquiry to one Instagram 'Place' in Helsinki, Finland. Following an analysis of well over 100,000 posts gathered from the *Senate Square* geotag, the authors concluded that the linguistic construction of the geotag relied principally on contributions written in Finnish, English and Russian. While the dominance of English in computer-mediated communication has been well documented, the data revealed that, of the roughly 20,000 posts contributed by residents of Finland, Finnish-language posts outnumbered those in English by a mere 62. These

data contribute a valuable, albeit localised, picture of the complex interactions that shape the offline dynamics and online representations of spaces where tourists and locals converge.

As the intricacies that structure communicative interactions online continue to be a source of scholarly interest, a recent turn in digital discourse spheres has questioned the notion of 'public' space within online platforms. Work by Boyd (2010) has suggested that while a boundary divides publicly accessible information from data shared with a restricted audience through privacy settings, this delineation is not sufficient to characterise accessible information as being truly 'public.' To acknowledge the complex issues that hide behind seemingly clear-cut questions of accessibility, several individuals were contacted over the course of 2022 via the Instagram platform with a request for their written consent to participate in this study by contributing their images and text. The Instagram posts depicted below are those which have been kindly volunteered by consenting individuals to supplement this discussion. Usernames appear where users have explicitly requested to be de-anonymised. Finally, as outlined above, differences in terminology persist in LL studies. For the present analysis, I adapt the term 'Online Linguistic Landscape' (OLL) as proposed by Kallen et al. (2020), who suggest that the OLL "resides not in the content of websites, comments and messages, but in the linguistic affordances of these online spaces" (p. 4).

3. Methodology

Instagram offers some features that distinguish it from other, more frequently cited platforms and that render it a particularly worthwhile site for inquiry. Laestadius (2016) interprets these as 'persistence,' 'searchability' and 'interpretability,' the second of which is most intertwined with the geotag feature that anchors this study (p. 578). As briefly discussed in the previous section, this is not the first paper to orient its analysis around a single geotag on the Instagram platform. However, these studies have tended to focus on highly-frequented locations associated with travel and tourism (Lyons 2019; Blackwood 2019; Blackwood 2021; Hiippala et al. 2019) rather than locations that have gained further notoriety through their popularity on the Instagram platform. In other words, I suggest that previous studies have been oriented around places whose reach and cultural capital have not changed radically since the rise of Instagram. As a change of pace, this research project interested itself in how commodification of the café has been expounded through the geotagging feature and how Instagram users were invited to partake in this process.

The intersection of Café de Flore's notoriety both offline and on Instagram provided a unique vantage point from which to consider this chapter's research questions. As a socio-cultural artefact and a feature in many pre-smartphone Paris guidebooks, Café de Flore's rise to 'Instagram fame' does not come as a great surprise. Its ascent is, however, well in line with Blackwood's (2021) assertion that mythologies can be deeply intertwined with Instagram content curated for, in, or at a certain place. Café de Flore has indeed been the subject of significant, somewhat elitist myth-making with the most circulated myths stemming from the café's literary associations and its recent appearance in the *Fantasie parisienne* 'Emily in Paris.' This study is chiefly concerned with the power of these myths to compile, co-operate and co-exist in such a way that a quick online search

for 'Instagrammable cafés' returns endless results mentioning Café de Flore, so much so that 'InstaFlore' now sits on the main navigation menu of the café's website[1].

This paper is one of a series of articles produced from the 'InstaFlore' corpus, a collection of 404 Instagram posts gathered from the Café de Flore geotag on the first day of every month of the year 2022. The present discussion presents the findings from the first quarter of data collection, which took place between January and March 2022. Preliminary analysis of data borrowed practices from digital ethnography and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2014) and was framed as a qualitative, iterative process. Initial analysis therefore began on January 1st following the first round of data collection and continued through December 2022. 129 posts were collected between January and March 2022. By December 2022, 13 of these posts had been removed from the Instagram platform by the post authors and were thus excluded from the final data set used for this chapter (N=116).

4. Linguistic Landscape at Café de Flore: January-March 2022

The scope of the LL field has expanded considerably in recent years. Two of the most prominent examples of this expansion include the evolving notion of the 'sign' in LL work (see Lyons 2019 and Smith 2018, 2021a, 2021b for the case of Instagram) and the increased importance attributed to the range of semiotic elements that populate a given landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow 2011; Dovchin & Pennycook 2018). However, with these advances come several questions related to the division and sorting of such diverse tokens. The data samples shared in this chapter are reproduced in their entirety with the hope of providing some contextualising information that may be helpful for readers. However, due to space limitations, this chapter restricts its discussion to individuals' use of linguistic/semiotic resources in captions and does not comment on the multimodal composition of the post as a whole. Given the genesis of these data and the actors who produced it, all language that appears in post captions is understood as 'bottom-up' language in the LL tradition (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Captions containing only semiotic elements are categorised as 'emoji-only,' while captions containing neither linguistic nor semiotic tokens are categorised as 'no caption.'

Table 1: Linguistic Diversity at Café de Flore

Language	No. of signs containing language	Of which monolingual	Of which multilingual
Arabic	1	0	1
English	78	48	30
French	34	7	27
Georgian	1	1	0
German	2	0	2
Hebrew	1	1	0
Italian	2	1	1
Japanese	1	0	1
Korean	4	1	3
Malay	2	0	2
Norwegian	1	1	0

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[1] https://cafedeflore.fr/instaflore/.

| Portuguese	5	2	3
Russian	2	2	0
Spanish	2	2	0
Turkish	4	2	2
No caption	1	0	0
Emoji only	0	0	0

4.1 Monolingual captions

A total of 15 languages were detected in the post captions from January, February and March, 2022. 70 of the 116 posts (60.34%) contained only one language. Monolingual English captions were the most widely-used linguistic configuration observed in the corpus, confirming the now well-established dominance of English in the construction of social media environments and touristic settings (Androutsopoulos 2015; Heller et al. 2014; Seargeant & Tagg 2014; Jaworski 2015; Blackwood 2019). While the bulk of this chapter's discussion will attend to the multilingual components of the corpus, it is helpful to note the consistency of these findings within the broader scope of LL work. English is a herculean force in the global economy (Blommaert 2009) and its influence is widely visible in the linguistic landscapes of globalised societies. These observations aside, English has also been catalogued systematically as a feature in three areas of LL research relevant to this chapter: on Instagram (Lyons 2019; Smith 2018, 2021a, 2021b), in French cities (Amos 2017; Blackwood & Tufi 2015; Bogatto and Hélot 2010), and in the tourist economy (Kallen 2009). It is worth noting that other papers that do not strictly place their inquiries under the umbrella of LL also support these findings (Blackwood 2021; Jaworski 2015; Piller 2001; Thurlow & Jaworski 2014).

Possible explanations for English's role in constructing these three landscapes have been deliberated at length. English is frequently understood to be a resource used for its varying cultural connotations in contexts where it is not the dominant language (Amos 2017; Blackwood & Tufi 2015). Examples of this include the capacity of English to index both social prestige (Piller 2003) as well as a vague sense of diversity (Jaworski 2015; Piller 2012;), a phenomenon that hinges on its saturation of the global linguistic landscape (in the broadest possible terms) and the subsequent decline of a single ethno-national identity linked to the language.

Rather than devote extensive time to the discussion of these findings, I suggest that the use of English in the corpus should be understood as an unsurprising, even predictable feature given its intersection with the globalised settings that frame this inquiry. While monolingual societies are generally considered to be less and less prevalent in the 21st century, a number of monolingual captions can also reasonably equated to tourism from the United States, the UK, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and other English-dominant countries where monolingualism is still somewhat prominent. Insofar as the use of English by speakers of other languages is concerned, I align with the stance that "English is favoured by genres that are detached from the immediate demands of interpersonal interaction" (Androutsopoulos 2014 p. 201). In these networked settings, the distinction between an individual's linguistic repertoire offline "and what they appropriate from the web become fuzzy" (Androutsopoulos 2014 p. 201). Ten years on, these observations encapsulate a viable and reliable argument for the unrelenting presence of English across social media corpora, the present corpus included.

Even amidst an English-dominant landscape, Café de Flore's deep symbolic associations with the French language cannot be overlooked. The influence of its ideological grip manifests itself both in the twenty-six French-English multilingual samples and in the selection of monolingual French captions that appear in the corpus. Seven instances of French monolingualism were counted between the months of January and March. These captions are reproduced in chronological order in Figure 1. The terse, somewhat vague statements made by these seven individuals did little to point to linguistic competence or membership in French speech communities. Rather, they were understood to index users' presence at a cultural institution that is emblematic of a highly romanticised touristic experience in France. Leveraging the cultural and symbolic capital of Café de Flore, users employ French in their monolingual discourse principally for its elite connotations. The result is a form of synthetic, performative languaging that emphasises an individual's social prestige and belonging within a larger group of 'mobile global citizens' (Blackwood 2019, p. 22; see also De Costa 2019; Barakos & Selleck 2019; Thurlow & Jaworski 2017; Thurlow & Jaworski 2006).

Figure 1: Monolingual French captions tagged at Café de Flore between January and March, 2022
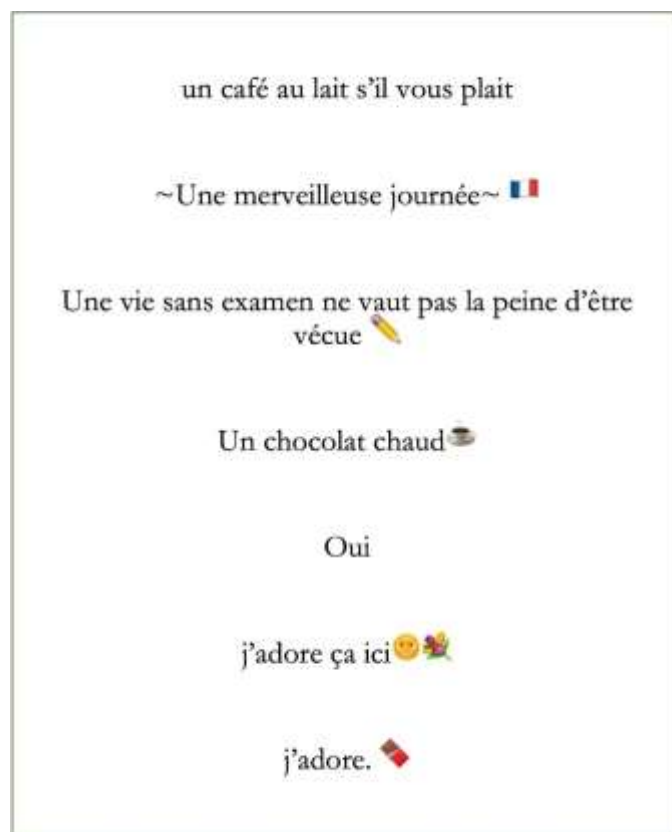
4.2 Multilingual captions

The remaining 46 posts gathered between January and March 2022 were analysed as multilingual and were principally composed of English-language and French-language tokens (42 instances). Among these, a select number of posts featured more than two languages, the combinations of which are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2: Combinations of three or more languages

Languages used	Instances in corpus	Associated month(s)	Genre of multilingualism
Arabic, French, English	1	January	Caption – Narrative
English, German, French	2	January February	Caption – Hashtags Caption – Narrative
Italian, English, French	1	February	Caption – Hashtags
Italian, English, Malay French,	1	February	Caption – Hashtags
Turkish, French, English	2	February March	Caption – Hashtags Caption – Hashtags
Portuguese, French, English	2	January February	Caption – Hashtags
Korean, English, French	1	January	Caption – Hashtags

Much like in monolingual posts, the use of English and French to construct multilingual captions supports a vision of the Café de Flore geotag as a globalised space influenced heavily by its symbolic links to French cultural identity, and by extension, the French language. To a lesser degree, Italian, Arabic, Korean, German, Turkish and Portuguese were mixed with one or, on rare occasions, both of the dominant languages in the caption space. However, participants' linguistic resources, be they in one language or multiple languages, were understood to perform a range of fluctuating discursive functions within captions. The scope of different roles performed by these resources within a rather small space contributed significantly to this chapter's reading of Instagram posts as complex, polysemic texts.

Two prominent trends appear to guide how users construct their posts along multilingual lines. The first trend, categorised as 'narrative,' makes reference to a user's choice to translate the entirety or a portion of a caption's narrative content into one or more languages (see Reh 2004). The second, categorised as 'hashtags,' refers to users' tendency to employ a second language or multiple languages in a series of hashtags placed at the bottom of an Instagram post. In both instances, multilingualism was understood as a communicative strategy used to appeal to a broader online community at Café de Flore and, more widely, on Instagram, albeit to different ends. Figures 1[2], 2, 3 and 4 offer an illustration of these strategies and their mise-en-oeuvre of users' multilingualism at Café de Flore.

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[2] Translations of the caption in Figure 2 are as follows: French text: "Our best wishes for this new year! May it bring you happiness, health, and success. Happy New Year 2022 to you and your loved ones. May the next 12 months be synonymous with joy, laughter, and good health…" Arabic text: Happy New Year to you and your loved ones, I wish you a year full of happiness, success, and good health. I hope with all my heart that the days of the year 2022 bring much happiness and good news. Happy New Year 🎈.

Figure 2: An Arabic-English-French multilingual narrative from January 1st, 2022

Liked by **lecafedeflore** and **others**

citron_et_cerise Nos meilleurs vœux pour cette nouvelle année ! Qu'elle t'apporte bonheur, santé & réussite. Bonne année 2022 à vous et tous vos proches. Que les 12 mois à venir soient synonyme de joie, de rires, de bonne santé...

HAPPY NEW YEAR 🎈

سنة سعيدة عليكم و كل عام و انتم و احبابكم بألف خير ، اتمنى للجميع سنة مليانة افراح و نجاحات و انتم بأتم صحة و أحسن حال .. من كل قلبي اتمنى سنة ٢٠٢٢ تكون ايامها سعيدة و مليانة اخبار حلوة و عام سعيد أحبتي 🎈

Figure 3: An English-French multilingual narrative from February 2022

♡ ○ ◁   🔖

74 likes

lydiagautier.thes.tisanes Quel bonheur d'écrire quelques
lignes de l'histoire de ce lieu mythique : le Café de Flore.
La recette du Thé de Flore est le résultat d'un long
dialogue avec les équipes du Café de Flore. Un thé noir du
Népal, des écorces de cacao, de la cardamome et
des boutons de bruyère, une gourmandise de Saint-
Germain.

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What a pleasure it is to write a few lines about the history
of this mythical place: the Café de Flore. The recipe for Thé
de Flore is the result of a long dialogue with the Café de
Flore team. A black tea from Nepal, cocoa peels,
cardamom and heather buds, a delicacy from Saint-
Germain.

#tea #cafedeflore #lydiagautier #tealover #teaexpert
#paris #pariscafe

1 February · **See Translation**

Figure 4: A set of English-language hashtags accompany a caption written in Italian

melaniabelardo Parigi - 01.03.2022
Quando Mr. Delle colora, non sta mai nelle righe.
Ti amo, Delle. Sempre stato e sempre sarà. 🖤
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#parisianstyle #parisianvibes #parisvibes #cafedeflore
#neutralstyle #neutraltones #90soutfit #90sfashion
#90svibes #aestheticoutfit #minimal #minimalstreetstyle
#discoverunder100k #90saesthetics #londonstyle
#visualstylist #fashiondetails #90svintage #igfashion
#neutralpalette #90sstyle #currentlywearing
#minimalisticstyle #unreap #couplestyle #zarafrance
#zaraitalia #zaraoutfit

Figure 5: From March 2022, a French-English narrative accompanied by a set of French hashtags, and in the comments, a set of primarily English hashtags

4.3 Multilingualism in hashtags

Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 provide a cursory illustration of the language-mixing practices observed in the corpus. Despite having no contact with one another, individuals at Café de Flore made use of strikingly consistent methods to organise their discourse. As exemplified by the four extracts above, individuals across the corpus frequently relied on spatial organisation strategies to signal their shifts between both languages and discourse varieties (narrative/hashtags). While the networked functions of Instagram's platform are arguably among the most complex available among social media websites today, Instagram captions offer users relatively few multimodal resources to accomplish their discourse. Space was thus understood to function as a meaningful semiotic resource across the data. Specifically, its discursive properties allow Instagram users to compensate for a lack of alternative resources, perform their awareness of reigning platform vernaculars (Gibbs et al. 2015), and more auspiciously index the linguistic communities in their imagined audiences (Marwick & Boyd 2011). Despite the prevalence of English in multilingual posts, this trend was not linked to the use of a particular language, nor was it exclusively observed in multilingual posts. Rather, the systematic use of space suggests that individuals across corpus distinguished the personal narratives recounted at the top of the caption as a variety of discourse distinct from that of hashtagging. Language use and the languages used in hashtagging were thus understood to serve vastly different rhetorical functions than in caption narratives.

Hashtags can be seen widely across digital discourse corpora; however, their use is not understood as inherently homogenous (Gibbs et al. 2015). Even within the scope of a single platform, the use of hashtags is heavily context-dependent. In their study of the 2014 'Umbrella Movement' in Hong Kong, Lee and Chau (2018) examined how participants mobilised their linguistic repertoires through multilingual hashtags to communicate affect and engage in acts of stancetaking on Instagram. Their findings underscored how Cantonese, a language with strong ethnonational ties, was used by its speakers for in-group identification and the performance of cultural identity, while other participants in the movement co-opted the language for its potential to draw the attention of an 'ad-hoc public' (c.f. Bruns and Burgess 2015*).* In other words, this latter group of 'Instagrammers were in favor of Cantonese only when it was needed' (p. 26).

Café de Flore is not, strictly speaking, a contested space, and users were not believed to be organising or cooperating to promote the visibility of any particular social movement while present there. Rather, contributors to this corpus appeared to lean on the existing publics they had built, the algorithmic features of the platform, and the regular traffic at Café de Flore's geotag landing page to generate further engagement with their posts through predominantly English-language hashtags. Indeed, large sets of hashtags, such as those depicted in Figures 4 and 5 are frequently used to solicit engagement through the liking, commenting and sharing features embedded in the platform. "Paris" and "Parisian" were considered to be especially productive in the generation of hashtags. Frequently employed as modifiers (#parisianstyle, #parisvibes) the widespread and often repetitive use of these tokens enables users individuals to affiliate themselves with an already highly-commodified identity and contribute to its dominance through further mediatisation (Agha 2011). Inserted in this context, English does not resound as an instrument used to draw in ad-hoc publics; rather, it is mobilised as a common-sense tool for its capacity to index mobility while appealing to a wide-ranging, undefined user base.

4.4 Multilingualism in caption narratives

In Figure 2, Lana, on the professional account linked to her bakery @citron_et_cerise, extends well wishes to her followers for the 2022 New Year. In Figure 3, Lydia recounts her pleasure in savouring a tea within the four mythical walls of the café. In Figure 5, @morgan_guillon describes her breakfast scene at Café de Flore and invites her audience to partake in it by way of sharing their favourite breakfast pastry. The translations written by Morgan, Lana and Lydia offer a fine example of how linguistic landscape analysis can be used to temper our "expectation of textual symmetry" and make evident how "signage plays on linguistic awareness to create linguistic hybrids" (Kallen & Dhonnacha 2010, pp. 21-22). In their indexing of four different language communities, these samples "show varying reactions to modernity and globalization," two variables that converge in every post published at Café de Flore (Kallen & Dhonnacha 2010, pp. 21-22). Like other social media, Instagram has connected speakers of different languages through its vast set of networked affordances. One of the most salient and relevant to this chapter's inquiry is the platform's integrated translation feature, which prompts individuals to translate content in a language other than the one users have selected for the platform's interface (see Figure 3). A public profile on Instagram can be shared liberally with Instagram's vast user base by its algorithm, and it is not unreasonable to consider that a speaker of one language will come into contact with public posts written by individuals with vastly different linguistic backgrounds. However, Instagram's in-application translation feature was already a familiar feature by the time data collection began for this research project, and would presumably be a welcome solution for users seeking to offload tasks related to the creation of content. We are, thus, roused to ask why users such as Morgan, Lydia and Lana continue to engage in the work of translation, what they choose to translate, and why certain phrases are selected for translation over others.

Like nearly all discourse on Instagram, can be understood as participating in the iteration of Bell's (1984) 'audience design' more recently adapted to the social media context (Androutsopoulos 2014; Tagg & Seargeant 2014). Succinctly put, 'audience design' as described in the social media context considers that an individual's notion of audience will inform the subject matter they address in their speech acts, the stylistic features they will implement, as well as the languages they will select for their utterances. It thus closely aligns with the notion of 'imagined audience' theorised in media studies and popularised by Marwick & Boyd's seminal (2011) study of Twitter. The multilingual strategy adopted in Figure 5, which omits a reflexive statement in the English text ('you'd be surprised by mine') but does not neglect to translate the question posed to other users, explicitly directs readers to Morgan's interest in mobilising her audience, rather than stimulating their curiosity about her personal taste.

Duffy (2017) describes how a participant in her study of the influencer industry 'waxed poetic over Instagram', calling it 'the "perfect platform" because you can "gauge what your readers like the most by how many likes you have, or how many comments"' (p. 161) while other work cites social media users' skilful and intentional moulding of content to suit the tastes of their target audience (Duffy et al. 2021; Poell et al. 2021). Likewise, Lana, Lydia Morgan must contend with growing their audience and stimulating future engagement, all the while negotiating this with the expectations of their existing audience base, who may read linguistic representation as an acknowledgment or rebuke of their participation in previous 'exchanges.' In these cases, the use of French, English and Arabic can be seen as 'indexing alignment with a number of stances and identities,'

particularly those that are under-represented in French space, online and at the café (Curtin 2009: 232).

5. Conclusion

The data samples presented in this chapter, both mono- and multilingual, highlight the complex relationship between language and (digital) identity in online spaces. Instagram captions, while largely diverse in terms of their semantic content, offer users of the platform comparatively fewer opportunities to perform their identities, aesthetics and community memberships multimodally. In a context generally lauded for its wide range of discursive resources, a diverse linguistic repertoire allows Instagram users to index the visual norms found in Café de Flore's semiotic landscape in their photos while performing extended identity work in their captions, the combination of which accomplishes an overall narrative. While this chapter's analysis did not extend to photos and videos, in moving through a post's disparate parts, we encounter a phenomenon similar to what Kallen (2024) has described as "crossing from the open public space to more private spaces" during which homogenous features of the OLL give way to significantly more heterogenous, subversive discourse genres (p. 94; see McInerney 2023).

Yet, can the sum of these data, which so heavily prioritise the use of dominant language varieties, be read as transgressive in good conscience? Some sociolinguistic work has endeavoured to examine the use of minority languages on Twitter and other social media sites, however, literature directly addressing the display of minority languages on Instagram is limited (Cunliffe 2021; Elordui & Aiestaran 2022; Willis 2024). Given that Instagram has long been known for overly-filtered, largely idealised representations of everyday life, it is not surprising that underrepresented or minority languages would be neglected on this website in favour of more profitable, globalised alternatives. These 'vogue display languages' safely index broad communities of speakers and can be used as much as a primary mode of communication as they can a decorative resource given the limited stylistic features available to users in their captions (Curtin 2009: 229). While the fifteen languages counted at Café de Flore from January-March 2022 provide some indication of the diversity of my participants' linguistic repertoires (and those of their audience), the lack of diversity in language combinations affirms perspectives that situate English and French as the two languages most 'fitting' for a trip to Café de Flore. However, as Abidin (2016) reminds us, on Instagram, the 'frivolous' is not necessarily at odds with the 'subversive.'

Bourdieu (1982) suggested that one who speaks is "endowed with a certain linguistic capital" (pp. 59-60). However, in my corpus, both monolingual and multilingual displays associated with generally prestigious language forms have emerged as a product whose profits are neither straightforward nor guaranteed on Instagram's complex semiotic marketplace. While virtually all of the languaging practices presented in this chapter can be understood as having performative components, the performative monolingualism displayed in the seven French captions suggest that mobility, physical setting and digital platforms inform the language(s) selected for speech acts. A sense of place, it can be said, remains one of the many intricate dynamics that inform language use in the digital age. As online spaces continue to shape and reshape features of our discourse, scholars must remain vigilant, adaptable, and willing to 'discover empirically what means are available in a given social setting, to whom they may be available, under

what circumstances, for making discourse into a text' in the ever-growing, ever-changing spheres of a networked society (Bauman & Briggs 1990).

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Identities in change in postcolonial contexts: the case of Namibian German in written communication

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Abstract: The German speech community in Namibia is very vital despite having only 25,000 speakers who speak a variety of German called Namibian German, which is characterised by strong language contact between Afrikaans, English and Ntu[1] languages. It is an uncoded variety but it is present in texts that contribute to the creation of the language model, such as the newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung Namibia*. Namibian German has its roots in the colonial period when the official language was German but, due to the later South African hegemony, language policies changed. This chapter will highlight the relation between identity and intertextual dynamics of Namibian German through a corpus-based analysis consisting of 583 collected articles from *Allgemeine Zeitung Namibia*. The study conducted confirms the presence of namibianims[2] also in written communication, above all in the category Glosse (satirical comments) of the newspaper.

Keywords: Namibian German, identity, minority languages, Namdeutsch, corpus-linguistics

1. Introduction

According to the conception of German as a pluricentric language[3], that is a language classified as a national or regional language in more than one country, which as a result has developed standard linguistic differences (Ammon 2016), German has three distinct kinds of centres. The centres where German is an official language[4] are divided into *Vollzentren* (full centres)[5], that is Germany, Austria, Switzerland, *Halbzentren* (half centres) that is Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, East Belgium, and South Tyrol. Beside these, there are

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[1] As Deumert (2009) points out, the term 'Bantu' has acquired a pejorative connotation, due to its use during the apartheid era, to denote everything related to the segregated Namibian populations. In this study, the term Ntu will be preferred.

[2] This is a suggestion of translation into English of the German term *Namibismen* (Ammon 2015; 2016) denoting elements of Namibian (Standard) German.

[3] In the field of German Studies, there is an ongoing discussion about the pluricentric vs. pluriareal paradigm, (see Elspaß et al. 2017; Auer 2021), as well as about the existence of a One Standard German Axiom (Dollinger 2019; Muhr 2024). This axiom posits the existence of a single standard German variety while downplaying the significance of regional and non-standard variations.

[4] The term 'official language' refers to the language(s) designated legally for administrative and official purposes within a national territory. Besides official language(s), there might be also national language(s) which designates the language recognized by the state and promoted as the language of instruction, with cultural and symbolic value for a community within a country (Buschfeld et al. 2023). In many countries, these concepts converge (such as in Germany), but in the case of Namibia they do not, as there is only one official language, despite the strong multilingualism, along with 13 national languages.

[5] Full centres are centres where German is an official language, which have normative and codification instances (such as dictionaries and grammars) whereas in half centres, although German is an official language, it lacks such codifications (Thüne et al. 2005; Ammon 2016).

Viertelzentren (quarter centres), including Namibia, Romania, and several Mennonite settlements in North and South American countries. Here German is not the official language of the region, but it has developed a specific standard variety recognized as a minority language and it exists without any official codification. The acceptance of the standard forms of this variety relies on their acceptance within the community for public usage, such as in educational settings, written materials including academic literature, and local media like newspapers.

The focus of this study is on Namibia as a *Viertelzentrum* (quarter centre) where the German language is a national language[6] alongside the Indo-European language Afrikaans and other twelve national Namibian languages[7]. German functions in Namibia as a minority language since the present German-speaking population in Namibia is estimated to be around 25,000, representing a sectional community within the overall population of 2.5 million. This study delves into the lexical variational dynamics of German in Namibia, specifically examining Namibian German (hereafter NG). Its objective is to explore the presence of lexical nominal variations in NG, known as namibianims, within the current context of online newspaper language. While NG has conventionally been associated with informal use, recent research suggests the occurrence of namibianims in formal written texts. This chapter seeks to verify the presence of namibianims in formal contexts. Utilizing a corpus driven analysis of online articles of the *Allgemeine Zeitung Namibia* (hereafter AZ), Namibia's sole German-language newspaper and a prominent source for this study, the research aims to enhance the development and recognition of contemporary written communication in NG, specifically in the realm of newspaper language. This chapter will first provide an overview of the historical background and linguistic setting in Namibia, and it will then go on to present an empirical analysis of data which confirms the presence of namibianims in written communication, that is in the more informal section of the AZ (Radke 2017; Kellermeier-Rehbein 2018; Kroll-Tjingaete 2018) and not only in spoken interactions (Wiese et al. 2017).

2. Historical context: How did German arrive in Namibia?

The presence of German in Namibia is connected with emigration before and after the colonial period, therefore it is primarily necessary to contextualise the relations between Germany and Namibia historically.

The first wave of emigration to Namibia[8] occurred in the XIX century with the arrival of German missionaries of the Rhenish Missionary Society, firstly into southern African territories and subsequently extending into regions of southwestern Africa by 1842. The Rhenish Mission was one of the most significant missions in the initial phases of Germany's engagement with Africa (Speitkamp 2005). Their activities proved to be highly influential in attracting the interest of settlers keen on colonizing Namibia. German political interest in Africa as a potential colony remained relatively low, until the mid-XIX century, with the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885, which marked the era of the *Scramble*

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[6] National languages are "languages spoken in Namibia as mother tongues by Namibian citizens" (MBESC 2003: 7).

[7] Namibian languages refer to the languages belonging to the Ntu (Niger-Congo) and Khoisan language families, which originate and are prevalent in Africa, as also highlighted in "The Language Policy for Schools in Namibia: Discussion Document" (MBESC 2003).

[8] Throughout this chapter, the term *Namibia* will be consistently used, except when directly referring to the toponym under which it was known during the German colonial period.

for Africa among European powers (Reinhard 2002), letting Germany claim the following colonies in East and West Africa: *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (German East Africa) – corresponding to present-day mainland Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi – in East Africa, then Togo and Cameroon in the western area and in south-western Africa *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (German South-West Africa), corresponding to present-day Namibia. These colonies, however, did not share the same path (Gründer 1999): while the territories in East and West Africa ultimately became exploitation colonies for resources and labour, Namibia, on the other hand, was later identified as the suitable territory for colonial settlement (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016).

Namibia became the German colony *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* when, in 1884, Franz Adolf Eduard Lüderitz acquired Angra Pequena and its surrounding territories and gave them to the German Empire (Wallace & Kinahan 2011). From this moment on, colonial atrocities followed a precise strategy, progressively escalating through the decades, culminating in the German-Namibian War of 1904-08 and the subsequent brutal Ovaherero and Nama Genocide[9] (Kössler 2012; Zimmerer 2023). The colonial period then marked one of the most important phases in which the German speech community settled in Namibia. The intensification occurred when the oppression of Namibian communities became even harsher, leading the German power to need more people to control the territory (Walther 2002; Deumert 2009).

Following the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Versailles after Germany's defeat in World War I, Germany lost sovereignty over all its colonies, which were placed under the supervision of victorious nations (Förster et al., 2004). From 1919 onward, Namibia[10] was ruled under the mandate given to South Africa, which kept on pursuing colonial oppression and socio-political discriminations, culminating in the implementation of apartheid in Namibia. In the early 1930s, more Germans moved to Namibia because of renewed interest in expansion toward Africa fuelled by Nazi propaganda (Evans & Strandmann 2000). However, when World War II began, this trend slowed down (Weigend 1985). Many Germans were interned, first in camps in Windhoek and later in Kimberley, South Africa (Kube & Kotze 2002; Botha 2007). After 1945, the migration wave underwent more changes: German prisoners returned to Namibia, while others left, seeking better prospects due to Germany's post-war economic crisis. When South Africa implemented apartheid laws in Namibia in 1951, the German community gained privilege and aligned with the South African community to maintain white supremacy and cultural identity.

After years of conflicts and resistance lead by SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization), Namibia finally gained independence in 1990, constituting the democratic Republic of Namibia. Today, the German speech community is embedded in a highly multilingual society. The languages spoken in this country belong to five different language families, with Ntu languages and Khoisan languages being the most widespread. Eberhard et al. (2023) list a total of 28 languages, 23 of which are Namibian languages. German is among the 13 national languages recognised in Namibia, alongside Oshiwambo (Oshikwanyama and Oshindonga), Otjiherero, Rumanyo, Rukwangali, Setswana, Silozi,

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[9] This event is recognized as the first genocide of the XX century (Steinmetz 2005; Zimmerer 2008; Zimmerer & Zeller 2016; Melber 2023). The official recognition of these atrocities by the German government occurred only in 2021, after years of negotiations and amnesia, remaining an integral part of the relations between Germany and Namibia (Zimmerer 2015; Melber 2017; Weber & Weber 2020) and arising a heated debate.

[10] During the South-African mandate (1919-1990), Namibia was known under the name *South-West Africa*.

Thimbukushu, Khoekhoegowab, JuI'hoansi, and Afrikaans, which continues to serve as a lingua franca (Fourie 2014; Stell & Groenewald 2016). Among the population, nearly 3% are native English speakers, while approximately 50% speak Oshiwambo, 11% speak Khoekhoegowab, 10% speak Afrikaans, and 9% each speak Kavango and Otjiherero as their first languages. The German-speaking community comprises around 25,000 speakers, accounting for approximately 1% of the total population (Zimmer 2019) and is concentrated mainly in the central regions Khomas, Otjozondjupa, and Erongo living mostly in the capital city of Windhoek, in Omaruru, and Otjiwarongo.

3. The status of NG in today's Namibia

As seen, the presence of Germans in Namibia is connected with the migration waves before and after the founding of the colony *Deutsch-Südwestafrika*. Having given an outline of the power shifts affecting this country, this paragraph will illustrate the different language policies adopted throughout the decades which have contributed to shape today's Namibian multilingual context, and therefore the status of German in today's Namibia.

     With the beginning of the German colonial period in Namibia, German was declared the official language of the occupied territory and was introduced also as the language of instruction in schools (Zappen-Thomson 2022). The colonial supremacy clearly also involved the exploitation of land and labour, making German settlers the major employers who hired locals for household and agriculture work (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016). These contexts provided strong impetus for language contact – besides the first contacts between Namibians and missionaries – where the German language came into direct contact with the various languages spoken among the workers. When starting from 1919 Namibia was ruled by South Africa, German lost its status as official language, being replaced by English and Afrikaans. Missionary schools were required to teach Afrikaans and English, leading to a conflict with the German community. In 1923, however, the London Agreement allowed limited use of German in official contexts and schools, yet this was followed by segregationist policies which marginalized again German in favour of Afrikaans and English. However, in 1984, it started to be a semi-official language again (Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2018), thanks to the privileged position that the white population held under the South African supremacy.

     Along with the fights for independence, SWAPO also fought for an appropriate language policy and proposed English as the sole official language for the independent Namibia. English was identified as the ideal official language that could promote national unity. The language chosen should contribute to the new nation's primary task, which was achieving unity and national reconstruction in the wake of deliberate policy of ethnolinguistic fragmentation pursued by the occupying regime (UNIN 1981). English was regarded as the language symbolizing liberty, noted for its impartiality in intercommunity communication (Geingob 1995; Pütz 2004). The selection of English was based on several factors[11] outlined in the document "Toward a Language Policy for Namibia. English as the Official Language: Perspectives and Strategies" (UNIN 1981). German's consideration as an official language was impeded by its association with the

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[11] These criteria encompassed aspects such as unity, acceptability, familiarity, feasibility, neutrality, importance in science and technology, Pan Africanism, broader communication, and United Nations relevance (UNIN 1981).

colonial era and its comparatively limited number of native speakers. Similarly, although not even Afrikaans fulfilled all criteria, its colonial connotations primarily contributed to its exclusion as an official language, despite its widespread use among speakers. As seen above, SWAPO recognised then German, Afrikaans, and all Namibian languages as national languages.

Today, the German language has quite a widespread diffusion in different contexts. Its use is not confined solely to private contexts but it extends into public domains as well. German enjoys institutional endorsement through the education system, such as in kindergarten, school, and university. German is offered both as mother tongue (*Deutsch als Muttersprache* – DaM) in 14 schools and as a foreign language (*Deutsch als Fremdsprache* - DaF) in 52 schools and 3 universities (Shah & Zimmer 2023; Zappen-Thomson 2022). It is also promoted by cultural institutions such as the Goethe-Institut Namibia or the private organisations *Deutsch Namibische Gesellschaft* (DNG) or *Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft* (NWG). As Namibia represents a fascinating tourist attraction for German speakers, the tourist sector is also an important sphere where the language is highly present. Furthermore, German can be seen and heard in media channels, such as in the newspaper AZ or on the radio Hitradio Namibia. Moreover, German integrates into everyday life, such as in place and street nomenclature, commercial and gastronomic signage, and cultural festivities, including Oktoberfest and Karneval.

3.1 Namibian German, Namdeutsch, Nam Släng...

The terminology recently established to identify the variety of German in Namibia is the neutral NG[12], or *Namdeutsch* (Zimmer 2019; Wiese et al. 2017), as it is a "more neutral all-encompassing term used by speakers" (Shah & Zimmer 2023: 215), in contrast with the colonial term *Südwesterdeutsch* previously used, which is now avoided due to its association with the colonial era (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016). NG has developed different varieties and registers (Wiese & Bracke 2018): on a generational level, *Nam Släng* or *Namslang*[13] indicates the informal register used by younger speakers. *Nam Släng* is primarily found in spoken language and is heavily characterised by borrowings from English and Afrikaans. Additionally, it exhibits typical features of spoken language, such as contractions, ellipses, syntactic discontinuities, and anacolutha, among others (Shah 2007). On a diastratic level, the contact-variety known as *Kiche Duit*s or *Küchendeutsch* began to spread at the beginning of the XX century. This German-based mixed variety developed during the colonial era for interethnic communication between locals and German-speaking colonizers. As the name suggests, this variety was limited to the workplace, especially to the workers appointed to the kitchens of German families. The employees came from different language backgrounds, predominantly speaking Otjiherero and Khoekhoegowab (Deumert 2009). Because *Küchendeutsch* was used for rudimentary communication, it is characterised by strong lexical and morphological reductions.

Against the background of this language contact context, NG is also intensively shaped by it and includes borrowings and transfers from Afrikaans, which are more

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[12] Additional terms mentioned in the literature (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016) include *Namibisches Deutsch* (NG) or *Namibia-Deutsch* (Namibia-German), as well as *Namlish*. The latter referred to English spoken in Namibia but has since expanded to describe German spoken in Namibia, emphasizing its major influence from the English language (Buschfeld & Schröder 2019).

[13] This term originates from Sell (2011), also known as EES, a German-namibian singer who created a vocabulary in which the author brings together variations of this colloquial and youth language.

dominant than English transfers (Zimmer 2019), and transfers from Namibian languages, which are, on the contrary, quite limited. Shah (2007) emphasizes that "English is also currently exercising a large influence on the German language in Namibia" above all due to the spreading of terminology used for computers, mobile phones, and other such technology. To some extent, NGs words are borrowed especially from South African English (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2018).

In general, linguistic specificities can be found on all levels of linguistic description: lexicon, morphology, syntax, and phonetics. For instance, some of the most frequent NG variants heard in spoken interactions are *Braai* (grill party), *Oukie* (guy), *Pad* (path), *Rivier* (dry river), *Tannie* (aunt) (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2018; Ammon 2016; Shah 2007). Examples of morphology variation can be seen in the structure of compound nouns that are built with a German first element and an Afrikaans-based head (*Überlebens-Kahnse*). Some verbs are formed using the pattern: English or Afrikaans verb stem + German ending -en (e.g. *swotten*, to swot), and the future tense is constructed using the auxiliary verb *gehen* (*gaan*/going to) instead of *werden*, indicating influence from English and Afrikaans (Shah & Zimmer 2023). On a syntactic level, the infinitive construction *um...zu* lacks in NG the final or consecutive meaning it has in German Standard German (hereafter, GSG). This is influenced by the Afrikaans construction *om...te*, the infinitive form of the verb. On a phonological structure, Riehl (2002) points out that the NG phoneme /r/ is realised as a rolled apicoalveolar or alveolar trill, despite an otherwise more northern German pronunciation (Riehl 2004: 108). More recent studies (Stuhl & Zimmer 2021; Zimmer 2021) confirm the influence of northern German phonology in NG, the pronunciation of short vowels instead of long vowels or the spirantization of the voiceless velar plosive /k/ in the syllable coda and the unaspirated voiceless plosives (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2015). This may be linked to the fact that, despite diverse origins, most Germans in Namibia trace their family roots to "the northernmost regions of the German-speaking area in Europe" (Stuhl & Zimmer 2021: 74).

4. Textual and intertextual dynamics of Namibian German: a corpus-based analysis

Given the historical and sociolinguistic context of German in Namibia, this section presents the study conducted on the intertextual dynamics of NG, based on the newspaper AZ:

> Die Allgemeine Zeitung hat sich heute von dem althergebrachten Weg der Selbstisolierung der deutschen Minderheit und ihrer Medien weitgehend abgewandt. Sie bleibt zwar Ausdruck und Stifter der kulturellen Identität der Namibia-Deutschen, doch zugleich bemüht sie sich, die Deutschsprachigen in die Vielvölkergemeinschaft des heute unabhängigen Namibia zu integrieren und mit den anderen Volksgruppen in einen Dialog zu treten.[14] (Von Nahmen 2001: i)

The AZ founded in 1916, is Namibia's oldest newspaper and the sole newspaper written in German in Africa. It offers daily news in German, with some content in English or

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[14] "The Allgemeine Zeitung has largely departed today from the traditional path of self-isolation of the German minority and its media. While it still serves as an expression and promoter of the cultural identity of the Namibia-Deutschen, it also strives to integrate German speakers into the multi-ethnic community of today's independent Namibia and engage in dialogue with other ethnic groups" (author's translation).

Afrikaans. The newspaper is read by around 15,000 German-speaking Namibians (Allgemeine Zeitung – profile in short[15]). It covers local, national, and international news, along with culture, sports, and family announcements. It also reaches international readers through its website, MyInfo app, and Facebook page. Ex Editor-in-Chief Stefan Fischer emphasised in an interview with Deutsche Welle in 2006 that "the only thing that is German about the AZ is the language. We aren't a German newspaper in Namibia. We are a Namibian paper written in the German language" (cited in Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2018: 136-137). Due to the pivotal role that the AZ plays in this multicultural society, and as it is the main source for the inclusion of new lemmas in the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (hereafter VWD) (Ammon 2016), the dictionary that lemmatises variants of the German language used in its centres, this newspaper is a suitable source for the purpose of this study. Ammon (2016) notes that NG words are used in factual texts, including the daily, except on Sundays, AZ, and are recognised by norm authorities as correct. The variants of NG were introduced only in this new edition.

Ammon (2016) notes that the pluricentric view of the German language means that linguistic peculiarities of German centres are not considered as deviations from an overarching GSG, thus incorrect, but as coexisting standard linguistic forms of this specific national variety of German. This dictionary is indeed a complete revision, update, and expansion of the first edition of the *Variantenwörterbuch* (dictionary of the language varieties) from 2004. Until 2004, there was no dictionary encompassing all national varieties of German, only specific dictionaries for the varieties of German spoken in Austria and Switzerland. Thus, in his article "Über ein fehlendes Wörterbuch 'Wie sagt man in Deutschland?'" and the overlooked dictionary type "Nationale Varianten einer Sprache" (national varieties of a language), Ammon proposed the publication of a dictionary that aligned with this pluricentric view. This led to the release of the first VWD, which included variants from Austria, Switzerland, and Germany as equally and as comprehensively as possible. It also introduced variants from Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, East Belgium, and South Tyrol. The Variantenwörterbuch included only standard German lemmas exhibiting national or regional peculiarities. Regarding the inclusion of words in the VWD Ammon explains that:

> erstens ausschlaggebend war, ob regionale oder nationale Besonderheiten in einer der folgenden Hinsichten vorlagen: Vorkommen des ganzen Wortes, in der Bedeutung, in der Verwendung in bestimmten Situationen, nach Sprach-, Stil- oder Altersschicht, nach Verwendungshäufigkeit. Die Aufnahme eines Wortes oder einer Wendung war zweitens abhängig von der Frequenz des Vorkommens in den zugrunde liegenden Korpora, von seiner Behandlung in der Forschungsliteratur und in anderen Wörterbüchern sowie – selbstverständlich – von den Sprachkenntnissen der MitarbeiterInnen in den einzelnen Arbeitsstellen sowie weiterer RegionalexpertInnen[16]. (Ammon 2016: XVIII)

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[15]Allgemeine Zeitung – profile in short [https://www.az.com.na/az-profil, Retrieved 2023, 8 January].

[16] "First, it was decisive whether regional or national peculiarities were present in one of the following respects: occurrence of the entire word, in meaning, in use in certain situations, according to language, style, or age group, according to frequency of use. Second, the inclusion of a word or phrase depended on the frequency of occurrence in the underlying corpora, its treatment in research literature and other dictionaries, as well as, of course, the language skills of the staff in the individual departments and other regional experts" (author's translation).

The introduction of variants from quarter centres in the 2016 edition of the Variantenwörterbuch is therefore of great significance. The new edition includes indeed 162 lemmas from the quarter centres, including 37 namibianims. Since this study focuses only on nominal lemmas, only the 34 Namibia-specific nouns are taken into consideration. These are considered as the most interesting parts of speech to investigate because they are the word class most present in the dictionary and because they allow for a comparison with other studies focused on lexical items. Yet, to expand the lemma list and consequently the possibility of finding more namibianims, lemmas from the studies of Shah (2007), Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016), Kroll-Tjingaete (2018), Radke (2017), and Wiese et al. (2017) are included. Thus, the extended list comprises a total of 91 NG lemmata.

The frequency of namibianims is shown through a corpus-based analysis based on a self-compiled corpus consisting of 583 online articles from various sections of the AZ downloaded from the website archive from January 2019 to July 2019. The AZ has a total of 27 thematic and text-type categories; this study investigates eight of them. To achieve a balanced representativeness of various thematic areas, the following sections are examined: *Afrika* (news about Africa), *International* (international news), *Lokales* (news about Namibia), *Tourismus* (tourisms) and *Geschichte* (history) which also represent the informative style, and the categories *Glosse* (satirical comments), *Leserpost* (readers' letters), and *Meinung & Kommentare* (opinion and comments), which pertain to the expressive style.

Research on the occurrence of namibianims in the AZ has been conducted by Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016) and Radke (2017), among others. The research results highlighted that the use of Namibia-specific words prevailed in informal context near to spoken language conceptual orality (Koch & Oesterreicher 1985). However, Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016) emphasised that namibianims are not only found in colloquial language, but also in public and formal communication, such as in AZ articles.

The quantitative analysis of the frequency of namibianims was conducted using the corpus manager and text analysis software Sketch Engine[17]. Additionally, a register of NG lemmas was created in a spreadsheet. The self-compiled text corpus comprises a total of 229,719 tokens, with the share of the sub corpus of word-form tokens amounting to 73,312. Regarding the overall corpus, it should also be noted that the distribution of articles within the categories is not uniform. In this period, articles in the Lokal category are published to a greater extent in the online edition of the AZ, followed by articles about Afrika, Geschichte, and Tourism. The numbers show a low proportion of articles published in the categories Meinung und Kommentare, Leserpost, Glosse, and International. The number of articles examined, divided into categories, is shown in Table 1. The same table also contains information about the distribution of words and the distribution of the total frequency of nouns per category.

Table 1: Details of the self-compiled corpus of articles of the Allgemeine Zeitung Namibia

Categories	Articles	Namibianims (*n*)	Nouns token	% Namibianims (*n*/20,000)
Glosse	13	31	2,381	65%
Lokales	133	34	12,066	15%
Geschichte	95	29	18,639	8%

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[17] https://www.sketchengine.eu/.

Meinung und Kommentare	64	7	5,611	6%
Tourismus	91	12	13,860	4%
Leserpost	46	2	4,314	2%
Afrika	132	2	15,479	1%
International	9	0	962	0%
Total	583	117	73,312	100%

Based on the information provided in Table 1, it is evident that there is a significant difference in the distribution of words and the overall frequency of nouns across categories. Since the various sections encompass different text types, it is clear that the number of words is not directly proportional to the percentage of articles. Due to the varying sizes of the categories, the numbers are only partially comparable; therefore, the proportions of the categories will be considered based on the distribution of nouns per category. To perform a contrastive analysis of the different ratios between the number of nouns and the frequency of namibianims within the sub corpora, the sub corpora counts must be normalised to a common size. Since the largest sub corpus contains 18,639 noun tokens, normalizing to 20,000 is an appropriate choice. Even though normalization is commonly done per-million-words, this approach seems suitable for smaller corpora, to provide a clearer picture of the distributions of parts of speech.

Out of a total of 73,312 nouns-tokens, 117 nouns belong to Namibian-specific lexical variants. To determine the distribution of namibianims, a type-token ratio of nouns was calculated, resulting in 0.16% of all nouns being namibianims. When comparing the data, a higher occurrence emerges in the Glosse category, where Namibian-specific forms are observed in 31 out of 2,381 nouns (65%), followed by Lokales (15%) and Geschichte (8%). These last two categories deal with themes closely related to local and historical events in Namibia, which is why it is normal for namibianims to be present in a small percentage in these categories as well.

As for the Glosse category, as indicated by Radke (2017) and Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016), and confirmed by this study, the AZ's Glosse contain a substantial proportion of namibianims. According to Radke (2017), this can be attributed to the writing style of the authors, which is defined as an intermediate form, meaning that these satirical comments are written in both GSG and NG. According to the AZ's readership (Radke 2017), the use of Namibian variants in the AZ's Glosse should be limited, to avoid making the texts less readable, because the AZ is read not only by NG-speaking readers, but also by readers from abroad. However, the authors of the newspaper argue that the use of borrowings is a deliberate stylistic device that contributes to the quality of their texts (Radke 2017). Radke (2017) assumes that:

> Das Namdeutsche als Stilelement erfüllt in der Allgemeinen Zeitung somit eine Nischenfunktion. Durch die kontinuierliche, mediale Verwendung des Namdeutschen wird der regelmäßige Rezipient mit den Namdeutschtypischen Entlehnungen vertraut, die durch ihre Verschriftlichung einen gewissen Grad an Standardisierung in Orthographie und Wortwahl erfahren[18]. (Radke 2017:130)

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[18] "*Namdeutsch*, as a stylistic element in the AZ, thus serves a niche function. Through its continuous, media use, regular recipients become familiar with the Namdeutsch-typical borrowings, which, through their spelling, achieve a certain degree of standardization in orthography and word choice" (author's translation).

The analysis has also shown that the namibianims found in the corpus belong not only to the VWD (2016), but also to the lists in the articles of Shah (2007), Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016), Kroll-Tjingaete (2018), Radke (2017), and Wiese et al. (2017). The frequency of lemmas that are not included in the VWD (2016) and are mostly the results of transcriptions of spoken interactions seem to demonstrate that these namibianims (see Table 2) are slowly being accepted in written newspaper language, gaining some sort of written diffusion and recognition.

Table 2: List of the namibianims occurring in the corpus which are not included in the VWD

NG	Meaning	Source
Baas, der	chef	Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016)
Kraal, der	village of Owambo or a cattle reserve	Shah (2007)
Ominitseli, der	minister	Radke (2017)
Oukie, der	guy	Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016)
Tannie, die	aunt	Wiese et al. (2017)
Vizekommissar, der	deputy commissioner	Kroll-Tjingaete (2018)
Werft, die	traditional oveherero settlement	Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016)

5. Discussion and conclusions

The results of the corpus driven analysis show that the higher distribution of Namibian nouns is generally seen in the Glosse sub corpus (65%), followed by texts about local events (Lokales – 15%) and history (Geschichte – 8%). The frequency analysis of lexical items of NG illustrates that, despite the lower frequency of words, more namibianims are used in the category Glosse if compared to the other categories, which have a higher number of nouns-tokens but fewer namibianims, thus confirming the trend previously identified in the studies by Radke (2017) and Kellermeier-Rehbein (2016). This can be linked to that fact that these comments have an informal and satirical nature, which tends to allow for less rigid and informal stylistic choices compared to the other categories. Using namibianims also serves as tool for underlining sarcasm and irony (Radke 2017) and this category aligns perfectly well with these features. In these articles, there is typically more flexibility in stylistic choices, allowing for the incorporation of these NG linguistic features to fulfil different purposes, including the necessity to include the NG linguistic identity which of course undergoes constant negotiations, dwelling between norm and variation. Moreover, the presence of namibianims in the categories Lokales and Geschichte can be explained by their thematic core that revolves around Namibian reality. Therefore, in order to describe it, it is necessary to adopt namibianims.

Even though NG "may enjoy a low level of standard acceptance in the written language" (Radke 2017), partly because these variants lead to the interruption of the flow of the reading style elements as identification with language (Radke 2017), the frequency of use of these NG variants in written language confirms the identity function (Schmidt-Lauber 1998) that the language brings with itself. A national variety of a language is indeed an expression of national identity (Clyne 1995): furthermore, in Namibia, the German language represents the main component of the identity of the German-speaking community (Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2018): therefore, using Namibian-specific lemmas in written communication is a strong identity marker of the Namibian-German identity. The linguistic choices, specifically the use of Namibian-specific lemmas in written communication, stand as strong identity markers. The intentional incorporation of

Namibian-specific lemmas signifies a conscious effort by the German-speaking community to assert their unique cultural and linguistic identity. In this context, language is not merely a tool for communication but a symbolic expression of their historical background and multicultural influences that characterize German-Namibian identity. As the linguistic nuances of NG variants become known worldwide, they can foster a greater sense of interconnectedness. Thus, the deliberate use of NG lemmas in written communication goes beyond a mere linguistic choice; it becomes a powerful tool for cultural and identity expression. Speakers thus contribute not only to the preservation of their linguistic heritage, but also to the promotion of a more inclusive and culturally diverse global discourse.

However, attitudes toward the use of variants of NG are at the same time critical, because of its non-alignment with what is considered "good" German, implying the correctness related to German Standard German (Wiese et al. 2017; Leugner 2023). This standard variety is typically considered the norm and is taught in schools and used in formal settings, usually implicating that deviations from GSG, as seen in NG variants, will be viewed negatively or as incorrect by those who adhere strictly to the standards of GSG. This criticism is linked not only to linguistic purism or a desire to maintain linguistic purity and conformity to established norms but also to a sort of identity protection (Edwards 2009). Another example are the statements of the authors of AZ (see Radke 2017), who advocate a limited use of namibianims in media language and discourage their overly intensive use. This can also be seen to a certain extent in this study, where namibianims are almost completely absent from the categories Afrika and International, which deal with international topics. Ensuring direct comprehension by German-speaking communities worldwide may be the primary objective of these texts, and it could be reached by conforming to the usage of GSG. It is interesting to note that not even the reader's letters (Leserpost) include many namibianims, perhaps confirming the writers' willingness to confirm to the usage of GSG, above all when addressing language authorities.

Given the intrinsic feature of pluricentric languages as unifiers and dividers of people (Clyne 1992), NG also creates this polarity. On the one hand, part of the German-speaking community sees this national variety in opposition to the standard German spoken in Germany, bearing a negative connotation and considered less prestigious (Zimmer 2019). On the other hand, NG is associated with a specific NG identity, creating a unique NG identity (Schmidt-Lauber 1998; Wiese & Bracke 2018; Radke 2023) where the German language is indeed one of the most important components (Ammon 2015; Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2018).

In conclusion, the exploration and the identification of namibianims have provided insights into the dynamic interplay between language, and identity in Namibia. There is ample room for further research, particularly for a broader diachronic investigation of frequency of namibianims to unveil linguistic shifts and the evolution of NG over time. As the AZ is the main source for including namibianims in the VWD, a study conducted on articles published after 2016 until now may demonstrate which other namibianims can be recognised as variants of this variety of the German language (see Table 2). Additionally, exploring the sociolinguistic factors influencing the adoption and preservation of NG variants across generations may contribute to a deeper understanding of language dynamics within the Namibian-German community.

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Empowering media literacy through Multimodal Discourse Analysis: a case study on the media representation of migrants

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Abstract: This case-study reports on a Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)-based workshop on Media Literacy (ML) held at an Italian middle school in 2022. With a pre-test post-test design, 44 participants were asked to complete a questionnaire at the beginning of a 2-hour workshop and then again at the end. The questionnaire was designed to (1) explore the role of multiple semiotic modes in shaping students' interpretation of a 1-minute video shared on the web, and (2) examine variations in their understanding as a result of the MDA analysis. Results point to the potential of MDA in fostering and leveraging ML among young learners.

Keywords: Media Literacy, Multimodal Discourse Analysis, video analysis, questionnaire survey, young learners, migration

1. Introduction

What does it mean to read and write in today's digitally mediated world? Are any new skills needed for literacy development? If so, what new skills are needed to effectively guide students in navigating the dynamic landscape of communication modalities? Additionally, what new skills are required to "ensure that all students benefit from learning in ways that allow them to participate fully in public, community, and economic life" (Cazden et al. 1996: 60)? This research seeks to address these questions and provide an example of instructional design employed for two 2-hour Media Literacy (ML) workshops entitled "Media and migration: a multimodal discourse analysis" delivered to upper-secondary students at different Italian schools. While significant work has been done into elaborating instructional designs for ML, surprisingly, much less has been said about the contribution that Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) might provide to this field. As such, this study aims to expand on previous work by presenting an MDA-informed approach to ML and providing an overview of the pedagogic approach and tools developed. Furthermore, to assess the effectiveness of this approach in leveraging students' multimodal competence for the critical assessment of media contents, a survey specifically designed for these workshops was administered to the participants. After reviewing prior research and approaches in the field of ML and MDA-informed literacy pedagogy (1), the case-study is presented. The dataset, data collection instruments, and analysis procedure are then described (2). Finally, students' replies to the survey are analysed (3) to discuss and evaluate the benefits of developing MDA-based approaches to ML instruction (4, 5). This focused exploration sheds light on the need to focus on MD and the benefits of MDA, showcasing their potential for fostering critical approaches to media representations of migration and other underrepresented populations in society.

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1.1 Media literacy

ML has been defined as "a form of critical literacy" (Buckingham 2003: 38) which focuses on the skills to analyse, evaluate, and critically reflect upon media contents. It was in the 1970s, with the proliferation of mass media, that Media Education began to be discussed at institutional level, particularly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), whose "Grünwald Declaration on Media Education" (UNESCO 1982) officially promoted Media Education worldwide as an operational educational tool for younger people. Since then, ML has increasingly been of topical interest. Thanks to the global diffusion of mobile devices and the rise of social media, media *pro*sumers – particularly young adults – can now not only consume, but also easily "produce and disseminate media messages often involving multimodal representations which incorporate text, images and sound" (Lim et al. 2011: 169). Unfortunately, the rapid spread of multimodal contents in new media is not always accompanied by users' awareness of the framing of their perceptual experience by such representations (Entman & Usher 2018), to the point that they contribute to include or exclude certain groups of people from what the audience perceives as closely related rather than unrelated categories. As of today, numerous good practices in ML have been implemented globally (European Commission 2023). However, there is still no common definition nor a unified approach to ML instruction at different levels. Similarly, ML instruction has been highly influenced by an underlying technocentric position which still permeates institutional guidelines and resolutions. According to the European Parliament resolution on "Media literacy in a digital world" (European Parliament 2008), for example, learners need to be instructed on how to "use media and their contents", with particular reference to issues such as fake news, copyright, privacy, while less attention has been paid to the higher-order critical thinking skills involved in media analysis, which are given little mention.

1.2 Multimodal literacy

When, in 1994, scholars such as Courtney Cazden, Norman Fairclough, and Gunther Kress reunited in the New London Group to question how technology changes and globalization were affecting education, they acknowledged that traditional classroom pedagogy – which was mostly based on monomodal tools for learning – was no longer effective in accounting for "the bourgeoning variety of text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies" (Cazden et al. 1996: 61). A pedagogy of "Multiliteracies" (Cazden et al. 1996) was then conceptualized as an approach to literacy theory and pedagogy which should include "understanding and competent control of representational forms that are becoming increasingly significant in the overall communications environment, such as visual images and their relationship to the written word […]" (Cazden et al. 1996: 61).

Stemming from the concept of "Multiliteracies", the term "Multimodal Literacy" was first proposed by Jewitt & Kress (2003) "to represent understanding of and competency in the diverse modes through which meanings are made" (Lim et al. 2015). In contrast to the traditional notion of literacy and learning as a primary linguistic accomplishment, Multimodal Literacy (see, among others, van Leeuwen 2017) refers to "the ability to critically analyse symbolic texts" (Lim et al. 2011: 7), that is to understand how a range of modes, including not only text, but also images – both static and dynamic, such as in videos – and sound, contributes to the shaping of knowledge. Following the

proliferation of multimodal representation in today's media landscape – e.g. memes, emoji, IG stories – scholars have increasingly "focused on understanding the different ways in which meaning can be created and communicated in the world today" (Lim et al. 2011: 6). Multimodal Literacy is informed by research in the field of Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), whose purpose is to understand: (1) "how texts make meanings and how these meanings can be conveyed by different communicative forms such as language, image, sound, gesture, etc."; (2) "how audiences engage with the texts"; and (3) "the political, economic and social contexts in which the texts are produced and consumed"(Lim et al. 2011: 6-7). Furthermore, MDA scholars particularly focus "on how 'intra and inter-semiosis' arising from the interaction within and between two or more semiotic modes empower or disempower creators and receivers of multimodal texts" (Lim et al. 2011: 6). As such, Multimodal Literacy aims to enable lay viewers to understand how multimodal texts trigger mechanisms of identification with the symbolic world represented in multimodal texts. Therefore, while "[M]edia literacy focuses on the skills to access, consume, assess and produce content" (Lim et al. 2011: 7), Multimodal literacy "emphasizes the ability to critically decipher the meaning-making potential of semiotic resources" (Lim et al. 2011: 7). As Lim et al. (2011: 7) have pointed out, "the ability to critically analyse symbolic texts thus lies at the intersection of multimodal literacy and media literacy and a robust definition of media literacy that serves today's mediascape has to take into account multimodality and incorporate multimodal literacy." This is particularly relevant for young adults, for whom the changing media environment is contributing to wider social and cultural changes (Livingstone & Bovill 2000). According to Livingstone and Bovill (2000: 40), children – particularly working class children – need to be taught how to "gain competencies in understanding the construction, forms, strengths and limitations of screen-based contents." Therefore, as Lim and Tan (2018: 291) have emphasised, "[a]s educators, we need to develop the knowledge and pedagogy to teach multimodal literacy."

1.3 Research questions

This chapter aims to respond to this call by proposing an MDA-based approach to ML instruction. This study is guided by two research questions: (1) How can MDA be leveraged as an operational tool to empower young people to become more autonomous and critical *pro*sumers of multimodal mediated content? (2) How can the effectiveness of this approach to Media Literacy be assessed?

2. Methodology
2.1 Dataset and participants

The case-study presented in this chapter reports on two 2-hour workshops delivered to 44 Italian students from a 7th and 8th grade class in a middle school in Italy in February and March 2022. The workshops, entitled "Media and migration: a multimodal discourse analysis," were presented through a Power Point presentation and consisted of three parts: (1) Media & Multimodal Discourse, (2) Video Analysis, and (3) Media & Migration. The first part, "Media & Multimodal discourse," was aimed at introducing students to the field of multimodality and its core terminology (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, Baldry & Thibault 2006), by particularly focussing on the high modal density which characterizes today's new media and its meaning potential. More specifically, Part 1 consisted of 6 sub-

sections: Media; Communication; Modes (verbal, images, gestures, space, sound); Multimedia ≠ Multimodal; Rhetorical situation; and Genre, with a specific focus on the genre of audio-visual political advertising, represented in the video analysed.

In Part 2, "Video analysis," students were asked to watch a 1-minute video about migration shared by the European Commission on its official website (European Commission 2021). The reasons for selecting this video were two-fold. First, these ML workshops were carried out as part of a broader project promoted by the Department of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Bologna in 2022 entitled "Views of the world," involving several middle and high schools of the region Emilia-Romagna and aimed at exploring issues related to cultural and linguistic diversity. Considering that 10% of the total number of students attending state schools in Italy are foreign nationals, 64.5% of whom are second-generation students (Italian Education Ministry 2020), we thought that a ML workshop on the multimodal representation of migrants would be of interest to most students involved, due to the topic itself. Secondly, the explicit author of the video selected is an authoritative source, namely the European Commission, which lent truthfulness and credibility to the content.

Since the video had embedded subtitles in English only, but the workshops were carried out in the students' L1, Italian, students were provided with simultaneous Italian subtitles, so that the language barrier would not hinder their understanding.

2.2 Data collection instruments and analysis procedure

Data were gathered from students' replies to a structured multiple-choice questionnaire (Questionnaire A) specifically designed to assess students' interpretation of the video investigated, which was administered to them before and after the MDA was carried out in plenary (Table 1).

Table 6: Questionnaire A assessed students' interpretations of the video before and after the MDA was carried out in plenary

1.	In your opinion, what's the **purpose** of the video?
	A. To objectively report and illustrate events, descriptions, ideas and concepts.
	B. To convey messages and induce opinions.
	C. To propose solutions.
	D. To promote viewers' engagement, by actively bringing them into play.
2.	Who is/are the **protagonist/s**?
	A. The migrants.
	B. The European Union.
	C. The host communities.
	D. The migration.
3.	**Who is/are** directly **impacted** by the protagonist's actions?
	A. The migrants.
	B. The European Union.
	C. The host communities.
	D. The migration.
4.	What might the **central conflict** of the video be?
	A. Migrants are forced to move out of necessity rather than free choice.
	B. The European Union has to face the challenge of managing migration.
	C. Host communities are not welcoming of migrants.
	D. Migration is not regulated.
5.	How does the ending of the video **resolve** the overall **conflict**?

	A. Migrants' rights are recognized.
	B. The viewers are triggered to be grateful for the work carried out by the European Union.
	C. Viewers are called upon to actively participate in welcoming migrants.
	D. The viewers are triggered to feel strong emotions (compassion, indignation) towards migrants.
6.	Which elements are generally more prominent in the **frames**?
	A. The face of the participants.
	B. The actions performed by the participants.
	C. The settings in which participants perform.
	D. The captions (lines of text).
7.	What is the **relationship** between the scenes?
	A. The migrants' living conditions.
	B. The fields of work and education.
	C. The displacement/mobility.
	D. The policies promoted by the European Union.
8.	**THE TEXT** in the video allowed me to:
	A. **understand** the content of the video.
	B. feel **compassion** towards migrants and the issues they face.
	C. feel **grateful** for the work carried out by the European Union.
	D. feel an active community member and **encouraged me to actively participate**.
9.	**THE IMAGES** in the video allowed me to:
	A. **understand** the content of the video.
	B. feel **compassion** towards migrants and the issues they face.
	C. feel **grateful** for the work carried out by the European Union.
	D. feel an active community member and **encouraged me to actively participate**.
10.	**THE MUSIC** in the video allowed me to:
	A. **understand** the content of the video.
	B. feel **compassion** towards migrants and the issues they face.
	C. feel **grateful** for the work carried out by the European Union.
	D. feel an active community member and **encouraged me to actively participate**.

In Part 2, the analysis of the video investigated particularly focussed on the semiotic modes shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Semiotic modes investigated during the multimodal analysis of the selected video

VERBAL LANGUAGE	IMAGES	GESTURES	SPACE	SOUND
VERBAL LANGUAGE	FRAMING	EDITING	MISE-EN-SCENE	SOUND
WRITTEN TEXT (E.G. CAPTIONS)	CAMERA SHOT SIZE	EDITING	SETTINGS	MUSIC
	CAMERA ANGLES			
	FRAMES (PARTICIPANTS AND COMPOSITION)		LIGHTING	

In addition, in Part 2, students were provided with an open-ended questionnaire (Questionnaire B) aimed at supporting them during the analysis of the video which was conducted in plenary (Table 2).

Table 7: Questionnaire B supported students during the MDA analysis carried out in plenary

1	RHETORICAL SITUATION	When and where was this video shared?
2		Who's the author?
3		Who's the target audience?
4		What's the purpose?
5		Which genre does this video belong to?
6	VERBAL LANGUAGE	Which elements make the textual (verbal) part?
7		What's its function?
8		What is the narrative style?
9		Who/what is the subject?
10		Who/what is the object?
11		What kind of nouns are used when referring to migrants: e.g. countable/singular or plural/collective? Abstracts or concrete?
12		What kind of verbs are used? (e.g. action, stative, modals?)
13		What verb tenses are used?
14		What personal pronouns are used?
15	FRAMING	Who's more salient in frames: people or settings?
16		Which camera angles are most used to frame the participants?
17		What elements (e.g. people, or things) framed in the shots is our attention most directed at?
18		How?
19		What feelings do participants trigger in the viewers through their mimicry, posture, or the ambience?
20		Who are the participants? (e.g. age, gender)
21	EDITING	How are all the visual frames "linked" together? i.e. What's the relationship between the frames?
22	MISE-EN-SCÈNE	Where does the video take place? E.g.: indoor/outdoor; historic/contemporary settings?
23		What kind of object are more often framed?
24		How does light highlight (or obscure) certain characters or objects? e.g. Are they shadowy or lighted up?
25	SOUND	How does the soundtrack affect the mood of the video? Does it foreshadow aspects of the plot, or shape our understanding of main characters?

It is important to stress that the researcher did not provide students with answers, but rather used questioning to prompt evidence-based interpretations from the students and guide them in making explicit their tacit understanding of the video. At the end of Part 2, students were then asked to fill in Questionnaire 1 again.

Finally, Part 3 aimed at providing students with relevant findings from current research on the multimodal representation of migrants and migration in Italian news media (see e.g. Caruso et al. 2019). The terminology employed in both Part 1 and 3, as well as in Questionnaires A and B, was adapted and simplified, in the attempt to primarily meet the needs of the young participants, and also for time constraints. In addition, both Questionnaire A and B might be easily replicable to other video contents, although multiple choices in Questionnaire A were specifically designed for the analysis of the video shown during the workshops. Data were gathered from the 44 students who answered Questionnaire A. Although the two workshops were carried out on two different dates with two different groups of students, we will henceforth refer to the whole dataset comprising the replies provided by all 44 students taking part in the workshop.

The replies provided before and after the analysis were then compared. The data enabled us to capture students' interpretations at different points in time, thus also providing further insights into (1) which semiotic modes were more likely to influence students' understanding of the message transmitted by the video, and (2) to what extent the MDA analysis conducted affected students' interpretation.

3. Findings

Since Questionnaire A was administered in person on paper, students' replies were first annotated and then computed on Microsoft Excel (Table 3).

Table 3: Answers provided by students in the pre- and post-test phase

QS.		A	B	C	D
1	before	14	5	6	**18**
	after	10	14	3	14
2	before	**15**	7	6	**15**
	after	10	13	2	15
3	before	**19**	8	7	9
	after	20	10	6	4
4	before	**27**	12	2	0
	after	30	9	3	1
5	before	11	3	**26**	3
	after	10	3	24	4
6	before	5	**25**	8	3
	after	4	21	10	1
7	before	**18**	10	2	10
	after	14	11	3	12
8	before	**21**	4	2	13
	after	18	6	1	13
9	before	**25**	6	5	5
	after	19	8	7	5
10	before	11	**21**	2	7
	after	9	20	2	7

The replies students provided during the pre-test (before the MDA analysis was carried out) and post-test phase (after the MDA analysis) were compared, by particularly focussing on 'vote flows,' in other words how many students changed their answers during the post-test phase and to which questions. Table 4 shows discrepancies arising when comparing students' replies in the pre- and post-test phase.

Table 4: 'Vote flows' indicating variations in students' replies from the pre-test to the post-test phase

QS.		A	B	C	D
1		-4	+9	-3	-4
2		-5	+6	-4	0
3		+1	+2	-1	-5

4		+3	-3	+1	+1
5		-1	0	-2	+1
6		-1	-4	+2	-2
7		-4	+1	+1	+2
8		-3	+2	-1	0
9		-6	+2	+2	0
10		-2	-1	0	0

As shown in Table 4, most students changed their replies for questions 1, 2, 3, and 9 in the post-test phase. Therefore, we hereafter report students' replies to these questions in particular.

3.1 Q.1: In your opinion, what's the *purpose* of the video?

Many students changed their opinion of the purpose of the video. In the pre-test phase, 42% of students said that the video aimed to promote viewers' engagement, by actively bringing them into play (answer D). Therefore, most of them classified the video as 'participatory.' 34% of students also said that the video mainly had an 'informative' function (answer A) aiming to objectively report and illustrate events, descriptions, ideas and concepts. However, in the post-test phase, only 24% of students still thought it was an 'informative' video, while the total number of students still thinking that the video had a 'participatory' function decreased to 34%. Conversely, 34% said that the video was rather aimed at conveying messages and inducing opinions (answer B), thus reconsidering the purpose of the video as 'persuasive.'

3.2 Q.2: Who/What is/are the *protagonist*/s?

Many students also changed their views as regards who the protagonist of the video is. Before the MDA was carried out in plenary, 35% of students said that 'migration' was the protagonist of the video (answer D), while 16% of them indicated 'the European Union' (answer B). In the post-test phase, even more students said the migration was the protagonist of the video (38%), but the number of students indicating 'The European Union' rose to 33%.

3.3 Q.3: Who/What is/are directly *impacted by* the protagonist's actions?

The substantial change in students' interpretation of who the protagonist of the video is also impacted on their understanding of who/what is directly impacted by the protagonist's actions. In the pre-test phase, 44% of students said that 'the migrants' (answer A) were mostly affected by the protagonist' actions, which they had previously indicated as 'migration'. 21% of them also said 'the host communities' (answer C), while 19% said "the European Union" (answer B). After the MDA was carried out, however, even more students said 'the migrants' (50%), although the number of students indicating the "European Union" rose to 25%, while the number of students choosing 'host communities' decreased to 10%.

3.4 Q.9: The *IMAGES* in the video allowed me to:

The MDA analysis seems to have particularly changed students' views on the role of images in the video. Questions 8, 9 and 10 aimed to assess students' ability to critically understand which semiotic modes were more likely to influence their understanding of the message transmitted by the video and how. In Q.8 and Q.10, students' replies are similar in both the pre- and post-test phase. In fact, in Q.8, most students replied that the text allowed them to 'understand the content of the video' (answer A; 53% before and 47% after the analysis), and in Q.10 they said that the music led them to 'feel compassion towards migrants and the issues they face' (answer B; 51% before and 53% after the analysis). However, in Q.9, while most students (61%) said that the images in the video allowed them to 'understand the content of the video' (answer A), after the analysis was carried out the number of students providing the same reply decreased to 49%.

We hereafter discuss students' replies to these questions in particular., with reference to the possible impact that the MDA might have had on students' re-interpretation of the meanings conveyed by the video analysed.

4. Discussion

The case study findings described above not only address the research objectives related to the operationalization of MDA as a pedagogic tool to analyze multimodal media texts and assess the effectiveness of this approach to ML, but also underscore the need to focus on media literacy and the benefits of MDA to foster critical approaches to media representations of migration and other underrepresented or misrepresented people in society. Furthermore, the results provide further insights into how students rely on specific semiotic modes to interpret multimodal media contents.

4.1 Pre-test phase

In the pre-test phase, in Q.9, the great majority of students indicated that it was mostly the visual mode (i.e. the visual frames) that helped them to understand the content of the video. In addition, students said that the text performed an 'informative' function, but that it also had a 'participatory' function, by strengthening their sense of active citizenship (Q.8). As such, we might assume that, when in Q.1 most students said that the purpose of the video was to promote viewers' engagement, they mainly retrieved information from the captions displayed at the end of the video, as shown in Figure 2. Similarly, it may be that these captions, carefully shown at the very end of the video, suggested to students that the conflict represented in the video ends by calling the viewers to actively participate in welcoming migrants.

Figure 2: The participatory function referred by students might mostly be traced back to the caption text

Similarly, when students identified 'migration' – nobody said the 'migrants' – as, being the protagonist of the video, they mostly relied on the caption text, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Migration, not migrants, is the protagonist of the video, according to most students

However, the visual frames, which mostly depict migrant people – their actions, as well as the settings in which they act, as students indicated in Q.6 and 7 – led them to think that it was migrants who were mostly impacted by the protagonist of the video (Q.2) which, according to students' replies, is migration. Therefore, students came to think that migration is a phenomenon hanging over migrant people, so that they seem to be deprived of any agency. In this respect, in Q.4, most students said that the central conflict in the video is represented by the fact that migrants are forced to move out of necessity rather than free choice. This reply might have been strongly influenced by one frame in particular, shown in Figure 4. Here, the word "choice" appears in the caption text. However, the setting represented in this frame shows neither migrants nor even non-migrant people, but rather an inhabited coastal landscape where buildings might have been destroyed by an environmental calamity. We will discuss the meaning potential of this multimodal ensemble in the following section.

Figure 4: Example of a caption text functioning as "anchorage" in the video analysed

4.2 Post-test phase

The MDA analysis was aimed at encouraging students to focus on the elements previously reported in Table 2. Providing a detailed MDA of the video analysed to carry out the ML workshop is beyond the purpose of this study. Therefore, we henceforth report major changes in students' replies that might be traced back to the MDA analysis carried out in

plenary as a measure of the effectiveness of the pedagogic intervention presented in this study.

A deeper analysis of the textual content led more students to track down the protagonist of the video – i.e. the European Union (Q.2). The European Union is, in fact, the subject of most sentences in the text, although it is never overtly shown in the video, except for the recurring EU flag which is visually displayed on the top left-hand corner of the visual frames. Similarly, by looking at the rhetorical situation in which the communication takes place (particularly where, when and by whom the video was shared) more students came to reconsider the central conflict in the video, in other words the European Union and the challenge of managing migration (Q.4). Similarly, as for Q.4, students realized that the recurring theme of the video has more to do with the European Union's policies about migration, than with migrants' living conditions. Similarly, in Q.7, more students recognised that the relationship between the scenes lies in the policies promoted by the European Union, although most students still thought that "the migrants' living conditions" is actually the *leitmotiv* in the video. In this respect, in the post-test phase, more students said that the most prominent elements in the frames are the actions performed by the migrants and the settings where migrants act (Q.6). However, after the analysis, more students came to realize that migrants are instead the participant on whom the actions performed by the protagonist of the video (i.e. the European Union) impact (Q.3). Similarly, in Q.5, almost the same number of students still thought that the video resolves the general conflict by encouraging viewers' active participation in welcoming the migrants. However, we notice that, in the post-test phase, students recognised that the actual purpose of the video (Q.1) is persuasive rather than informative, that is "to convey messages and induce opinions." In this respect, more students came to reconsider the function performed by the visual semiotic mode (Q.9), to which they attributed a less informative function, recognising that images were mainly aimed at triggering an emotional response from the viewers. In this respect, the frame shown in Figure 4 above particularly prompted their understanding of the meaning potential of the co-occurrence of different semiotic modes, specifically text and image. In the frame shown in Figure 4, the caption text functions as an "anchorage" in Barthesian terms (Barthes 1977: 39-40), where "the linguistic message no longer guides identification but interpretation […] the text directs the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others; by means of an often-subtle dispatching, it remote-controls him towards a meaning chosen in advance." More specifically, out of the multiple reasons underlying human migration, this visual frame seems to direct viewers' towards just one of these drivers, possibly climate change.

Similarly, in the frame shown in Figure 5, while the text refers to "the roots" of irregular migration, the image depicts people moving in a long shot from a slightly oblique and eye-level perspective (see e.g. Baldry & Thibault 2006), walking along a poor town road, thus suggesting that poverty is one of the causes of – irregular – migration. Again, the author, by the means of a caption text that functions as an "anchorage," directs viewers' interpretation towards one meaning that the author selected in advance.

Figure 5: Further example of a caption text functioning as "anchorage" in the video analysed

Therefore, in the post-test phases, students came to recognize that images have a more persuasive function (Q.9), aiming to trigger the viewer's emotional response. Interestingly, students were able to indicate – both before and after the analysis – that empathetic music actually worked to provoke the viewers' emotional response, specifically a "feeling of compassion towards migrants and the issues they face."

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to bring attention to the need and benefit of developing MDA-based approaches to ML instruction. The present study has provided snapshots from a case-study reporting on an MDA-based ML workshop delivered to middle-school students and has highlighted that students' interpretation of multimodal contents conveyed through media heavily relies on visual content, which tends to overshadow the meaning potential deriving from the simultaneous and interwoven co-occurrence of multiple semiotic modes. In fact, although students were able to recognize that auditory cues were meant to trigger an emotional response in the viewers, they were less likely to critically deconstruct the meaning conveyed by the interplay between the visual and the verbal content. Nonetheless, in terms of relevance and context to other studies, this preliminary study features many limitations. The small sample size and short duration may limit the generalizability of the findings. Also, the study did not collect any data on the representativeness of the video used to carry out the MDA. This means that it is possible that the video was not representative of the types of media that students typically consume. Despite these limitations, the study provides some valuable insights into the media habits of students in this particular setting. Further research with larger sample sizes, longer durations, and more diverse video stimuli is needed to confirm and extend these findings. Nonetheless, this case study emphasises the need for educational institutions to integrate ML instruction in the curriculum with a view to empower adolescents, by making them more aware of biases in the media representation of aspects of identity such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class and ability. Furthermore, this study shows that MDA may offer educators and teachers a theoretical and practical framework to bridge the pedagogical gap between theory and practice in ML instruction. Similarly, this study also calls for further integration of Audience Research (AR) in MDA as "it gives the opportunity to explore how discourse and society interact by taking into consideration not only the potential meanings found in texts, but also the actual readings of those who interact with them" (Castaldi 2021: 57).

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